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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. 151.

PUBLISHED IN

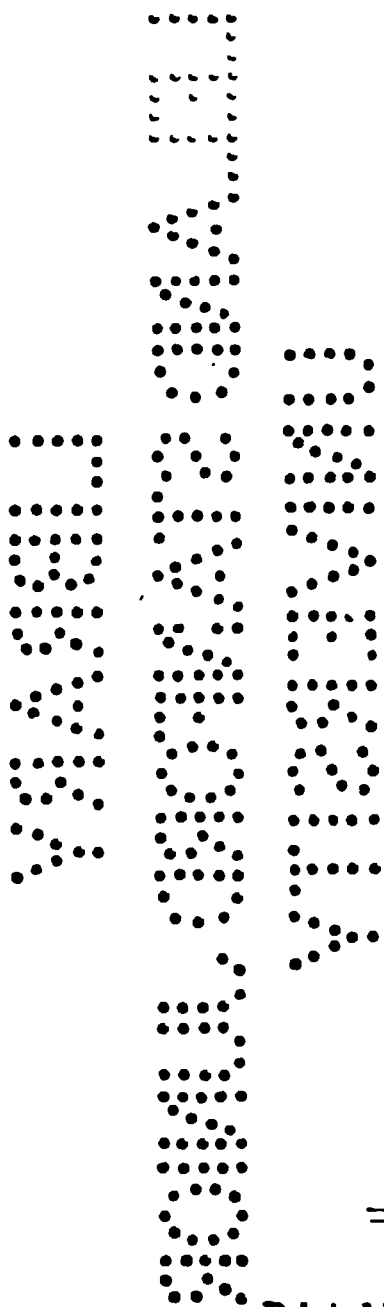
JANUARY & APRIL, 1881.

L O N D O N :

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1881.

100419



LONDON:

Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and Sons, Limited,
Stamford Street and Charing Cross.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 301.

ART.	Page
I.—Life and Letters of John, Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, based on his Autobiography, Journals, and Correspondence. Edited by his Daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1881 - -	1
II.—The Resources of California. By John S. Hittell. Sixth edition. San Francisco, 1864 - - -	40
III.—1. The Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. In five volumes. Published by David Mallet. London, 1754.	
2. The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John. Five volumes. London, 1754.	
3. The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke. By Thomas Macknight. London, 1863 - -	67
IV.—1. Report on the Practicability of establishing 'A Close Time' for the Protection of Indigenous Animals, by a Committee appointed by the British Association, 1869–1880. British Association Reports. London.	
2. The Wild Birds Protection Act, 1880, with Explanatory Notes. London ('Field' Office), 1880. 12mo. -	100
V.—Endymion. By the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G. London, 1880 - - - - -	115
VI.—1. The Manifold Witness for Christ: the Boyle Lectures for 1877 and 1878. By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L. London, 1880.	
2. The Foundations of Faith: the Bampton Lectures for 1879. By Henry Wace, M.A. London, 1880 -	128
VII.—A History of our own Times, from the Accession of Victoria to the General Election of 1880. By Justin McCarthy, M.P. London, 4 vols. Vols. I. II., Third Edition, 1879; Vols. III., IV., 1880 -	156
VIII.—1. Private Reports from Official Sources on the Employment of Women under Government in Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Russia, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, England.	

ART.	Page
2. Die Frauenfrage. Vortrag gehalten zu Basel am 15. Februar 1870. Von Dr. Gustav Schönberg. Basel, 1872.	
3. Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie. Von Dr. Lorenz von Stein. Stuttgart, 1875.	
4. L'Emancipation des Femmes. Par G. Valbert. 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' Novembre 1880.	
5. Les Femmes qui tuent et les Femmes qui votent. Par Alexandre Dumas fils. Eighteenth edition. Paris, 1880.	
6. Original Report of the Royal School of Art-Needlework, now at South Kensington - - -	181
IX.—1. Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council. Edited by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick and the Rev. W. H. Freemantle. London, 1865.	
2. The Law Reports.	
3. How shall we conform to the Liturgy? By the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, Canon of Canterbury. London, 1869. Third Edition.	
4. An Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the Rubrics respecting the Sermon and Communion Service. By the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, M.A. (now Archdeacon of Maidstone). London, 1845.	
5. Before the Table. By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester. London, 1875.	
6. Letters and Articles in the 'Times' and other papers in November and December 1880.	
7. The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874 - -	201
X.—1. A Short Statement concerning the Confiscation of Improvements in Ireland. Addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland. By A Working Landowner. London, 1880.	
2. The Land Question, Ireland: Confiscation or Contract. London, 1880.	
3. The Life's Work in Ireland of a Landlord who tried to do his Duty. By W. Bence Jones, of Lisselan. London, 1880.	
4. Hibernian Horrors: or, the Nemesis of Faction. A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. By Alfred Austin. London, 1880 - - -	242

CONTENTS

OF

No. 302.

ART.	Page
I.—1. The Nineteenth Century. 1877, 1878, 1881.	
2. Speeches by Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., and Mr. Bright, M.P., at Rochdale and Bradford. November 1877.	
3. Mr. Gladstone's Speeches in Midlothian, 1879–80. London, 1880.	
4. London and Provincial Newspapers. 1877–81.	
5. The Fortnightly Review. 1877 - - - -	285
II.—1. The Political Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Published by David Mallet. London, 1754.	
2. The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John. Five volumes. London, 1754.	316
III.—The Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament; Vols. I. and II., containing the Four Gospels and the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. London, 1878, 1880 - - - -	352
IV.—Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle. Edited by James Anthony Froude. In two volumes. London, 1881.	385
V.—1. The Emancipation Act, 1861, and subsequent Agrarian Laws of Russia.	
2. Report of an Imperial Commission of Enquiry into the State of Agriculture, 1873.	
3. Land Tenure and Agriculture in Russia and other European Countries. By Prince A. Vasilchikoff. 1876.	
4. Statistical Enquiry into Peasant Allotments and Payments. By J. Janson. Second Edition. 1881.	
5. The Russians at Home and the Russians Abroad. By H. Sutherland Edwards. 1879.	
6. Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives respecting the Tenure of Land in the several Countries in Europe. Part II. 1869–70 - - - -	428

ART.	Page
VI.—1. The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B. By Louis Fagan. In two volumes. London, 1880.	
2. Lettere ad Antonio Panizzi. Pubblicate da Luigi Fagan. Firenze, 1880.	
3. Prosper Mérimée. Lettres à Panizzi, 1850-1870. Publiées par M. Louis Fagan. 2 vols. Paris, 1881.	463
VII.—1. Report of Commissioners on the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales on an average of three years ending 1831. 1835.	
2. Clergy List, 1880. Annual Reports from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, 1858-1879. Queen Anne's Bounty : Annual Reports and Accounts of the Governors.	
3. Hodgson's Account of Queen Anne's Bounty. London, 1864.	
4. Report of a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury on Deficiencies of Spiritual Ministration. 1876.	
5. Thirty-third Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. 1881 - - - - -	502
VIII.—1. The Land Question of Ireland. Issued by the Irish Land Committee. London, 1881.	
2. Are the Landlords worth Preserving? By F. French. Dublin, 1881.	
3. Report of H.M. Commission on Agriculture. London, 1881.	
4. Report of H.M. Commission on the Working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act. Dublin, 1881.	
5. Papers on the Transvaal; presented by Command. London, 1881.	
6. Papers on Afghanistan; presented by Command. London, 1881 - - - - -	535

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Life and Letters of John, Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice, and afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, based on his Autobiography, Journals and Correspondence.* Edited by his Daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1881.

THE materials for a Life of Lord Campbell were ample: his daughter, Mrs. Hardcastle, has made an excellent use of them; and the result is a most agreeable and really valuable book. It was in 1842, when he was in his sixty-third year, that he began the autobiography; an age when memory is controlled by judgment, when narrative is commonly weighted by reflection, when a man who has risen to eminence is more disposed to dwell upon the grave and dignified than on the lighter and haply more illustrative passages of his career. It is fortunate, therefore, that, from his first arrival in London to seek his fortune, Lord Campbell kept up a regular correspondence with his father and brother, in which his impressions are set down whilst they were fresh, and his early struggles, with the alternating hopes and fears, are described in minute detail with never-failing frankness and vivacity. The letters have been preserved, and the most interesting portions of the work are based upon them.

Sainte-Beuve has laid down that 'it is very useful to begin with the beginning and, when one has the means, to take the superior or distinguished writer in his native country, in his race. If we were well acquainted physiologically with the race, the ascendants and ancestors, we should have a clear light on the secret and essential quality of mind.' Conceiving this canon of criticism to be equally applicable to the superior or distinguished lawyer, Lord Campbell, not thinking it necessary to remind the world that he was a Scotchman, begins with an account of his ancestors. Paternally he claims to be descended from Donald, the fourth son of the Earl of Argyll, who com-
Vol. 151.—No. 301. B manded

manded the van of the Scotch army at Flodden, but he confesses to some misgivings, 'knowing well from my experience in pedigree trials how easy it is, giving one link, for the claimant to trace himself up to Alfred, Charlemagne, and the Greek emperors.' In the maternal line, his mother being a Hallyburton, he can 'really and strictly and *optimâ fide*' deduce his origin from the kings of Scotland.

Although, he continues, 'of gentle blood each parent sprung,' yet in his early days he derived no credit or assistance from ancestors or relatives. 'I was born in obscurity, and had to struggle against penury and neglect.' This is rather overstating the case, as at the time of his birth, his father, a dignified clergyman (D.D.), was second minister of Cupar, with a stipend exactly double that of Goldsmith's village preacher 'passing rich with forty pounds a year,' and subsequently became first minister with a considerable augmentation of income from other sources. His mother, too, 'was considered an heiress, having a fortune of 1500*l*.' He was fortunate in both parents. His father, before taking orders, had been private tutor during many years to the son of Campbell of Carwhin, the heir-presumptive to the Earl of Breadalbane, who took a lively interest in the education of his successor. At this nobleman's table, both in town and country, the elder Campbell was a constant guest.

'It was probably from this intercourse with the best society that my father acquired the polished manners for which he was remarkable. While in London he paid great attention to the correct pronunciation of the English language, and so far succeeded that an Englishman who had visited Cupar when he was settled there as minister afterwards said to me, "his dialect, compared to that of his parishioners, was like pieces of gold among copper."'

His mother is described as having received the very best education which Scotland could then afford, and as celebrated for the grace with which she danced the Court minuet. He was born at Cupar on the 15th of September, 1779, 'in the midst of a tremendous hurricane, memorable for having blown the pirate Paul Jones out of the Firth of Forth.' He was the third child of seven, five daughters and two sons, and, being very sickly, was nursed with much tenderness by his mother, whose favourite he was supposed to be. He was also petted by a nurse, who was not only a firm believer in ghosts, but could hardly think or talk of anything else.

'Notwithstanding the caution she received to abstain from ghost stories in the nursery, she constantly entertained us with them, and she told them with such conviction of their truth and such impressive effect,

effect, that I well remember being afraid to look round the room lest a spirit should become visible to us. The consequence has been, that, though theoretically a disbeliever in all supernatural appearances since the beginning of the world, except where a miracle was to be worked for the special purposes of Providence, and though in company and in the daytime I laugh at the credulity of others, sometimes, when left all alone about the midnight hour, I cannot help a feeling of *eeriness* or superstitious dread coming over me; and if when I am in this state of mind the wainscot cracks or a mouse stirs behind the hangings or the clock strikes twelve, the hair of my head bristles up and I expect some inhabitant of the world unknown to stand before me. From the same instructress, probably, I was, when a boy, a firm believer in witches.'

When about seven he was sent to the grammar-school at Cupar, where he remained three years, and acquired a fair knowledge of Latin, with the exception of quantity, in which his master was deficient.

'However, I flatter myself that I have never been found out in a false quantity, and have thus been more fortunate than Edmund Burke or Sir James Mackintosh. Burke's *magnum vectigal* is known to all the world. I have been told that Mackintosh, speaking in a debating society on his arrival in London, said, "*Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei Vitabit Libitina.*"'

On the other hand, he says that he has often felt a great superiority over Englishmen in the grammatical knowledge of their own language, from his having learnt it as a foreign language. It is certainly remarkable how few educated Englishmen, including authors by profession, have made a careful study of English grammar.

School and college alternated in his education instead of college succeeding school. Shortly after completing his eleventh year (November 1790) he was sent with his elder brother to the University of St. Andrews, where they attended the Greek and Humanity classes till the termination of the session in the May following, when they returned home and went to school as before. His studies were interrupted for some months by a severe illness, and he then returned to the University, of which he continued a member for four years: till, in fact, he had finished the 'curriculum' which entitled him to the degree of A.M.; but degrees, it seems, being granted as a matter of course on payment of fees at St. Andrews, were not held in high esteem, and he did not claim the privilege till some years afterwards, when he was settled in England and it was creditable to add A.M. to his name. He had begun in his third session to practise oratory at a debating club, and re-

4 *Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor.*

collects gaining applause in a debate on free-trade by an alliterative sentence which he thought very fine :

‘ Somehow or another it became necessary or expedient to denounce the ironmasters who, by combination a short time before, had raised their commodity to an extraordinary price: I described them as a set of men “ whose hearts were as hard as the metal they manufactured and monopolised.” ’

He was under fifteen when his university education was regarded as complete and, even from his own modest account of his acquirements, we should say that there was small ground (barring quantity) for the envy he expresses of the foundation of solid learning laid at schools in England. He was intended for the ministry. This was his father’s wish, in which he entirely acquiesced. ‘ I was pleased with the thought of becoming, like him, a great popular preacher, and I anticipated that I might one day reach the dignity of Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.’ According to the rules of the establishment, no one could be a candidate for orders till, after having finished his philosophy course, he had been four years a student at a divinity college or hall; and in his sixteenth year he was sent to St. Mary’s College, St. Andrews, appropriated exclusively to Theology and Hebrew. Here his diligence and general conduct ingratiated him with the Principal, who recommended him as private tutor to read with the only son of Mr. Craigie of Glendoick, ‘ a great laird in the Carse of Gowrie, and son of Lord President Craigie, a celebrated Scotch lawyer.’

This was his position in the spring of 1798, when the professors of St. Andrews were requested to recommend a tutor for the son of Mr. Webster, partner in the West India house of Wedderburn and Webster in Leadenhall Street. The appointment was offered to Campbell, who was eager to accept it, but his father hesitated about trusting him, so young and inexperienced, at such a distance from home. ‘ At length he consented; all the terms were arranged, and I bade adieu to the University of St. Andrews, after a residence there of seven years.’

The family in which he was domesticated resided at Clapham Common. Mr. Webster is described as a very good-natured but not very wise man, without much weight or authority in his own household. ‘ Madame was mistress in everything. She was young, beautiful, gay and fond of admiration.’ His pupil was a boy of nine or ten years of age, who required to be initiated in the first rudiments of Latin. The guests of the Websters were mostly City people, whose conversation was commonplace enough,

enough, but he went frequently to London, where he was kindly received by friends of his father, amongst others by Dr. William Thomson, author of some political satires, at whose house he saw a good deal of literary society and was first inflamed by the ambition of becoming an author himself.

He takes the first opportunity of seeing John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, who exceed any notion he had formed of histrionic excellence, and he is 'wretched' until he had been in the House of Commons, in which he finds himself for the first time on the 3rd of April, 1798, the day of Wilberforce's motion for the immediate abolition of the slave-trade.

'This was the most memorable day of my life. . . . Now was the most splendid era in the history of the House of Commons, and this debate was one of the finest ever heard within its walls. If Peel, the best performer we now have, had then risen to state officially the result of the papers laid upon the table respecting the importation of negroes and the price of colonial produce, he would have done it clearly and he would have been respectfully though coldly listened to; but if he had attempted such eloquence as I heard from him last session in the peroration to his much-applauded speech on the income-tax, he would have been laughed at or coughed down. "Business talents" we now have, but real fine speaking is gone for ever.'

Lord Campbell would probably have said the same of the finest of Mr. Gladstone's budget speeches, and it is startling to be told that really fine speaking was gone for ever in 1842. The following estimate of Pitt's motives must also be received with caution :—

'After Henry Thornton and several inferior speakers had shortly addressed the House, up rose Pitt himself, and delivered a most splendid oration in favour of immediate abolition, which he declared was not less imperiously required by the interest and safety of the West India islands than by the obligations of morality. No one while listening to his fervid eloquence could then question his sincerity, but there is no longer a doubt that he was insincere, and that he was merely playing the game which he thought the most skilful as minister and leader of a party, to denounce the traffic which he was resolved to uphold. Notwithstanding the strong leaning of the Court and a certain section of the aristocracy in its favour; he might have carried the abolition at any hour had he been so inclined, and his hostility was afterwards proved to be colourable by his encouraging the employment of British capital in the importation of slaves into the captured colonies.'

The motion was lost by a majority of four, which, it is suggested, was probably arranged by George Rose, the Secretary to the Treasury, with the view of saving the slave-trade, and
keeping

keeping up the hopes of the abolitionists and the credit of the Minister.

‘After hearing this debate, I could no longer have been satisfied with being Moderator of the General Assembly.’ However, he continued two years longer with the Websters, doing his utmost for the improvement of his pupil, whom he brought to the point of composing in Latin prose and reading Ovid’s ‘Metamorphoses’ with facility and amusement. During these two years his mode of life, mental progress, and plans for the future, are detailed in letters to his father and brother.* Mrs. Webster had induced her husband to take a house in a fashionable quarter of the town and, not thinking it genteel that her son’s tutor should sleep or eat in the house, had caused lodgings to be taken for him, with an allowance for his board; not a liberal one, unless he was economizing for a purpose, for in a letter dated Warwick Street, December 16, 1798, he writes :

‘MY DEAR BROTHER, . . . My attention is always occupied with some literary pursuit, and I have never felt a moment’s *ennui* since I came to town. I live very economically. I dine at home for a shilling, go to the coffee-house once a day, fourpence; to the theatre once a week, three-and-sixpence. My pen will keep me in pocket-money. I this day begin a job which I must finish in a fortnight, and for which I am promised two guineas; but, alas! Willie Thomson paymaster! He owes me divers yellowboys already. I go no farther than to write the history of the last war in India for him till he pays me all. I have given up, foolishly I believe, my engagement with the “Oracle,” the office of historian being more noble than that of newspaper critic and translator.’

Like all men of conscious ability and uncertain prospects, he is constantly fluctuating between hope and despondency. In April 1799 he writes to his father that he shall never get on in London, and that the sooner he comes back to Cupar the better: that ‘one way his foolish fancy had once suggested of rising,’ but experience had dispelled the illusion, and he finds that he is as little qualified for literature as for everything else.

‘My ambition now is to find some secure retreat, where forgetting and forgotten I may spend the *curriculum vitæ cælo datum* in gloomy peace and desperate contentment. I have some thoughts of setting out in search of such a retreat “Where wild Oswego spreads her swamps around;” but if you can procure me a living in the Kirk of Scotland, you will save me the trouble of crossing the Atlantic.’

Before the end of the year a complete change has come over

* Afterwards Sir George Campbell of Edenwood. He obtained an appointment in the Medical Service of the East India Company and left England for India in 1800.

him, and the spirit of his dream has begun to point to the Wool-sack, to be reached through the reporters' gallery. His whole soul is bent on getting his father's consent to his becoming a law-student, and he parries the objection of insufficient means by example upon example of similar difficulties overcome. 'You know how poorly off Tom Erskine was while a student. Mr. Pitt was obliged to pawn his chambers in Lincoln's Inn before he was called to the Bar.' On December 11, 1799, he writes:—

'As a country minister I should be the most miserable of human beings, and not improbably should at last become completely deranged. As a reporter, and afterwards as a lawyer, I shall be obliged to be busy every hour of the day, and shall have no time to indulge in gloomy and distressing reflections. In Scotland I should be nearly cut off from the streams of Helicon; in London I have only to kneel down and drink my fill.'

His father reluctantly consents, and his approach to the streams of Helicon is facilitated by Mr. (afterwards Serjeant) Spankie, who procured him an engagement with the 'Morning Chronicle,' founded and edited by Mr. Perry, 'who, by his talents, honour, consistency and gentlemanly manners, had conferred great credit on the newspaper press.' His duties were of the most multifarious description. He was expected to attend public meetings as well as the House of Commons, to translate French newspapers, and to make himself generally useful. In October 1800 he writes, 'though much indisposed I was obliged to go yesterday to the Shakespeare Tavern, where was celebrated the anniversary of Mr. Fox's first election for Westminster.' On December 31, 1800: 'Parliament is to be prorogued to-day. My greatest feat was writing six columns of Sheridan.' On October 5, 1801:—

'Besides many other little things to be done about the paper, the winter theatres are both open, and we are obliged to give a dramatic critique almost every night. Drury Lane is assigned to me, and I am sometimes obliged to go to Covent Garden.'

On the occasion of a contest for the county of Kent, he was despatched to Maidstone to send up by express the state of the first day's poll. In October 1800 he writes that he was in the receipt of three guineas a week, and was to have four when Parliament met. In the same month: 'I am in considerable hopes that I may distinguish myself, the ensuing winter, by my law reports.' Dec. 7, 1800: 'I can now report the debates in Parliament as well as any of my contemporaries, and as a law-reporter I have acquired some reputation. I am allowed four guineas a week.'

His

His entry at Lincoln's Inn, November 3, 1800, is recorded with a comment :

'This is the most expensive Society, but the most respectable, and therefore I prefer it. Entrance money, 21*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* I have not begun to keep my terms, as, previous to doing this, I must deposit 100*l.* in the steward's hands.'

The deposit was advanced by his father, and in the Easter Term following he dined for the first time in Lincoln's Inn Hall. It has been the fashion to laugh at him as devoid of humour and fancy, to cite him as an apt confirmation of Sydney Smith's remark, that it requires a surgical operation to get a joke well through a Scotchman's pericranium. There are passages in the 'Lives of the Judges and Chancellors' which go far towards justifying the popular belief. But the familiar letters lead to an opposite impression. They abound in passages of a sentimental and imaginative turn. His day-dreams are worthy of Alnaschar:—

'When I am in low spirits and sitting alone in my gloomy garret, I contemplate with pleasure the idea of being licensed and procuring a settlement in the Church. I spurn it when I hear the eloquent addresses of Law, of Gibbs, of Erskine, and, while my heart burns within me, a secret voice assures me that if I make the attempt I shall be as great as they. Whether this impulse is the admonition of God or the instigation of the Devil, we shall discuss at length when we meet.'

* * * * *

'There is nothing like aiming at something great. "Wish for a gown o' goud and ye'll aye get a sleeve o't." Say every day "I will be Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain," and you will be made a Puisne Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.'

In January 1801 we find him dating from No. 2, Old Buildings, Lincoln's Inn, and rapidly rising in self-importance from that locality:—

'Almost all my neighbours are people of large income—Honourables, Right Honourables, &c. A card with Lincoln's Inn upon it is as genteel for a young man as Grosvenor Square. The rent is 22*l.* per annum. Here I am, however, not owing any man a farthing, with a clean shirt on my back and a guinea in my pocket.'

At this time the Bar was more exclusive than it has since become, and there was a strong feeling against any connection with the newspaper press. He was placed therefore in an uncomfortable and mortifying position by his engagement as a reporter, which he was not in circumstances to give up. In January 1800 he writes to his father that he is absolutely
prevented

prevented from forming any acquaintance with his fellow-students, and is constantly in terror when obliged to be amongst them. He has hopes of earning enough to live upon by less compromising means, and his imagination kindles at the thought:—

‘Then shall I emerge from my hiding-hole. Then shall you hear of the speeches which I make, and my rapidly widening circle of acquaintance. I shall write to you to-day of dining with Tom Erskine, and to-morrow of becoming a member of the Pic-nic Club. Many conquests shall I make among the women, and much envy shall I excite among the men. The hour of my being called to the bar is eagerly expected, and every litigant in Westminster Hall is then eager to become my client!’

A remittance from his brother in India enables him to take a trip to Paris during the Peace of Amiens, and he narrowly escaped detention; a letter of his to the ‘Morning Chronicle’ severely reflecting on the First Consul having been opened at the French post-office. At Paris he fell in by accident with a Portuguese Jew who introduced him to Tallien and Barrère:—

‘Our visit to Tallien was a very curious one. We talked very coolly with him concerning the massacres of September, but nothing astonished me so much as the conversation that took place concerning his wife. You know she divorced him and has since lived with a variety of other men. Yet he talked of her beauty, of her wit, of her amiable manners, of having been calling upon her, and of doing her the pleasure to introduce me to her acquaintance. There are many things here to make a Scotsman stare! . . .’

He gave up reporting for the House of Commons after the Session ending June 28, 1800, and takes occasion to set down some reflections on reporting and the qualifications required for it, which he ranks so high that, with the change of a word, we are tempted to exclaim, like Rasselas when Imlac was expatiating on the qualifications of a poet: ‘Enough, thou hast persuaded me that no human being can be a *reporter*.’

‘To have a good report of a speech, the reporter must thoroughly understand the subject discussed, and be qualified to follow the reasoning, to feel the pathos, to relish the wit, and to be warmed by the eloquence of the speaker. He must apprehend the whole scope of the speech, as well as attend to the happy phraseology in which the ideas of the speaker are expressed. He should take down notes in abbreviated long-hand as rapidly as he can for aids to his memory. He must then retire to his room, and, looking at these, recollect the speech as it was delivered, and give it with all fidelity, point and spirit, as the speaker would write it out if preparing it for the press. Fidelity is the first and indispensable requisite, but this does not demand an exposure of inaccuracies and repetitions.’

Shorthand

Shorthand-writers are declared to be utterly incompetent to report a good speech. In his time it was usual for one reporter to take the whole of a long speech, extending to five or six columns of a newspaper, upon which he was necessarily employed a good many hours, and on the day after a long debate the publication of a newspaper was delayed till two or three o'clock in the afternoon. Debates were rare, and hardly any notice was taken of the ordinary business of the House. Tierney, he adds, was the easiest to report well, and Pitt the most difficult. He had nothing to do with the Lords, whose regulations were of a nature to preclude reporting altogether: the door-keepers being strictly enjoined to allow no one to take notes.

His general engagement with the 'Morning Chronicle' was continued and, besides law-reporting in the King's Bench which occupied most of his mornings, he became regular dramatic critic for the paper and attended the theatres every night. The drama was then pre-eminently in vogue, even more so than it has recently become. The hour of dinner was reconcilable with an attendance at the theatre, and night after night 'fashionable ladies and distinguished senators' were to be seen in the side-boxes.

'Dramatic criticism was accordingly very much attended to, and this was a very important department of a newspaper. I took great pains with my articles on plays and players. I not only read carefully all the pieces usually acted, but I made myself master of the history of our stage from Shakespeare downwards, and became fairly acquainted with French, German, and Italian dramatic literature. I never acknowledged myself as a critic, but it was pretty well known from whom the dramatic articles came, and I sometimes found myself treated with most unaccountable deference by first-rate performers and popular dramatists. The plaudits or hisses of the audience, and overflowing houses or empty benches, certainly depended a good deal on the award of the anonymous critic of the "Morning Chronicle."'

He admits that he was one of those who enthusiastically admired Master Betty, the infant Roscius, and he says that, if he erred, he need not be ashamed, 'for night after night, as often as he acted, there was Charles James Fox hanging on the boy's lips and rapturously applauding him.' He tried his hand at squibs, and we are led to suppose not unsuccessfully, for (Feb. 15, 1803) when he contemplates giving up his general engagement with the 'Chronicle,' he writes: 'Perhaps Perry will consent to retain me specially for the theatres and for the *department of wit*' (the italics are his own). In the July following he concludes a bargain with Perry to 'write critiques and grind paragraphs' for one hundred guineas a year.

The

The extent to which the ordinary routine of English life was disturbed by the fear of invasion in 1803 is strikingly illustrated by his case. All literary undertakings by which he hoped to profit were laid aside by the booksellers: he was obliged to join a volunteer corps at a sacrifice of time and money, which he could ill spare; and he actually hesitates about entering a special pleader's office till the menacing cloud has blown over or burst.

Introduced by Mackintosh, he entered with Tidd on Monday the 16th of January, 1804. Tidd was the first in his line. He had constantly from ten to fifteen pupils, that is, young men who paid one hundred guineas per annum for the privilege of attending his chambers and doing as much or as little in the way of reading or writing as they thought fit.

'They drop into the office for half an hour on their way to Bond Street. For weeks and months they remain away altogether. When they are assembled the subjects discussed are not cases and precedents, but the particulars of a new fashion in dress, or the respective merits of the Young Chicken and Signora Grassini.'

Out of the twelve upon the list when Campbell joined there were but two or three who thought of turning their opportunities to account, and he was at first afraid of working hard lest he should lose caste as a *fagger*. His theatrical engagement was also a constant source of uneasiness, lest it should get wind. As his year with Tidd drew towards its close, he was thinking of setting up on his own account, when a clause was added to the Stamp Act, providing that no one should practise as a special pleader below the Bar without paying 10*l.* a year. The precarious nature of his income and the uncertainty of his prospects are shown by the effect of this petty impost. There are few, he writes, who make 10*l.* during the first year, and, for his part, he shall not think of taking out the licence.

A twelvemonth had yet to elapse before he could get called to the Bar. In the midst of his embarrassment and despondency touching this inconvenient interval, he hears that Tidd was 'going to lose the young gentleman who for some time had managed his business for him,' i.e. assisted him as a sort of managing clerk, and the idea immediately suggests itself that he (Campbell) might be deemed acceptable for the post. He makes an offer of his services, with which Tidd readily closes, stipulating merely that the engagement should not be strictly limited to a year, and it is eventually arranged that it shall stand good till Michaelmas Term, 1806.

'He expressed great satisfaction, and hoped I should never have
reason

after he has swallowed the poison, which in his ecstasy at her revival he forgets till he feels its pangs. I ran to the 'Morning Chronicle' office, altered my criticism, and introduced a compliment to the spirited and tender manner in which Romeo exclaimed "She lives, she moves, and we shall still be happy." Except on this occasion, when I had taken care to say nothing that could injure any one, I can truly declare that my criticisms, whether well or ill founded, were the result of my own observation and expressed my genuine opinion.'

Looking forward to his career at the Bar, he fears that elocution will be found his chief deficiency, and he has some thoughts of taking lessons from Thelwall. He reads Greek and Latin with George Dyer for some weeks, and congratulates himself on having improved a good deal in the English pronunciation of both languages, and acquired a competent knowledge of their prosody, although much is still wanting to enable him to quote with confidence. 'My reading through the summer has been chiefly plays and romances. Of these I have travelled through whole cartloads. Even "Sir Charles Grandison" did not stop me. The circulating libraries are now quite exhausted, and I am afraid I must learn Spanish with the same view as Lord Camden.'

He illustrates by a happy metaphor his restlessness and trepidation as the moment approaches for his being invested with the wig and gown:—

'I am somewhat like a young girl about to enter upon a marriage from which she can't reasonably expect much happiness. Amidst all her forebodings and apprehensions she finds something agreeable in the bustle of preparation, and she rejoices at any rate to escape from a state of despised spinsterhood. The call will be near the end of the month. William Adam should have proposed me to the benchers, but he is in Edinburgh superintending the Scots elections.'

He was proposed by Sir Vicary Gibbs, and called November 15, 1806, the money for the incidental expenses having been advanced by his brother, to whom he writes on the 16th:—

'I shall not spare your dust to make a dashing appearance. I have retained a hair-dresser to cauliflower my head who has improved me twenty-five per cent. I look devilish knowing with my gown, wig and band, as you shall see when Wilkie's portrait reaches Agra. I go down to Westminster Hall to-morrow morning, to be sworn in before the judges of the King's Bench. The rank of barrister will have a favourable effect upon me. This is not childish vanity, but the result of reflection—confidence inspired by a knowledge of life and mankind.'

During his first term he did not receive even a half-guinea fee.

14 *Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor.*

fee. 'To be sure,' he says, 'there were about thirty men called, and of these only one had anything to do.' He joins the Home Circuit as the most economical, and on June 30, 1807, announces the exact amount of his earnings since his call to have been forty-one guineas and a half; more, he adds, than any compeers of the same standing have made, except one. Towards the expiration of the first year from his call, he hit upon an expedient for gaining money and reputation, which had also the incidental effect of opening a connection with the attorneys and attracting briefs. In November, 1807, he entered into an agreement for the publication of his 'Reports of Nisi Prius Cases,' the first number of which appeared on the 11th of the February following. These Reports were almost exclusively taken up with the decisions of Lord Ellenborough, who, with a judicial mind of no common order, combined an over-eagerness for the despatch of business which led to occasional mistakes. Talfourd describes him as going through a cause-list at Guildhall like a rhinoceros through a sugar-plantation. Referring to the surprise expressed by a brother Chief, Sir James Mansfield, at finding how universally right were Lord Ellenborough's decisions, Campbell remarks that the wonder may a little abate when the 'garbling process' to which *he* subjected them is made known; the fact being that he rejected all that struck him as unsound.

'When I arrived at the end of my fourth and last volume, I had a whole drawer full of "bad Ellenborough law." The threat to publish this I might have used as a weapon of offence when he was rude to me; but his reputation is now secure, for the whole collection was reduced to ashes in the great fire in the Temple.'

His Lordship acknowledged the receipt of the first Number by a polite note, but, as subsequently appeared, was far from mollified by the suppression of his errors, or checked by fear of the rod suspended over him. In March, 1808, after his third Circuit, Campbell exclaims: 'No brief, no prospect of ever having a brief on Circuit:' and he complains that, apart from business, there is little enjoyment to be derived from it. He does better at Sessions and in town, and in August he expresses regret at a large remittance from his brother: having received since the beginning of the year 220 guineas in fees, besides 60*l.* on account of the first Number of the 'Reports.' 'You have kept my head above water for a great number of years, but now I shall go on *swimmingly*.' Anticipating the pleasure he shall have in introducing his brother to some of his briefless friends, he writes:—

'I trust

‘I trust you have pretty well got rid of your Scotch accent—a thing of which you know I have a perfect horror. It is not merely the offence to my ear which I dread, but the effect upon my own enunciation which is powerful and inevitable. If I sit a whole evening in a company of Scotsmen, I am afraid next morning to open my mouth lest I should hear a compliment upon my Doric dialect.’

In his anxiety to soften down his Scotch accent he acquired a mincing manner of pronunciation which materially lessened the effect of his delivery. He might have seen in Lord Brougham how little eloquence is impaired by an occasional touch of the native and natural Doric.

In the spring of 1810 he quitted the Home Circuit and joined the Oxford, where an opening had just been made by the secession of three or four men in good practice, and the competition promised to be less formidable. This change of Circuit, involving that of Sessions, turned out even better than he had reason to expect. His town practice increases surely if slowly, and in February 1812 he writes that he is making more than a thousand a year. It was Lord Abinger who said of his son-in-law that if he had been bred an opera-dancer he might not have danced as well as Vestris, but he would have got a higher salary. It is comical, remembering this remark, to find that at the mature age of 34 he actually took lessons in dancing. After dwelling at some length (October 11, 1813) on the disagreeable position in which he was placed by his deficiency in this accomplishment, he writes:—

‘I was at last driven to the resolution of applying to one of the dancing masters who teach grown gentlemen. Accordingly on my return from the circuit I waited upon a celebrated artist from the Opera House. Chassé! Coupé! Brisé! One! Two! Three! I may say I devoted the long vacation to this pursuit. I did not engage in special pleading with more eagerness. I went to my instructor regularly every morning at ten, and two or three times a week. I returned in the evening. You may be sure I was frightened out of my wits lest I should be seen by any one I knew. I might have met an attorney’s clerk accustomed to bring me papers, or possibly my own clerk. It required some courage to face this danger, and I give myself infinite credit for the effort I have made. I have been highly lucky: not recognised a single face I had seen before! My morning lessons were private, but to learn figures it was of course indispensably necessary to mix with others. I met several dancing masters from the country, dashing young shopkeepers, ladies qualifying themselves for governesses, &c. &c. I have attended so diligently and made such progress, that I verily believe that I pass for a person intending to teach the art myself in the provinces. I entered by the name of Smith; but my usual appellation is “the gentleman.” My
co-pupils

co-pupils in general make no mystery about their family or situation I have now discontinued the morning lessons, but still go in the evenings. If you were to see me perform, you would call me "le dieu de la danse." Seriously, I conceive I am qualified to join the most polite assemblies. Instead of shunning I shall now court opportunities of figuring on the light fantastic toe. In short, I mean to become *un beau garçon*.'

Speaking of the qualifications of his countrymen to figure as men of fashion or *beaux garçons*, Sir Walter Scott remarks : 'Every point of national character is opposed to the pretensions of this luckless race, when they attempt to take on them a personage which is assumed with so much facility by their brethren of the Isle of Saints.' Campbell formed no exception to this remark.

Far from being confined to professional, personal, and domestic matters, the letters abound in valuable remarks on current politics and illustrations of character, such as the account given him by Brougham, who had it from Lord Grey, of the Emperor Alexander's reflections on 'the branch of the English Constitution called the Opposition,' which his Imperial Majesty thought a very fine institution, being a sort of mirror in which Ministers might at all times see themselves and discover their faults :—

'“But there was one thing which rather puzzled him. As the object of both parties was of course the same—the public good—he did not exactly understand why the Opposition might not privately give information and advice to Ministers, secretly telling them what measures they should avoid and what they should adopt. Ministers would derive the same advantage from these friendly conferences as from debates in Parliament, and there would be no altercation, exposure or *éclat*.” This was chiefly addressed to Grey, who did not know well what answer to return. His Majesty then turned suddenly round to Grenville and said : “Qu'en pensez-vous, milord ?” Grenville observed that the plan appeared very beautiful, but he doubted whether it was practicable.'

In November 1814 he writes to announce his victory over Ellenborough, who had come down to the Court with a volume of Reports in his hand, and, as soon as he had taken his seat, charged Campbell with having the day before cited a non-existing note :—

'*Ellenborough*. I have looked at the report, and no such note is to be found.

'*Campbell*. I cited the case from the octavo edition, in which there certainly is the note I referred to. I have got my copy in an adjoining room, and I can now produce it to the Court.

'*Ellenborough*

‘*Ellenborough* (*furibundus*). Sir, that is the edition I have looked to. I have brought down my copy, which is now before me. There! I will hand it down to you, Sir, and I will thank you to find me out the note. (Book handed down, or rather thrown at my head, by his Lordship.)

‘*Campbell* (with great firmness and dignity). My Lord, in the book which your Lordship had the *kindness* to hand down to me I find subjoined to *Barbent’s* case the following note: “*Note*: The Secretary of State afterwards interfered and satisfied the creditors, and this person was discharged out of custody.”

‘*Ellenborough* (in confusion). Indeed! Let me see the book. Yea, it is so. I had overlooked it. You were right, Sir; you were warranted in what you said.

‘A great sensation was excited in the Court, and I was *congratulated* by my friends.’

The victory cost him dear, for Lord Ellenborough was not a generous antagonist:—

‘*May 8, 1815*.—I have not lately had any serious set-to with my Lord, but we do not get on comfortably together. He has still particular pleasure in discharging my rule or in making one absolute against me. However, he shall treat me with respect, if not with favour. I chiefly regret his brutality on the ground that it makes me so nervous, and checks the fair display of my faculties.’

During a trip to Paris in the long vacation of 1815 he fell in with his old pupil, now Sir James Wedderburn Webster, who consulted him about a current scandal affecting his (Sir James’s) wife, Lady Frances, and the Duke of Wellington. ‘I cannot mention to you more than that I am certain the story is false and calumnious. But the Duke certainly paid and is disposed to pay her the most particular attentions. The object at present is to discover the authors of the libel and to bring them to punishment.’ By his advice an action of libel was brought in the joint names of husband and wife against the ‘*St. James’s Chronicle*.’ He was junior counsel, and complains that, although the whole responsibility rested on his shoulders, he was not allowed to take any prominent part, and was unfairly deprived of the *éclat* which might have accrued to him from the examination of the Duke of Richmond. Forgetting to mention the result (a verdict for the plaintiffs), he gives vent to a burst of enthusiastic admiration:—

‘Webster and his wife have been a week in London, and I have seen a good deal of them. She is the most fascinating creature that ever lived, and I believe in my conscience most perfectly virtuous. I really am quite in love with her. She may well be the conqueror of the conqueror of the world.’

‘I told you that “the affair” had nearly died away. . . . Tancred (the worthiest of men) had given me the same advice with you, to hold back and let the thing drop, unless there was distinct encouragement from the other side. Coltman, he, and I, have all been unfortunate in love, although happy in friendship. Tancred has met with more rebuffs than either. But there might be an entertaining volume made up of the “rejected addresses” of the three.

“Alas! for all that I have ever read,
Or ever heard in tale or history,
The course of true love never did run smooth.”

I can only say with Gibbon that “I feel dearer to myself for having been capable of this elegant and refined passion.”’

‘Tancred and I,’ he continues, ‘have made a vow that we will henceforth never court, and that, unless we are courted, we will remain in a state of single blessedness.’ He did not adhere to this resolution long, for in the following week he is engaged to escort the lady to the Regent’s Park, which he does, attired (as he duly records) in white duck trousers, a buff waistcoat, and an olive-coloured morning frock coat, cut after the fashion of the Duke of Wellington’s,—

‘We rode through St. James’s Park, up Constitution Hill, into the New Road, and all round the Regent’s Park, getting back about six. The conversation good-humoured, but not approaching anything particular. The weather was delightful, and the excursion went off altogether very well.

‘According to all reasoning this is encouragement, but I find matters of all sorts now turn out so differently from what might be expected on fair calculation, that I know not what inference to draw.’

The extent to which his feelings were involved and his thoughts preoccupied, is shown by his eagerness to draw favourable or unfavourable inferences from passing remarks and occurrences:—

‘*Tuesday night, May 16.*—I was speaking to Scarlett to-day about opportunities of distinction. He said a man need not complain of the want of opportunities who does not avail himself of those he has. Whether there was any hidden meaning in this you know as much as I do.’

The meaning he suspected and hoped was that contained in the well-known lines of Montrose:—

‘He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch
To gain or lose it all.’

But

He himself has a yearning for display or notoriety as a thing of marketable value, independently of the gratification to vanity or self-love. Thus he writes, June 1816:—

‘I think my *genius* never displayed itself more than in this proceeding. I take more credit to myself for setting up my groom and horses than for writing my book, or fagging in Tidd’s office. Of such efforts a common man is capable—but he is not a common man who thus adapts himself to varying circumstances, and who seeks the same object by opposite means! Laying down my Reports and setting up my horses, I announce that my fortune is made, and there will be a greater disposition to employ me. I must, of course, display the same assiduity and devotedness for which I have been hitherto remarked.’

The declared object of the dancing lessons was the promotion of the matrimonial schemes or dreams in which he now thought himself fully justified in indulging. ‘If a pretty girl of respectable connections should fall in love with my *brisés*, I should have no objection to make her my partner for life. I could now venture on marriage without imprudence, and I have no time to lose.’ Much time was not required, for after a dinner at which he met ‘a great number of dashing people,’ he writes that ‘two girls that I had thought of are going to be married to my rivals. At the same time I had not met with the disgrace of a rebuff, for I had never spoken to either of them in my life.’

Again, after a dinner at Alexander’s (afterwards Chief Baron):—

‘I there met a niece of his, a very sweet and interesting girl, whom I should like very well for a wife. I went with her a few days after to a picture gallery, and afterwards called upon her. I have not seen her since, nor shall I probably see her again these three months. I cannot run after her or any woman. The thing is impossible. I would willingly sacrifice any given quantity of business; but if I were to attempt this, the concern would at once break up and go to ruin.’

The manner in which his marriage was brought about is told with details and touches of sentiment which give it the interest of a romance. The first faint indication is contained in a letter to his brother, January 16, 1820:—

‘A pleasant party at Scarlett’s. I sat at dinner next Miss Scarlett, and Scarlett has invited me to spend some days with him at his country house at Easter. What say you to that? Very small accidents may at present determine my subsequent history.’

Little or no progress is made in the course of the next three or four months. May 4, 1820, to his brother:—

no longer worth living for. It is a sign of good augury that Scarlett offers to propose him at Brooks's. 'I said I should like it very much. I may possibly be black-balled—a common event, which happened thrice to poor Mackintosh.' To be put up at this Club he rightly regards as openly 'listing' with the Whigs, whose chances of office had not much improved since Byron wrote of them:—

'Nought's permanent among the human race,
Except the Whigs not getting into place.'

Campbell was fully aware of this.

'I met a man at the Salon des Etrangers at Paris who told me his system of play was this,—to wait till *noir* had lost five times successively, and then to go on backing this colour till he won. Upon the same principle a man may join the Whigs at the present moment, considering their past disasters. Scarlett did not at all know when there will be a ballot, and my fate may not be decided for months.'

Another good sign was that at the Westminster Sittings, after Michaelmas Term 1820, when Scarlett was absent during three days, he gave his briefs to Campbell to hold. It would appear from a letter to his father that this was his first marked experience as a leader, and he concludes that, with opportunity and practice, he should make a very tolerable one. In the depth of his despondency, he announces that he is going to set up a cabriolet, 'which is the most fashionable carriage in London for a single man.' We are left in ignorance of the precise steps by which the *rapprochement* between him and his intended was brought about, but as they frequently met in society, the wonder is that they were so long coming to an understanding.

'May 19, 1821.—MY DEAR BROTHER,—I was at a very brilliant rout last night in Spring Gardens [Scarlett's]. I never saw so many pretty women in one house. I need not add that the company was by no means exclusively legal, for, generally speaking, the wives and daughters of lawyers are not by any means to boast of. Barristers do not marry their mistresses so frequently as they used to do, but they seldom can produce a woman that a man can take under his arm with any credit. I was so much excited that when I went to bed (as our father says) "I did not shut an eye the whole night."'

On the 31st he writes that he may almost pronounce himself an accepted lover, although still intensely anxious and haunted by the fear of awaking out of a pleasant dream.

'I had not hinted to Parke, Tancred, or any one else, that I ever thought of renewing my addresses, and you are the only human being to whom I have mentioned my good fortune.'

Matters

Matters were brought to a point by a walk in Kensington Gardens on Saturday and a dinner in Spring Gardens on Sunday—

‘Since then I have been in New Street daily, and sometimes twice a day, and everything has proceeded to my heart’s desire. On Tuesday I attended her to the opera, and as we could not get a box we went to the pit, which this season has not been unfashionable. . . .

‘I have not yet said a word upon the subject to Scarlett, but I must write to him to-morrow. There seems no rational ground to doubt that the union will take place after the circuit. I might have fared better the former year, if I had applied to the young lady directly.’

The manner in which the great event is to come off is arranged two months in advance.

‘*July 29, 1821.*—We will (*sic*) go down to Abinger on Friday, and next day is the 8th. I propose immediately to make off for Dover. I mean to have the passport, the licence, &c., all ready before I leave town for the circuit. I shall be dressed in a blue coat, white waist-coat, and white trousers.’

Immediately after the ceremony (Sept. 8), the happy couple leave England for France, where they remain till the middle of the following month, when he is compelled to think of Westminster Hall. He is not included in the new distribution of silk. Neither are Brougham and Denman. ‘Both will have their revenge in the House of Commons.’ For himself: ‘I do not at all feel aggrieved or injured in not being included. On the Circuit I shall be on *velvet*—sure of a brief in every cause, with an occasional lead.’

He is elected at Brooks’s after Lord Duncannon, the great authority of the Club, had declared that he had not a chance. The principal domestic events of the next two years are the birth of two children, the marriage of his brother, and the death of his father (Nov. 24, 1824). His practice increases rapidly, but the well-earned promotion is withheld. There is still a lion on the path.

‘*June 1, 1825.*—I know from undoubted authority that the Chancellor says the following dialogue passed between him and the King last Sunday week: *K.* “Well, my Lord Chancellor, you see I was right in not consenting to Mr. Brougham having a silk gown. You see how he has been attacking you.”—*C.* “Sir, your Majesty may have cause to complain of Mr. Brougham, and I may have cause to complain of him; but from his station at the bar, and the injury done to others by his not having rank, I am bound to say that I think he ought to have it, and I again implore your Majesty to give your consent.” *K.* “I’ll be damned if I do while I continue King of England.”’

Campbell

Campbell was an unsuccessful candidate for Stafford at the General Election of 1826. The death of one of the members within the year made a fresh opening, but instead of renewing the contest, he sent (he says) the electors a candidate, Mr. Beaumont, that the world might see what Stafford is, and not blame him for relinquishing it.

‘On his entering the town, by way of foretaste, he gave a 1*l*. Bank of England note to every voter who applied for it; and he soon distributed as many bank-notes as there are voters in the place. They put them in their hats, and openly paraded the streets with them by way of cockades. No credit would be given for voting-money for more than five minutes after the vote was given. Having voted, the voter had a card, which he carried to an adjoining public-house, and which instantly produced him eight guineas. When the election was over, Beaumont, in a public oration, told them that he had obtained their suffrages by means perhaps not altogether constitutional, but he hoped the money would do them good, and be of service to their families—upon which they loudly cheered him.’

The interval between the death of Lord Liverpool and the Premiership of Canning was an agitating time for Campbell. It was upon the cards, he thinks, that he might have been Solicitor-General, i.e. in case the Great Seal had been conferred on his father-in-law. Scarlett simply became Attorney-General, and the principal benefit derived by Campbell in the professional move was the long-coveted silk gown, which, after another delay originating with Brougham, he received in June, 1827. His enjoyment of his new dignity will excite a smile, but the *naïveté* with which his feelings are laid bare constitutes the main attraction of the book:

‘I continue to enjoy my rank much more than I expected. The very convenience of sitting where I now am is to be envied. Instead of being jostled and elbowed by stuff gowns and serjeants from the Common Pleas, here I sit in state—at this moment no one within a yard of me on either side. When I present myself at the door of the court the usher says, “Make way.” A lane is formed, I sail in, strike my flag to the Chief Justice, and take part in the line of battle as a first-rate.’

The resignation of Lord Goderich principally affects him through the perplexity in which it places Scarlett, who resigns the Attorney-Generalship, but resumes it in the course of the following year (June, 1823), on the resignation of Sir Charles Wetherell.

In 1828 Campbell is named a member of the Commission for the Reform of Real Property, and he had the offer of a Puisne Judgeship in 1829. He stands for Stafford again in 1830, and

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is returned : his political principles, or rather the side he is to take, being far from clear, notwithstanding his election at Brooks's. His doubts are removed by the passage in the King's Speech referring to Belgium, and the declaration of the Duke of Wellington against Reform. 'My part was taken, and I resolved to form a close alliance with those who were to stand up for the liberties of mankind.' Yet he takes his seat on what he terms neutral ground, the cross-bench on the Ministerial side, and distrusts both parties.

'November 4.—As far as politics are concerned nothing can be more calamitous than my situation, or more melancholy than my prospects. The Duke of Wellington seems disposed to establish an ultra-Tory Government which I cannot support with honour, and the leaders of Opposition are hurrying the country to confusion and ruin.'

He thinks that he should have been appointed Solicitor-General on the formation of the Whig Government but for the underhand opposition of Brougham, who disliked everybody connected with Scarlett, and it was as an independent member that he was present at the introduction of the Reform Bill, which startles him.

'March 2, 1831 (to his Brother).—You must be Radical indeed if Ministers have not satisfied you! We are quite appalled! There is not the remotest chance of such a Bill being carried by this or any House of Commons. You may anticipate the consequence.'

* * * * *

'The sensation produced in the House, as you may suppose, was great beyond all example. The violence of the plan rather lessened the alarm, for people felt that it could not be carried.'

* * * * *

'I am invited to-day to meet the Duke of Wellington at Scarlett's. I am not sorry that I have a good excuse to be absent. There is no leader with whom I can associate myself, and I care not how soon I am *hors de combat*.'

At the same time he dreads the consequences of throwing out the Bill, and feels inclined, as a choice of evils, to support and even to speak in favour of it.

'March 3.—I was absent from the House two hours last night to meet the Duke at dinner. He was very good-humoured and unaffected, and laughed like any ordinary man at the dismay of the borough patrons.

'I returned to the House as soon as the ladies had withdrawn, among whom was the pretty and pensioned Mrs. Arbuthnot.'

On the 5th he reports that the measure takes very much with the country: on the 10th, that Ministers certainly have
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the country with them: on the 23rd, that he had hurried up from the Circuit to vote for the second reading: 'You have heard the division—302 for, 301 against—so I carried the Bill by going up. But I did not get a hearing, though I offered myself seven times.'

On the dissolution he is re-elected for Stafford by means which he does not attempt to justify.

'Bribery and treating might be proved enough to unseat the whole House of Commons; but there is not the remotest danger, for by immemorial usage such things are done here with impunity.'

On the second reading of the Bill he 'somewhat impudently' took possession of a vacant place on the Treasury Bench, and after two vain attempts managed to catch the Speaker's eye. 'I spoke about an hour without breaking down or being coughed down. I can say no more, but this is something, and better than if I had not spoken at all.' He was complimented by Jeffrey, who accounted for the coldness with which the speech was received by the disposition of the House. 'He had learned that nothing is much applauded unless personal attacks. They will listen to reasoning, but they will not applaud it.' Campbell of Islay desired to be introduced to him, and told him that he was the first Campbell that ever spoke in the House of Commons more than a quarter of an hour.

'He and I are the only two of the clan in this Parliament. It is a curious fact that all Irishmen are eloquent and Scotchmen very rarely. I partly ascribe it to our not speaking the English language in our infancy and boyhood, and something to the genius of the country lying in a different line.'

His style of speaking was not calculated for political conflict in excited times, but he commanded a fair share of attention when he introduced the Bills founded on the Reports of the Real Property Commission, and he gradually came to be considered a useful ally or supporter in the solid argumentative part of a debate, especially when legal knowledge was in request. He is made Solicitor-General on Denman's elevation to the Chief Justiceship (Nov. 1832), and returned for Dudley in the new Parliament. He was now quite at ease about the Reform Bill, having been (he admits) very doubtful whether it might not end in the disgrace of its authors.

'The result, however, has been most glorious. The machinery has worked beyond our most sanguine hopes, and almost universally the very men have been returned that would have been wished for. . . . The Tories as a party are annihilated, and the Radicals repressed.
Against

Against such a House of Commons neither King nor Peers can resist improvement, or try to restore ancient abuses.'

The Tories rallied rather rapidly for an annihilated party; and the wavering state of his own mind whilst the result was in abeyance might have suggested a more charitable view of the conduct and motives of his opponents; especially Lord Lyndhurst, to whom he is systematically unjust. Thus, vividly describing the second night of the grand debate in the Lords:—

'Lord John Russell was standing or sitting by me a great part of the time, and we criticised the different speakers together. They were almost all lawyers, whom I very intimately knew. Wynford performed indifferently. Brougham was magnificent, and Copley clever. There is now a complete breach between him and Grey, who must now repent his *coup d'état* in making him Chief Baron, instead of offering the office to Scarlett, as he ought in fairness to have done. Copley must consider the Whigs in a bad way, for he vilified Grey and the whole of them. Grey's reply was admirable, and the conclusion of it threw me into tears.'

He sees nothing at all strange or reprehensible in the conduct of Lord Abinger, who, after being a steady Whig till past middle life, was converted into a determined Tory; but a vague rumour that Lord Lyndhurst had been prior to his entrance into public life a Liberal, is deemed ground enough for denouncing or sneering at him on every available occasion as a renegade.

Campbell's first confidential communication from the Government was the draft of the Irish Coercion Bill of 1833.

'It was then still more arbitrary than when introduced into the House of Commons, several very obnoxious clauses having been omitted, or qualified, on my earnest remonstrances to Lord Grey. The Bill no doubt was the measure of Stanley, the Irish Secretary, and very much in accordance with his rashness, wilfulness and determined spirit; but I am now quite at a loss to understand how all the rest of the Cabinet were induced to concur in it. They had not the experience which we have since happily obtained of the good effect upon Ireland of a kind, liberal and confiding government; but that it should have been defended by those who had so often reprobated and moved for the repeal of Lord Castlereagh's *Six Acts* only shows how differently men feel on the same subjects in different situations.'

This was written in 1842. His first display as law officer was on the question whether Mr. Pease, the Quaker, might be permitted

permitted to sit on making an affirmation at the table, without taking an oath. He maintained the affirmation, and was much applauded by the Liberal press.

‘But my popularity was soon dimmed by the arrival of the Irish Coercion Bill from the Lords, where it had passed almost unanimously. I thought it was gone on the first reading—it was so very inefficiently opened by Lord Althorp, who seemed heartily ashamed of it; but Stanley came to the rescue and showed such nerve, such knowledge, such tact, and such eloquence, that he brought round the House to the opinion that it was necessary, mild and humane.’

Despite of his dislike to this Bill, the Solicitor-General could not help defending it in Committee, and had many ‘tussels’ with O’Connell, who denounced him as a tool of the ‘base and bloody Whigs.’ His business (he states) was now much greater than that of any other man at the bar, except his father-in-law, to whom he was generally opposed, and some unpleasant collisions took place.

‘I of course thought that I behaved with great moderation and forbearance, and that the fault was his in expecting that at the expense of my client I should defer to him as in private life. Unfortunately he had now gone over most zealously and bitterly to the Tories. This arose partly from bad luck, by which he gradually and imperceptibly drifted into a false position, and partly from the treachery of Brougham, who when the Whigs took office in 1830 was commissioned by Lord Grey to conciliate Scarlett, and hold out to him the prospect of being made Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, but who withheld the communication and forced him from the Liberal side, with the feeling rankling in his breast of having been betrayed and cast off by the party he had long zealously supported.’

It is far from clear how Brougham could have been commissioned to conciliate Scarlett by the prospect of the Chief Justiceship, which, on the death or retirement of Lord Tenterden, would regularly devolve (as it did, in fact) on the Attorney-General, Denman. Another strange statement is when he mentions the arrangements (in 1833) consequent on the death of Sir John Leach, Master of the Rolls, who was succeeded by Pepys, the Solicitor-General:

‘There was a considerable demur about naming me a colleague as Solicitor-General. With my concurrence Charles Austin was first proposed, and I wrote to him strongly advising him to accept. But he had made 40,000*l.* in one session before railway committees; this practice he must have sacrificed, and he preferred it to all the allurements of ambition. He was a man of consummate abilities, and might have made himself a great name. His health soon after broke down, and he was obliged to retire into obscurity.’

Charles

Charles Austin was at the commencement of his career in 1833. The railway mania, which enabled him to make 40,000*l.* in one Session, did not begin till many years later, and it was on the formation of the Whig Ministry in 1846 that the offer of the Solicitor-Generalship was made to him at the suggestion of Lord Lansdowne, who had been struck by his varied acquirements and remarkable powers of mind, which unfortunately were concentrated too long on money-making. He made (as he told the writer) more than 80,000*l.* in two consecutive Sessions; but eminence at the parliamentary bar was never deemed a title to the higher honours of the profession.

The patent appointing Campbell Attorney-General in succession to Horne passed the Great Seal on the 23rd of February, 1834. This vacated his seat for Dudley, and failing to get re-elected, he was out of Parliament for three months, when 'what no god nor whipper-in could promise' was brought about by the resignation of an old Scotch judge, who was succeeded by Jeffrey, and one of the seats for Edinburgh was thus left open to competition. Sir John Hobhouse, who had been thrown out for Westminster, had put forth feelers to try how a Government candidate would fare, and then shrank from the attempt. Lord Grey, on being consulted, told Campbell, 'It is a very perilous thing for you and for us. Another defeat would be most injurious to you individually, and ruin to us as a Government.' Brougham, whom he suspected of a spice of jealousy at the thought of his representing the Scotch metropolis, wrote: 'DEAR A.—I am puzzled about Edinburgh. I still think you are not the man, but it is by no means certain. All I have made a point of is that it must be a certainty.' On his way to the scene of action in the mail, they took up a gentleman who had just left Edinburgh and (not knowing his fellow-traveller) ended an animated description of the state of feeling there by the consolatory reflection: 'As for poor Campbell, he has not the remotest chance.' When the day of election arrived, he had more votes than both his opponents put together.

The change of Premier from Lord Grey to Lord Melbourne made no perceptible difference in his position, and he remained in office till the Whig Administration was summarily ejected in November 1834. On the ensuing dissolution he stood again for Edinburgh, where he was opposed by Lord Ramsay (afterwards Governor-General of India and Marquis of Dalhousie) and his former adversary, Learmonth, a wealthy coachmaker. Lord Ramsay, appealing to the Scotch weakness for pedigree, had

had boasted of being the twenty-third in lineal descent of his house:—

‘I reminded him of what Gibbon said of the “Faerie Queen” and the triumphs of Marlborough as connected with the house of Spencer, and advised him to be most proud of Allan Ramsay, the barber, well known to be his cousin, and to regard “The Gentle Shepherd” as “the brightest jewel in his coronet.” The coachmaker and the noble of twenty-three descents were at the bottom of the poll.’

In the course of the discussion of the Municipal Reform Bill, he was provoked into denouncing the freemen as ‘the plague-spot of the Constitution:’ and advantage was instantly taken of this escapade by distributing copies of his speech in every town in which there were freemen holding votes. His colleagues maintained a prudent silence, and the only defence or apology attempted for him was by Mr. Philip Howard, the member for Carlisle:—

‘We should remember that the honourable and learned Attorney-General once represented the borough of Stafford, and I am afraid that his recollection of the freemen there is not to be reckoned among *the pleasures of memory.*’

It is remarkable how long incisive expressions of this sort stick to the speaker, and how impossible it has been found to throw them off. Lord Lyndhurst’s ‘aliens in blood, language, and religion,’ and Lord Plunkett’s supposed allusion to history as an old almanac, are familiar examples. Lord Lansdowne used to relate that what did more than anything else to damage the famous Coalition was an expression of the Attorney-General, Jack Lee, who, when the East India Company appealed to their Charter, exclaimed: ‘What is a Charter?—a piece of parchment with a lump of wax dangling from it.’

The discussion of the Municipal Bill is particularized as one of the many occasions when Peel and Lord Lyndhurst were opposed to each other:

‘When I urged to Lyndhurst that Peel approved of certain clauses which he had struck out in the Lords, he exclaimed: “D—n Peel! What is Peel to me?” And this was not mere bravado or laxity of talk. About this time he and other ultra-Tories had formed a plan of deposing Peel from his lead. Stephenson lately told me that in 1835 or 1836 Lyndhurst consulted him as to whether Follett might not do to be set up as leader in Peel’s place.’

Unless we are mistaken as to the man, Stephenson, ‘Boots’ Stephenson, one of the oracles of Brooks’s, was an odd person for Lord Lyndhurst to consult about the leadership of the Tory party.

In

In his contests with Brougham, who was indiscreet and inaccurate, Campbell sometimes obtained the advantage: with Lyndhurst, whose magnificent intellect overawed him, he had not a chance; and (unconsciously, we hope) he endeavours to throw off the sense of inferiority by depreciation.

In allowing the Solicitor-General, Pepys, who was made Master of the Rolls in 1834, to be promoted over his head, Campbell, then Attorney-General, had submitted to a sacrifice which he was not disposed to repeat. On hearing, therefore, towards the end of 1835, that arrangements were in progress for making Pepys Lord Chancellor, and giving the Rolls thus vacated to Bickersteth, with a peerage, he wrote to Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell to enter a firm protest. He had interviews with both, the general purport of which may be gathered from Lord Melbourne's letter to Lord Lansdowne, dated January 10, 1836:—

‘Campbell, after much discussion on the subject, which I must say, considering how deeply his interests are involved and his feelings touched, he has carried on with great fairness and good temper, has this morning sent to me his final determination, which is that he cannot submit to be passed over, and must resign if our arrangement is carried into effect.’*

The matter was at length arranged by his accepting a peerage for his wife, by the name and title of Baroness Stratheden, which, it was represented to him, would remove all semblance of slight:—

‘Pollock, and one or two others, blamed me for not resigning, and said I had lowered the office of Attorney-General; but Abercromby, Follett, and those whose opinions I most regard, approved, and I have never since repented any part of my conduct on this occasion.’

The right which he declared to be unquestionable was the right of his office, not a personal right to be bartered away for a personal object, and with all due respect for Follett and Abercromby, such was the opinion of the Bar. His defence—that he got what he could—resembles that of the learned counsel arraigned before the tribunal of the Circuit-mess for unprofessional conduct in taking a fee in silver (some five or six shillings), instead of gold, with a brief to defend a prisoner: ‘I took all the poor devil had in the world, and I hope you don't call that unprofessional.’

His account of the case of *Norton v. Melbourne* adds little

* ‘Memoirs of the Right Hon. William, second Viscount Melbourne.’ By W. M. Torrens, M.P. Vol. ii. p. 173.

to what is popularly known of it, with the exception of Lord Melbourne's letter to him, beginning:—

'MY DEAR ATTORNEY,—I have been thinking over again the matter of this trial, and I know not that I have anything to add to what I have already written, and to what passed the other day at the consultation. I repeat that I wish it to be stated in the most clear, distinct, and emphatic manner that I have never committed adultery with Mrs. Norton, that I have never held with her any furtive or clandestine correspondence whatever, and that both in visiting and in writing to her I always considered myself to be acting with the full knowledge and with the entire approbation of her husband.'

A measure for the abolition of Church-rates was brought in by Spring Rice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1837. 'When he sat down, Follett said to me, "The Lord has delivered you into our hands;" and all England was instantly in a flame.' When the regular debate came on, Poulett Thompson, who had been told off to follow Follett, turned to Campbell and said, 'I cannot answer this,' and retreated into the library. Campbell undertook to answer it and (to say the truth) it was no difficult task for a lawyer. Not content with replying to Follett, he was sarcastic on Stanley, who the next night retorted 'most furiously and unfairly.' This led to the publication of 'A Letter to Lord Stanley on the Law of Church Rates,' a pamphlet which (he states) was commended by Sydney Smith as 'an excellent specimen of Liberal juridical reasoning and of genuine Anglicism, neither to be expected from a Scot.' Such was not the opinion of his father-in-law, who, hearing that an answer was in preparation by a well-known juridical writer, sent for him, carefully indoctrinated him, and ended by saying, 'Don't spare Mr. Attorney; give it him hot and strong!'

He boasts, and not altogether without reason, that his arguments were substantially adopted by the Courts of law and the Legislature. Not so the view he took of the celebrated Parliamentary Privilege question, on which the best lawyers are now agreed that he was wrong. He misstates it at starting. It was not simply—'Whether an action for a libel could be maintained against the printer of the House of Commons for publishing their proceedings by their authority,' but whether a libellous publication did not cease to be privileged when exposed for sale or otherwise circulated in a manner not required for the due discharge of the business of the House. We entered fully into this question on its occurrence, and have neither time nor inclination to renew the argument.* Although

* The 'Quarterly Review' for January, 1838, Art. V. Talking over this article with the writer, Follett owned that he had not fully considered the subject when

Although the remaining part of the Autobiography abounds in passages which invite quotation and provoke comment, we can do little more than recapitulate the steps by which he attained the highest dignities of the law. As soon as the dissolution of 1841 was resolved upon, Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, foreseeing the result, proposed to him to take the Great Seal of Ireland as successor to Lord Plunket, with a peerage, to which he assented, supposing that the matter had been arranged with Lord Plunket, who at first declined to give way. It was an undeniable job, for Campbell was to retire with the Government and secure a pension of 4000*l.* a year by a few weeks' tenure of the office. When, therefore, Plunket reluctantly yielded, declaring that the resignation had been forced upon him, Campbell agreed to waive the right to a retiring pension and became Lord Chancellor of Ireland and ('never having done anything to make me ashamed of my name') John Lord Campbell. After a few weeks spent in Dublin, he resigned, and his position on his return is thus described:—

Thus was I of office, pension and practice at once bereft. With decent resignation I put on my scarlet robes as a peer, was introduced by the Earl Marshal and two Barons, had my patent read at the table, took the oaths, and, after making the requisite number of bows, was placed upon the Barons' bench.'

The low condition of his party, to which he thinks they were reduced by their own mismanagement, is mentioned in a letter to his brother, September 1, 1841:

'... Perhaps you may have some curiosity to know, what the newspapers cannot tell you, how *the Party* bear this change:—stunned, in a state of stupor, with a feeling of annihilation, quite unlike Milton's devils awakening in Hell, who were animated by revenge and meditated schemes again to *get in*. Peel bestrides the world like a Colossus, and we are only looking out for dishonourable graves. At Brooks's "Hope ne'er comes that comes at all." "*Voi che entrate lasciate ogni speranza.*" The universal opinion is that the game is irrecoverably up, and that the Tory party will be in power for fifty years to come. Most of our men are gone to Scotland to shoot, or are flying abroad. The few who remain in London say there is no use in attending either House.'

Hopeless of judicial or official occupation for many years to come, he resolves to engage in some definite pursuit 'to fill up my mornings and prevent me from going to sleep on the sofa in

when he gave the opinion which mainly induced Sir Robert Peel to take the democratic side. Campbell states that the Duke of Wellington refused to permit the passing of the Declaratory Act until it was distinctly understood that the judgment of the Court of Law was not to be overruled.

34 *Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor.*

the evening,' and, December 29, 1841, he sets down that he has resolved upon a grand work, to be called the 'Lives of the Chancellors.'

The Autobiography is suspended from November 27, 1842, and not resumed till November 1847, when it is taken up from the point where it stopped, so as to preserve the continuity of time. It re-commences thus:—

'I took possession of my new home a few days before Christmas, and found it most convenient. The famous Lady Holland said there were three great pieces of good-luck which had befallen me: the first was marrying my wife, whose grace and sweetness she justly prized; the second was the selection of my subject for a literary work, "The Lives of the Chancellors;" and the third, purchasing Stratheden House.'

The selection of subject was certainly a lucky hit. Legal biography, when well handled, is one of the pleasantest and most instructive sorts of light literature. He was by no means the first to cultivate it; but his name and position enabled him to attract general attention, whilst the labours of his predecessors in the same walk were little known beyond the pale of the profession. To him was reserved the honour and profit of making legal sages an object of interest in drawing-rooms and a topic of animated discussion in the clubs. The comic alarm expressed by ex, actual, or expectant Chancellors was also calculated to quicken curiosity. 'He has added a new pang to death,' was their cry.* The book was consequently in demand as soon as it was announced, and it fully answered the expectations that had been formed of it:

'At last Mr. Murray's trade sale came (I think the 15th of December, 1845), which was the day of publication, and a rumour having got abroad that the book was lively, the chief part of the edition was "subscribed for," that is, taken by the retail booksellers. In a few days the "Quarterly Review" appeared with warm commendation of the work, and the same strain was adopted by other periodicals—daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly. I can safely say that no new work of solid information had caused such an excitement for many years. In a very little time it was "out of print," and a new edition was called for.'

Brougham alone could not resist the temptation of playing the slave in the chariot:—

'Brougham has exploded in the "Morning Herald," the journal

* This joke was really made by Sir Charles Wetherell at a grand dinner in Lincoln's-inn Hall, Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham being present. Campbell mentions the dinner, but assigns another locality to the joke.

in which he now lauds himself and vituperates his friends. Last Saturday appeared there an editorial article—violently abusing me rather than my “Lives,” which are denominated “ponderous trifles,” but calling me “plain John,” and alluding to my peerages and my son Dudley, &c.—so evidently from Brougham’s pen that everybody immediately recognised the author.’

On the formation of the Whig Government in 1846, Campbell became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the Cabinet—an arrangement to which he was reconciled by the reflection that the office had been similarly held by Dunning, and that it would not interfere with the completion of his *magnum opus*. He here pauses to give studied portraits of his colleagues, which are tolerably good likenesses, although sometimes overcharged. After the highest praise of Macaulay as a writer, he goes on :

‘Tom’s manners I cannot defend. To him it is a matter of utter indifference who the company may be,—ladies, bishops, lawyers, officers of the army, princes of the blood, or distinguished foreigners, whom the guests are invited to meet,—off he goes at score with hardly a gleam of silence, without any adaptation to his auditory of the topics he discusses, and without any remorse or any consciousness of his having acted at all improperly when they have left him in disgust.’

This is partially true of Macaulay in early life, before his return from India, although even then he so evidently spoke because his mind was full that no one could suspect him of assumption or conscious rudeness; but it was in no respect true of him at the time of which Campbell was speaking, when, let him monopolize the conversation as he would, such were the richness of his mind and his felicitous range of topics, that rare indeed was the ‘auditory’ who did not leave him with regret. Towards the end of 1846, Campbell writes :

‘My second series of the “Lives of the Chancellors” was now published, “from the Revolution in 1688 till the death of Lord Thurlow.” Its success was not at all inferior to that of the first. I printed 3000 copies, and 2050 were sold the first day. To lessen my vanity I was told that at the same time 3000 copies were sold of a new cookery book, and 5000 of a new knitting book. These, however, cost only half-a-crown, while my two volumes cost thirty shillings.’

‘December 16, 1847.—Yesterday my third series was published at Murray’s trade sale, where 2200 copies were disposed of. I had a malicious pleasure in showing Brougham, as we sat in the Judicial Committee, a note from Murray communicating the intelligence. He said, people were obliged to make up their sets, having bought the former volumes.’

On October 11th, 1849, he received a letter from Lord John Russell, offering the Chief-Justiceship of the Queen's Bench on the resignation of Denman, which was deemed inevitable and immediate. He accepted and set about furbishing his legal lore, which had become somewhat rusty from disuse. Denman, although prostrated by paralysis, delayed his resignation till the following March, and Campbell was accused of hastening it by newspaper paragraphs, and twitted with unseemly eagerness to succeed a man incapacitated by age who, in point of fact, was younger than himself. There was not the shadow of a ground for any of the imputations levelled at him in connection with this appointment, which, although he was never personally popular, was fully approved by the judicial bench and the bar. He was painstaking, patient, courteous, considerate, learned enough for all practical purposes, and familiar with the business of the Court. He was also devoid of professional prejudices, and lent the full weight of his authority to measures for the improvement of the law.

His 'Lives of the Chief-Justices,' the first two volumes of which appeared in 1849, was admitted on all hands to be a most agreeable book, and he had no cause to complain of its reception by the general public, to whom it mattered little how or where he got his materials, and still less that an amusing anecdote might be occasionally discovered to be apocryphal. But somehow or other the critics had grown less indulgent: his predecessors in the same line were no longer tolerant of unacknowledged borrowings: and a lady author, Miss Strickland, was so exasperated at the liberties taken with her 'Queens of England,' that, assuming the tone and attitude of a despoiled virgin, she began ringing the changes on all the pleas of the Crown. Soon after the appearance of the third volume, 1857, therefore, he was out of temper and out of heart, and resolved to publish no more in his lifetime. The unkindest cut of all came from a quarter to which he looked for laudation and encouragement, from our Blue and Yellow contemporary, the honoured organ of the Whigs.

'Although the third volume of my "Lives of the Chief Justices" has been abundantly praised, there have been flippant criticisms upon it which have annoyed me. A critic in the "Edinburgh Review," from malice or stupidity, says that I refer to the *Rolliad* and to *Waverley* as historical authorities, and represents me as more credulous than the Irish bishop who declared that he met with some things in "Gulliver's Travels" which he could hardly believe to be true.'

Our readers may judge for themselves whether our contemporary

porary can fairly be accused of malice or stupidity. After quoting Foster, East, and the State Trials, to prove that a particular line of argument was employed to justify rebellion, Campbell (vol. ii. p. 224) adds :

‘See likewise the trial of Fergus McIvor and Evan Dhu M’Cormick which took place at Carlisle a few weeks after.’—(*Waverley*, vol. iii. p. 300.)

In the ‘Life of Chief Justice Rolle’ (vol. i. p. 434) are these passages :—

‘The Chief Justice (Rolle) left numerous descendants. The late Lord Rolle was the head of the family which, if we may trust to the pedigree prefixed to the Rolliad, was descended from the ancient Duke Rollo of Normandy, and “the wife of a Saxon drummer.”

‘Note.—A doubt is stated to have existed whether, in the time of the wars of York and Lancaster, although the Rolles were represented by our author to have been sheriffs of the county (“*Scheriffi Devonienses Rolli fuerunt*”), the head of the house was not a sheriff’s officer (“*Bailivus ipse potius quam sheriffus*”). But the Chief Justice certainly vindicated the glory of his race. See “Short Account of the Family of the Rollos, now Rolles, faithfully extracted from the Records of the Heralds’ Office.”’

This Short Account begins thus :—

‘John Rolle, Esq., is descended from the ancient Duke Rollo of Normandy. Rollo passed over into Britain, anno 983, where he soon begat another Rollo, upon the wife of a Saxon drummer. Our young Rollo was distinguished by his gigantic stature, and as we learn from Ordericus Vitalis, was slain by Hildebrand, the Danish champion, in a fit of jealousy. We find in Camden that the race of the Rollos fell into adversity in the reign of Stephen, and in the succeeding reign Gaspar de Rollo was an ostler in Denbighshire. But during the unhappy contests of York and Lancaster, William de Wyrcester and the continuator of the annals of England, have it that the Rollos became sheriffs of Devon. “*Scheriffi Devonienses Rolli fuerunt*,” and in another passage, “*arrestaverunt Debitores plurime Rollorum*”—hence a doubt in Fabian whether this Rollo was not bailiff, *ipse potius quam Scheriffus*. From this period, however, they gradually advanced in circumstances; Rollo, in Henry VIII., being amerced in 800 marks for pilfering two manchetts of beef from the King’s buttery, the which, saith Selden, *facillime payavit*.’

Even the Irish bishop would have thought twice before gravely citing this as an historical document. In Campbell’s Index, the ‘Rolliad’ is described as ‘a political work published by the Whigs.’

At the formation of Lord Palmerston’s Government in 1859, it was found inconvenient, for one reason or another, to give the
Great

Great Seal either to Lord Cranworth or Bethell, and accordingly it was offered to Campbell, who happened to fulfil the precise conditions. Returning home on the 15th of April, he found a note from Lord Palmerston requesting a few minutes conversation. He went, expecting to be consulted about a vacant law office. As soon as he was seated he was requested to accept the Great Seal. He answered that his ambition was already satisfied, but if the proposed arrangement would be serviceable to the Liberal party and to the public, he was ready to concur in it:—

‘He made a flattering reply, referring to the times when we had before sat in the Cabinet together, and to the judicial reputation I had since gained in the Queen’s Bench. Thus in five minutes I was virtually Lord Chancellor. I suggested that Bethell might be dissatisfied. *Palmerston*. “Lord Campbell having consented, Bethell cannot object.”’

The chief of a common law court transferred to the Court of Chancery is like an infantry colonel suddenly placed in command of a cavalry regiment. He has his drill to learn, and till he has learned it he is a good deal at the mercy of his subordinates. Within a month after his elevation, Campbell reports that he is getting on pretty well, and in less than five that he is ‘out of leading-strings.’

The death of Lady Stratheden, March 25, 1860, was a severe blow, against which he bore up by a strong effort:

‘I have been enabled wonderfully to perform my public duties, and I dare say some think me unfeeling; but I never expect an hour of real happiness in this world, notwithstanding all the devoted affection and never-ceasing solicitude to comfort me of all my children.’

His anxiety during a Ministerial crisis contrasts oddly enough with his fancied wish to be relieved from the cares of office. Referring to the Bill for the Repeal of the Paper Duties, he says that he watched at the door of the House of Commons during the division till he heard a tremendous shout and a cry of ‘*fifteen majority*,’ when he felt ‘crushed indeed,’ till it turned out to be fifteen for the Government:

‘I should not at all mind being honourably released from the labours and anxieties of the Great Seal. *Pergustavi imperium*, and I should be satisfied to have repose during the remaining short space of my earthly career. But I did not at all relish the notion of being turned out in such a ridiculous manner; and I must add that I felt much for the country, which certainly would have suffered by the transfer of office at this moment to Lord Derby and his associates.

‘I am now within four days of completing the second year of my reign.’

reign. Thank heaven I have got through my work creditably, if not splendidly, and I am not without hope that some of my judgments may hereafter be quoted and relied upon.'

This entry, June 12th, 1861, is the last in his Journal. On the 22nd he had a large party to dinner, with whom he conversed with his usual animation. He retired to rest about twelve, showing no symptoms of illness; and the next morning he was found dead in his bedroom, seated in an armchair, having apparently died without a struggle.

Any doubts that may have been entertained touching the merits or demerits of Lord Campbell will be set at rest by this book. He was not an eloquent advocate, nor a great lawyer, nor an accomplished statesman, nor a man of brilliant abilities. He will not rank with the Holts and Mansfields, nor with the Erskines, Lyndhursts, and Broughams, although there were points in which he equalled the best of them. He was a sound practical law-reformer, a highly respectable judge, and an author who undeniably obtained signal success in a class of literature which he was the first to popularize. He was an admirable example of what may be done by perseverance, energy and industry, combined with shrewdness and sagacity. He should have a section to himself in the next edition of 'Self Help.' In his readiness to turn his hand to anything that could be turned to advantage—to write dramatic criticisms or undertake the department of wit, to learn dancing or teach French—he rivalled the man who, being asked whether he could play on the fiddle, replied that he didn't know but he would try. If there were a bump in the phrenological system for the get-on faculty, there would be one of the biggest on Campbell's cranium. But he did not abide implicitly by the well-known Scotch maxim. He got on honestly. He used his opportunities without abusing them, and he was enabled to do so by being always prepared for them when they occurred.

He was never before or after the time, never in or out of the way, when preferment or promotion was in the air. He could afford to wait. In not pressing his pretensions at inconvenient moments, he came near the Italian Cardinal who, to the enquiry how he attained dignity after dignity, made answer, 'by never asking for, never refusing, and never resigning, *anything*.' Luck had little or nothing to do with success, for which the train was carefully laid by years of well-directed labour, and it was far more owing to assiduous training than to natural gifts that he reached the pre-appointed and long-anticipated goal.

He was a good-natured kind-hearted man, despite of some personal prejudices and dislikes; and his affectionate disposition

tion is seen in his relations with his family—father, brother, wife, children—who doted on him. ‘Choose out,’ exclaimed Erskine, in one of his finest bursts, ‘the wisest, brightest, noblest of mankind, and how many of them could bear to be pursued into the little corners of their lives?’ Campbell has enabled, nay invited, the whole world to look into the little corners of *his*; and the severest moralist, making a fair allowance for human frailty, will not hesitate to declare that his career was eminently useful and honourable, and his character, in whatever light we place it, above reproach.

ART. II.—*The Resources of California.* By John S. Hittell. Sixth edition. San Francisco, 1864.

THE traveller, when he comes to look over his journal, after having accomplished the tour of the world, can scarcely fail to be struck with the fact that, from a sociological point of view, one country rivetted his attention more than any other, and that that country was California. We have chosen it as the subject of this article for two reasons: first, because we can speak of it from personal knowledge; and, secondly, because we feel satisfied that it is a subject just at present deserving the earnest attention of every thinking mind,—since the phenomena exhibited in the development of so complex a social organism as is there presented must ever be ‘giving place to new,’ and, taken as a whole, can scarcely be repeated again elsewhere for many a long age to come.

For the student of past history there is little to learn: the space of a single century covers all he can hope to know: his facts are patent, and, there being few reasons for falsification, his authorities are generally trustworthy. For the student of Sociology, on the other hand, that wonderful belt of land pent in between the Sierra and the sea presents a series of materials, which, while by their numerical aggregate they convince him of the prairie-like extent of his subject, by their heterogeneity utterly dumfound him when he seeks to reduce them to a systematized form. He feels that the congeries before him, thrown together though it has been in comparatively a moment of time, if taken piecemeal, would require a life-work to digest; while the anomalies of the present mock all his boldest efforts to forecast a future. Whether the bent of his studies leads him to trace the growth of civilization from its cradle in the forest, where its representative is the Indian of lowest type, to its pre-mature

mature grave in the city, where the whisky of the States meets the opium of Asia; or, dwelling on the present alone, to watch the effect of the mingling of so many waters as are gathered together in the 'Golden City,' he will find, alike, phenomena ready to his hand in a field which still for him is virgin soil.

In the following pages all descriptions of scenery will be omitted—not even excepting the grand Yo-Semité itself—unless they bear specially on the subject; and the reader will be spared any of those grandiloquent psychological results of what Professor Clifford has termed 'cosmic emotion.' Any of that nauseous species of wayfarer's gossip which swells to deformity so many otherwise readable books of travel with details of hair-breadth escapes and heavy hotel charges will be still more carefully eschewed. The object of the writer's visit to California was to probe the surface a little deeper than guide-books would take him; to learn something of the manners and motives of men in a country where man is considered capable of taking care of himself, and his mind allowed to run alone; and lastly to form, if possible, some notion as to the position California is entitled to occupy amongst the civilized communities of the world.

As in the sequel, when the reader will be asked to proceed down the Pacific coast into the Los Angeles country, and up into the mountains on the Nevada border, he will sometimes encounter the living representatives of states of society which are now no more,—it will be well at the outset to ask him to take a brief retrospect of the three periods into which Californian history divides itself, previous to the hoisting of the 'Stars and Stripes,' and the dawning of the present so-called 'grand cosmopolitan era.' At the time when the seaboard of California first became known to navigators, the country was occupied, though it can scarcely be said to have been possessed, by the Californian Indian. The indefinite nickname of 'digger' has been indiscriminately applied to all the various tribes and families of this race. It is, however, an unfortunate one, since it has tended to represent them as even more degraded beings than is warranted by fact. The slight acquaintance which the writer made with some of the survivors of the race, who still haunt the foot-hills of the Sierra, was sufficient to show him that, though in many of their habits they are filthy and disgusting, the germs of a nomad civilization may be distinctly detected among them. Ethnologically speaking, the Californian Indian is no allophylian: he is a legitimate member of the great family of North America, whose territory not long since extended from the land of the Eskimo to the Isthmus, and from ocean
to

to ocean. The nations to which he is most closely allied in language and habits are the Tinneh on the north and east, and the Aztecs on the south. This fact of kinship is the more remarkable, when we remember that—with all the advantages of soil and climate in his favour—not one vestige can be discovered of the native Californian, either in ancient or modern times, ever having participated in that culture which distinguished his kindred nations, from the mound-builders of Ohio to the sculptors of Copan. ‘No excuse,’ says Mr. Hubert Bancroft, ‘can be offered for the degradation of the native of fertile California. On every side . . . in regions possessing far fewer advantages . . . we find a higher type of man.’ The circumstance must indeed be regarded as the exception which proves the rule of Buckle, that ‘favourable climatal conditions are productive of high civilization.’

It can scarcely be a matter of wonder that, on the arrival of another and a stronger race, that merciless law, by which we are apt to say that Nature works her will, bore down on the Californian Indian with a rapidity and completeness of effect unknown to other lands. The weaker perished because of their weakness. As usual, the advent of the white man was the death-blow of the Indian. The poisonous elements of a debased civilization destroyed what the sword of the *hidalgos* had left. There had been two incentives which had brought the Spanish vessels into Californian harbours: the first, seldom satisfied, was the search for gold; the second, and more important, the zeal for the spread of the Christian religion. In 1769 the rivalry between the Dominicans and Franciscans led to the apportionment of Upper California as a mission-field for the latter, and to the original colonization of that land by Spain. Soldiers accompanied the friars for their protection, and they doubtless assisted in no small degree in inspiring in those ignorant people, who previously knew neither God nor devil, a proper dread of the Christian Deity. Despite the conflicting ideas which must have been conveyed even to a savage mind by the arrival of these mixed messengers of peace and war, the Franciscans reaped a rich harvest. As a *spiritual* result they could count, early in the present century, 24,611 Indian converts, and numerous missions had been founded. In *temporal* results, the reckoning was not less satisfactory; the fathers possessed 215,000 cattle, 135,000 sheep, 16,000 horses, and an average harvest of 75,000 bushels of corn. The progress made from the state of the country as they found it to such results as these, in the short space of fifty years, had indeed been prodigious; and, laying aside all his prejudices against asceticism, the modern Californian

Californian looks back on these ancient *padres* as the true founders of the prosperity of his country in an agricultural and pastoral point of view. They were men, moreover, of sound judgment in the choice of localities for their missions, as is shown by the fact that many of the most flourishing modern towns have sprung up on or adjacent to their ancient sites. The northernmost mission, founded in 1766, was San Francisco, and it is not a little extraordinary that this city, which has now become a by-word for luxury and self-indulgence, owes its origin to a band of men bent on setting an example to the natives of the bay of the sternest rules of medieval asceticism.

The third period of Californian history is that of the Mexican dominion, dating from 1822, when Mexico proclaimed her independence, to 1848, when, at the conclusion of the war with the United States, the country was ceded to that nation. During this period the property of the missions was secularized, and the aristocracy, into whose hands it fell, reaped in idleness the fruits of the teaching of the friars and the labours of the neophytes.

‘The Mexican Californians,’ says Hittell, ‘lived an idle life. Their only income was derived from the hides and tallow of their neat cattle, which thrive on the wild grass in the open country. They had no work and little worry. They were happy; they did not know any better. They had few excitements, and many of them had no anxieties. Most of them, and many of the old American residents, have regretted the change which has since taken place. From various miseries of life, common elsewhere, they were exempt. They had no lawyers, doctors, tax-gatherers, or newspapers; no steamboats, railroads, stage-coaches, post-offices, regular mails, or stove-pipe hats. Bedsteads, chairs, tables, wooden floors and kid gloves were rarities. They were a large, active, hardy, long-lived race, who made up by their fecundity for the failure of the friars to contribute to the population of the territory.’

It was no uncommon thing for a man to have a family of from twenty to twenty-five children, and ‘an old lady, Juana Cota, died some few years since, leaving five hundred living descendants at the time of her death.’ It is not to be wondered at that the American author who wrote this should dwell on these facts with surprise when he compares them with the singularly low average birthrate for which modern California (in common with the New England States) is remarkable. Of the political difficulties which at times resulted from feuds amongst the Mexican aristocracy, in Los Angeles and elsewhere, this is not the place to speak, nor is it necessary more than briefly to glance at the decline and fall of these great families before the active and unscrupulous

unscrupulous pioneers of American civilization. The Spaniards were rich, but they were reckless. They owned the land, but their gambling debts necessitated their charging it with heavy mortgages. German Jews and Americans were ready on the spot to rob them of their patrimony by enormous percentages and sudden foreclosures. The possession of land meant raising money, and the victims have not yet forgotten the horror and the hatred with which, when first stripped of their inheritances, they regarded the interloper. They forgot, what their survivors are still less willing to remember, that, of folly and avarice, the latter in the race for life can seldom fail to win.

It was the morning of the 27th of February, 1875, when, on looking from the window of a Pullman car, we saw that we had left the lavender plains and snow-sheds behind, that we had overtopped the summit of the 'divide,' and were standing still for a moment a few feet from the edge of a precipice 3800 feet high. Through a cleft in the mountains, called the 'Emigrants' Gap,' appeared the foot-hills of the Sierra, and far beyond them oceanwards stretched the rich Californian lowlands, till lost in the yellow morning haze. Immediately below, at the depth just mentioned, a slender silver line, bisecting a plot of greensward, marked the course of the 'American River.' The name of the 'Emigrants' Gap'—the gorge by which that river reached the plain—could not but recal the scene which took place here during the 'gold fever' of 1848. Here it was that the mighty army of enthusiasts who—20,000 strong—had left their Eastern homes to brave the dangers and miseries of the plain and the mountain, first came in sight of the land of promise—the El Dorado of their hopes.

'As for the men,'—writes one* who shared their toils, and whose graphic account it needs no apology for quoting at length, 'we were the flower of the West; nearly all young, active, healthy,—many well educated, all full of hope and enthusiasm. In our ignorance of the nature of the auriferous deposits, we . . . expected to strike places where we should dig up two or three hundred pounds of gold in a day without difficulty. In visions by day and in dreams by night we saw ourselves in the possession of treasures more splendid than those which dazzled the eyes of Aladdin. We compared ourselves to the Argonauts, to the army of Alexander starting to conquer Persia, to the Crusaders. Our enthusiasm was maintained by our numbers. The road, as far as we could see by day from the highest mountains, was lined with men and waggons: at night the camp-fires gleamed like the lights of a city set on a hill. Our brightest anticipations suffered no diminution as we advanced on our journey; vexations and tire-

* Hittell.

some as many of the days were, we never forgot, we never doubted, the reward that was to compensate us. The long march of 2000 miles (for we were nearly all a-foot and there were no seats in the waggon), the fording and ferrying of cold and swift rivers, the repeated preparation for Indian attacks, of which false alarms were spread, the tedious guarding of the cattle at night, the long marches over the desert, the oppressive heat and the still more oppressive dust of the alkali plains, the toilsome ascent of the mountains, which seemed so steep that we doubted whether our oxen could climb up,—all these were borne, if not cheerfully, yet without regret that we had ventured upon them. I can mention, but I cannot describe, the anxiety of finding that a desert which we expected to cross in forty miles was much longer, and on being told by a man who met us that he had been thirty miles further and found no sign of grass or water. Our oxen were already exhausted, and such a distance was impracticable. Nobody that we knew had been over the road, nor had we any guides. We went on, however, and found two families,—men, women, and children,—in tears, their oxen all dead, themselves helpless. We still pressed on, and the next morning we and the unfortunate family were in camp at an oasis, and fiddling and dancing followed the suffering. Neither can I describe the delight with which we looked down from the summit of the Sierra Nevada over the distant valley of the Sacramento, dim and golden in the rays of the setting sun. . . . We had come to dig for gold, and nearly all who came by land went to mining.'

Some made it pay them well, and some did not.

'Our bright dreams of becoming millionaires by washing the sands . . . have been dissipated, . . . nor have we, as a class, made large fortunes in other pursuits, and of those who have, not a few have lost them again. But when we look back, we do not regret that we became pioneers. We had demanded of California that she should fill the purses of every one with gold. She refused the demand to many, but she gave to all a cherished home, a sunny genial sky, a fertile soil, a delightful landscape, a clime suited to the development of every energy, the companionship of the most intelligent and enterprising people, and a site suited for a great city, and for the concentration of the commerce of a wealthy coast. She gave us the greatest relative abundance of gold in the world. She compressed within a few years the progress that elsewhere would have required a century. . . . Our lives have been a rapid succession of strong emotions. Great wealth has hovered about us all, within reach of all, and if many of us did not know the precise moment for grasping it, still we have for years been interested in the chase; and perhaps the active excitement of pursuit has given us more pleasure than we could have enjoyed in possession.

'Nor will it be said,' continues this enthusiastic writer, 'that the passion which drove us to incur the dangers, the privations, and the toils of adventure in an unsettled and almost unknown country, was sordid.'

sordid. We risked our lives and exerted all our energies for gold, but with no miserly feeling. We spent our money as fast as we made it, too many even faster. Not parsimony but extravagance distinguishes the State. . . . Many of us have gone back to the Eastern States, intending to make homes there, but found the attempt a complete failure. Life was a dull and commonplace routine; once accustomed to the whirl of Californian speculation, and the cordiality of Californian society, we could not live without them.'

Such is the emigrant's tale, told in his own words, which it would have been impossible to abridge; the tale of the opening of that floodgate in the mountains, first for America and then for Europe, through which the steady stream of immigration—swelled now and then by new discoveries, checked now and then by brief reverses—has ever since been flowing. Such is the history uppermost in the mind of every man who stands for the first time on the summit of the Sierra and looks westward through the 'Emigrants' Gap.'

The descent from the summit to the plain presents features of peculiar interest to the geologist and the botanist. The changes in the formations and in the flora are as sudden as they are complete. The granite peaks once left behind, the railway cuttings in the upper ridges of the foot-hills afford excellent sections of stratified volcanic mud, with here and there a bunch of older fragments cemented together into a conglomerate. Here a course of swiftly running water, fed by the melting snows, and led round an artificial terrace in the hillside, marks the proximity of a 'placer' working for washing gold; there the white tents of a Chinese camp are dotted in and out, the blue frocks of the subjects of the Celestial Emperor forming a bright contrast to the red colour of the excavations in which they are at work. This is the level of pines, and taxus, and rock-splitting manzanetas, and flowering shrubs in great variety, not unlike a well-kept English shrubbery on the Devonshire red sandstone. This in turn is left behind, in exchange for a rich tract of pasture land, studded with oak groves and homesteads, like those of our midland counties. Next appears a marshy flat, where the trees are festooned with that curious moss so common in the swamps of Louisiana. Lastly, corn-land, and orange-trees, and neat gardens announce the proximity of Sacramento, famous only because it is the capital of California, but long since eclipsed in every other respect by the youth and beauty of its western rival. At Sacramento, however, is the State House, and here all the State business is transacted and justice administered, too often unhappily in a manner which gives good cause for scandal. The terminus of the Central Pacific

Pacific Railway is reached at Oakland, remarkable for the neatness of its houses and gardens, and the shady avenues which line the streets. The bay of San Francisco, crossed by a ferry, is all that now separates the traveller from the 'Queen of the West.'

San Francisco, the reader may be reminded, stands on the eastern slope of an arid sandy promontory, whose bleak and rugged exterior forms a striking contrast to the fertile undulations of the opposite shore. The city thus turns its back to the ocean, from which it is some six miles distant, and its face to the bay, with the gardens of Oakland backed by the ridges of the coast sierra beyond. At the northern extremity of the promontory which forms its site is the deep and narrow channel of the 'Golden Gate,' the only means of ingress from the Pacific to a land-locked harbour wherein all the fleets of the world might ride at anchor. A few forts along the shores of the strait, and one upon an island in the centre of the passage, are sufficient to render any attack from the sea impracticable. The city stands on several hills, the highest of which is at the northern end. This is the most ancient quarter, and hither, the day after our arrival, a Californian friend, knowing our taste for *antiquities*, insisted on our accompanying him, assuring us that there were actually houses here which had been built *as long ago as* 1856. All the edifices of this early date are of wood, constructed not so much for economy's sake as for fear of earthquakes, which from time to time have visited this coast with severity. An immunity from heavy shocks since 1868 has recently inspired an unreasonable confidence, the consequence of which is that in the fashionable and commercial quarters, such as Kearney and California Streets, handsome stone edifices have been erected, which, in point of street architecture, may fairly take their place with those of Chicago and New York. Even these, however, are fitted round frameworks of iron, and old-fashioned inhabitants still prefer their walls of wood.

Foremost amongst the 'mammoth' projects of the last few years has been the erection of the Pacific Hotel, which, rising like a great square tower in the centre, is the most prominent object in the city. Some idea of the size of this building may be gathered from the fact that twenty-eight miles of carpet were required to carpet it, and the public character of domestic life in San Francisco may be judged from the circumstance, that two-thirds of the whole accommodation was secured, before it was completed, for permanent residences for private families. The difficulty of obtaining white servants (no cook would dream

dream of engaging herself under 80*l.* a year), and the unwillingness of ladies who have *received a University education* to descend to culinary matters, has a great deal to do with the break-up of the American home, which this public mode of living indicates; and when once a life like this is indulged in, even for a short time, a return to domestic troubles is seldom or never thought of. Weddings at the hotels are of frequent occurrence,—the service, if any, being performed in the state drawing-room. A public ball takes place night after night, while the basement (as usual in America) is the common ground where politicians and commercial men meet for the discussion (always animated and good-humoured in San Francisco) of the topics of the day. Raised with the money made in Virginia city, the hotel in question is a monument of the silver age, which, commencing in 1873, has proved so infinitely more valuable to California than the golden age which preceded it. The ‘Comstock Kings,’ as the successful speculators are termed, invest their money in the purchase of land in and around the cities. Here (as in this case) they generally build an hotel, the object being to bring strangers to the place, and thereby increase the value of their property.

It was a matter of no little difficulty to realize that San Francisco was a city not yet out of her teens. Yet so it was. The glitter of her wealth, and the apparent ease of its acquisition, her genial climate, which can boast an average of two hundred and twenty bright cloudless days in every year, and not least, perhaps, her pleasant courteous manners, and the accessibility of her society, had gathered to herself the wanderers of the world—representatives of every restlessly progressive nation under heaven—and these same causes continue to allure them still. Americans, English, Scotch, and Irish, Germans, French, Italians, Spanish-Americans, Scandinavians, and Dalmatians, all meet here on terms of perfect equality; nor is the sleek merchant of Canton excluded from a place in the commercial ring, since, though a heathen, he can generally meet his liabilities, and (save in the matter of custom-house duties) has proved himself honest and trustworthy. When the San Franciscan looks at himself and his city in the glass, the opinion he forms of what he sees is naturally a very good one. On no other subject is he so fond of dilating, and we cannot picture him to ourselves as listening to, much less comprehending, the meaning of any warning of Cassandra. In almost the following words a true lover of his country sought to impress on me its charms:—

‘Here,’ he said, ‘we have at last discovered how every social problem may be solved. Our men and women marry only for as long a time—

a time as they find their characters compatible. They can at any time by mutual agreement get an easy divorce. As to our religious convictions, we have none, and consequently sectarian matters do not trouble us, though we are courteous and tolerant to all who, coming fresh from the Eastern States, still hold strong opinions. Intolerance and bigotry take no root in our soil, for the simple reason that the press respects alike all forms of faith, until folly makes them ludicrous, or until, by endeavouring to excite animosity in the region of the abstract, they endanger the public peace and good humour. Where Buddhists and Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and Spiritualists have daily to meet together in business on common ground, the *odium theologicum* must of necessity be a thing unknown. Aristocracy, too, can scarcely thrive in a community where the man who mixes our "cocktails" at the bar may be a "Comstock King" in a few weeks' time. Family and birth are thought nothing of. Such inseparable accidents are not despised; but they are ideas which never enter people's heads at all. In the Eastern States a nobleman from Europe seems to receive a certain amount of almost *ex-officio* homage; but in our city the question is "does such and such a man behave himself courteously and properly, and has he enough to live on?"—(which in California no one has the least excuse for not having): if so, he is accepted into society, and, lord or no lord, may be as happy as a king. The secret is, that with us all men are equal. All are engaged in a struggle for existence. All are speculators. The Stock-Board is the arena, "level heads" the weapons, luck the reward, and defeat not ruin. Good humour marks, as a rule, each period of the play. There can be little room for superciliousness on the part of the winner, or for envy on that of the less fortunate, when their relative positions may be reversed to-morrow. A young man may come out and speculate and burn his fingers, and be entrapped and fail; but if he is worth anything he will have gained in experience more than he has lost in pocket. "Down once" is not (as it so often is in England) "down for ever." Men may live in San Francisco as cheaply as they like, or as extravagantly. The city contains no less than 1500 "bars," many of them decorated with mirrors and marble columns. These bars vie with each other in giving what are called "free lunches." The customer pays for what he has to drink, and, if the price be only ten cents, may, for this same money eat a good "square" meal for nothing; the tacit understanding being that when he is in luck he treats his friends. Then, as to our amusements; what can be more delightful or invigorating than our regular afternoon drive to the "Cliff House" on the Pacific, to watch the sea lions sporting on the rocks till the sun goes down? Then, too, there are flat races and trotting matches arranged for most afternoons, and our "Golden Gate Park" bids fair to vie with Central Park, New York, in beauty. Our theatres are better than those of any other State. Why? Because no cast but the very best will satisfy the taste of San Francisco. Lastly, Yankee twang and Americanisms are seldom heard in our

Vol. 151.—No. 301. E State,

State,* and we are naturally the more refined in proportion as we are continuously receiving relays of immigration direct from "Europe."

Such is a Franciscan's view of the city of his adoption. From it may be gathered the fact, that 'self-satisfaction' is the predominant trait in his character. Next to that comes 'State Pride.' The question to be met is, 'How far is such confidence well founded?' It cannot be doubted that the 'Individualism' so commonly met with in all parts of the United States, and so often misinterpreted by foreigners as mere self-assertion or braggadoccio, has a good as well as a bad side, and must not prejudice the estimate of character. It is the necessity for a man to make the most of himself incidental to his position in a commonwealth where sinecures, and decorations, and hereditary titles are unobtainable, and even were they to be obtained, would convey to his fellow-citizens no idea of personal superiority. The New Englander has carried out to the letter old Ben Franklin's motto 'Every man for himself and the Lord for us all.' The Californian left the latter clause of the proverb behind him when he crossed the Sierra, and unfortunately he does not interpret the former, generally speaking, in a manner that much redounds to his credit. 'Every man has his price' is a saying much too often on his lips, and by this he means to imply that virtue is for him a step to advancement in the sense that it is a commodity to be bought and sold, alike in Judges' Chambers or at the Stock Board. Thus it is that a San Franciscan's view of the commercial morality of his city must be overstated if he omits to mention how common a phrase it is 'to go for a man,'—that is, to victimize and fleece the inexperienced or foolish. No Arab clamouring for '*bakshish*' around the Pyramids is half the adept at this sort of work that the *habitué* of California Street is.

Again, as might not unreasonably be expected, the San Franciscan's self-satisfaction goes hand in hand with wanton self-indulgence. The luxury of his city knows no bounds. The miner comes down from Virginia city,—that wondrous growth of the last few years,—to make his money fly, and he finds no difficulty in the process. Unlimited drinking from morning till night; dinners at restaurants where no Parisian delicacy is wanting, followed by vices for which there is one whole street set apart, reaching from one end of the city to the other;—such

* The San Franciscan should, however, have added on this point that the miners' phraseology which he uses—found in such verbs as to 'pan out'—may be held by some critics to compare unfavourably even with the 'Yankee twang.'

is the programme of his every-day life. Nowhere are the unnecessary of life,—fancy horses, magnificent dresses, elaborate furniture,—sold at such extravagant prices as in San Francisco; and nowhere are they so cheerfully paid for. Money is no object. That heavy and handsome gold coin, the twenty-dollar-piece, goes a very little way indeed. Yet he who spends it regrets nothing. There may be more for him where that came from: he is self-satisfied. On the other hand, the pride which the Californian feels for his State is not only a noble and a worthy sentiment, it is the mainstay of his commonwealth. A Bank,—the Bank of California,—as was the case when we were there, may be paying 9 per cent. on deposit; it may break, and the manager may drown himself. But such a scandal may wound the State Pride. There may be outsiders, men of solid means, ready to come to the rescue of the general credit, and in a day or two the doors may be open again. Such may be the salutary effects of State Pride. To such an extent have Californians indulged this feeling, that they have been accused once and again of allowing it to eclipse in their hearts the love for their country at large. However well grounded this charge may be, and perfectly as California is situated for holding her own as a separate State, she is at present, and will be for many years to come, far too much engrossed in her own development, consolidation, and aggrandizement, ever willingly to provoke a quarrel with the East, unless driven thereto by an extent of Imperial taxation, any cause for which (unless it should be a war with Europe) it is impossible to foresee. Should she, however, from this time forward continue to make progress in a solid, and not an ephemeral direction; and should the gigantic framework of the Union be found too unwieldy to hold together; and be separated by consent of the several parts, without the intervention of the sword, what a future might not then be in store for this ripe republic on the western coast, shut in by natural boundaries impassable in their strength, and possessed of sources of wealth, and facilities for commerce not second to those of any country we can name! At the present time, however, to form a republic out of the heterogeneous elements of which the State is composed, would be nothing short of madness. The bond of the Union is that which ties these elements together. Cut it asunder, and no common interests from within could save the mass from falling to pieces.

With regard to religion in San Francisco, the utterly chaotic state into which it has passed almost defies description. As an example of what we mean, we may quote at random the account of a scene to which our attention was called one morning in the

principal business thoroughfare, California Street. Happening to stroll in that direction at 12 o'clock, just as the members of the Stock Board, fresh from a bear-fight over Comstock shares, were pouring out for luncheon, we noticed a man vociferating from a cart drawn up by the side of the pavement to serve as a temporary rostrum. The crowd round him was so dense that the street was impassable. The speaker was a Revivalist, who was at that time attracting nightly thousands of persons to a neighbouring hall. His subject was the doom of sinners, and the torments of hell were being depicted with a vividness which was truly infernal. The laughter and ribald jokes of the unconverted portion of the crowd were mingled with the groanings of those who thought themselves saved, while the newest hymn-tunes introduced by the preacher were fitted to the words of comic songs, meant to be blasphemous. A little further down the street a similar crowd gathered round a second gentleman, whose pulpit was a common tub. He was protesting in most unmeasured language that his rival was an impostor, and professing to prove to demonstration that there was no soul, no hell, and no God. Just then a waggon appeared on the scene bearing an advertising placard, on which in portentous letters was inscribed So-and-so's 'I X L Bitters.' Making first for the Revivalist crowd, it succeeded in utterly dispersing them by drawing up between them and the disconcerted preacher. Having effected this object, the driver turned his horses across the road, and charged the barrel of the infidel, in true Crusader's style, to the inexpressible delight of the spectators. Such a scene as this would be too silly to be worth recording, were it not of such common occurrence that any picture of society in San Francisco would be imperfect without it. The perfect good humour maintained by the crowd showed that they had no religious feelings to be wounded by such scenes. Some new excitement is what they live for, and as long as it can be obtained at all, they care not much from whence the supply is derived. Revivals are fruitful sources of such excitement, and they pay well, but they can do no real good to the cause of religion of any sort or kind. We attended one of them and watched the process. The proselytizing takes place by the infusion of the fear of hell, and is brought to bear on sensitive minds by gesticulation, and a poor attempt at eloquence. Meanwhile the songs which fill the saloons of the city receive fodder from the parody on Christianity performed in the hall. An infant community such as this, whose head is turned by money, and which as yet is very imperfectly educated, is a good field for impostors to play their parts.

Public

Public services in San Francisco are performed in Jewish, Catholic, Protestant, Spiritualistic, and Buddhist places of worship. Of these the Jews possess the finest edifice; and the Catholics have the best organization. Protestant churches are built as speculations, and are transferred to other uses if they do not pay. The present Academy of Science has arranged its museum in a church erected for a sect who could no longer afford to keep it up. It may be mentioned in this place that in the agricultural districts of north-central California Wesleyan Methodism holds a strong position. The farmers occupy much the same position in California that they do in other parts of the United States. If there were only enough of them they would be the backbone of the State, and would amply justify the observation once made by Mr. Disraeli, that in America 'the farmers were the safety of the Republic.' Having occasion, on Easter Day, to spend some hours at the little agricultural town of Lathrop in the centre of a corn country, an opportunity presented itself of observing the plain and unadorned form of worship performed at intervals by these farmers among themselves. They come in their buggies often from great distances, wrapt in their long blue coats, and attended by their wives and daughters, to some stated chapel where service is to be held. Round the chapel in question some thirty or forty carriages were drawn up, the horses being tethered within a convenient radius. Inside the building some 200 persons had assembled. The honest burly farmer who had been voted to the chair—or rather preaching-box—took it, without any other preparation than that of divesting himself of his hat and topcoat. The simplicity of the scene was novel. Over the head of the preacher one simple injunction, written in a bold hand, had taken the place of the Decalogue. It read: 'Gentlemen, will please not to spit upon the floor.' The audience, to whom church-going was a variety, were most attentive and devotional: the sermon unstudied and practical; and the amount of toleration displayed in giving out the hymn was worthy of emulation. 'Brethren and sisters,' said the farmer, 'I should like to hear you sing a favourite hymn of mine on page 203, but if so be there is any other which takes your fancy more, I shall be pleased to hear you sing that.'

But to return to the city: the most singular form of worship in San Francisco, and one which from the hold it has gained there cannot be passed by in silence, is that of the Spiritualists. Already possessed of places of worship in Boston and other eastern cities, Spiritualism as a *religion* has developed itself in its journey west, until no account of the faiths or superstitions
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of San Francisco would be complete without a notice of this most strange phenomenon. It happened when we were there that a conference of its devotees was being held, which we attended. On a platform or dais at one end of a large room, sat the most noted mediums and defenders of the faith. Festoons of artificial flowers formed an arch over the group, while the room was hung round with indifferently executed portraits, painted by the mediums under the influence of the spiritual delirium. The countenances of these people were a strange study. Women, with pale haggard features, hands clenched or clasped, eyes either strained or tightly closed; their hair cut short and prematurely grey; men, half-scared proselytes with open mouths, their hair allowed to wander down to extra-professional lengths: such were some of the signs that mental derangement plays in this religion no secondary part. From the general drift of their wild, flowery, and often meaningless effusions, I gathered that the object of the conference was to determine whether they should form themselves into a phalanx, as one grand organization, under canons of belief, or whether each one should profess the religion for himself according to his ability, and as the spirits give him utterance. Spiritualism, they will tell you, is the true philosophy of the latter days; it is a scientific system as well as a religion. Thus, while it declares the abolition of Christianity, and relegates its doctrines into the region of the mythological, it is no more tolerant of modern materialistic tendencies, whose professors it vehemently denounces, since they find no room for spirits in this air of ours. Such men, they say, are blind guides, shutting their eyes to evidences which they cannot explain away. As a necessary part of the religion, Spiritualism has its miracle-workers and its martyrs: the former being transformed into the latter as soon as their impostures are exposed and punished. But, strange to add, Spiritualism is not confined to that class of persons alone who are to be found at its conferences. It has, so to speak, an esoteric as well as an exoteric phase. Not a few among the number of those friends whom the traveller makes during his stay in the city—men from whose intelligence he profits, and for whose intellectual attainments in other respects he cannot but feel respect—he finds to his surprise are tainted with this infection. They seem to be wandering in the darkest labyrinths of the metaphysical age. They have long, and they have decisively, cut themselves adrift from the theological, but they dare not pace the third step in Comte's progression. Their mind, loosed from the Christian anchoring-ground, still hankers after the spiritual element which that ancient faith afforded, and

and seizes as a substitute for it the last new abstraction that presents itself. They study the faiths and philosophies of primitive ages, so eagerly read now throughout America, seeking therein for kindred spirits with themselves; for men who have thought before as they are thinking now, and have arrived at havens of perfect rest like those where they would be. As in the case of the Mormons, who, for temporal reasons, professed to find in the Red Indians the remnant of their ancient brethren the ten tribes, these men for spiritual reasons claim fellowship with that phase of the Nirvana philosophy brought by the Chinese Buddhists from Asia. They are pure pantheists. The ultimate realization of deity is inconceivable—they say—is ineffable. All, however, participate in its essence. The Chinese try to express something of this meaning, when they say that the nearest approach to it is ‘fung-shuy,’ literally, ‘wind and water;’ ‘the influence,’ that is, ‘which comes over a man when in the early morning he is standing on a hillside, and the cold moist dewy air breathes refreshingly across his brow, and he is conscious of an emotion indescribable in words.’

If the *spiritual* element of declining Christianity is, indeed, passing away in such vapoury views as these, it is well to find that the *fraternal* element (which all feel to be equally indispensable) has assumed a more practical phase. No city which we have visited in the United States possesses so many benevolent and social societies. Besides those which owe their origin to the wish of this or that nation to assist its own immigrants, there exist many various fraternities, enumerated by Hittell. Whether as Freemasons, Odd-Fellows, Briai Brith, Druids, Seven Wise Men, Knights of Pythias, Independent Red Men, Improved Red Men, Ancient Order of Knights, Buffaloes, &c., their aim is to bind together by an artificial bond of union men of various nationalities, who meeting together in a strange land feel the want of a common tie. Their lodges are far more costly than the churches, and it has been remarked that their ‘attachment to these brotherhoods is akin to religion.’ Most striking are the beautiful cemeteries appropriated to some of them, which deck the sides of Lone Mountain, the necropolis of the city, and sleep under the shadow of the gigantic, though falling, wooden cross (a relic, perhaps, of the old Franciscans) which still surmounts its summit. Throughout the United States, magnificent funerals are common; and, like the mausoleums built during life, they mark the intention of the individual to live as long as possible in the memories of his fellow-citizens; but that of a favourite actor in the California theatre, San Francisco,

Francisco, surpassed in singularity any of which we have heard. His body was carried into no place of worship, but the scene of his former triumphs was considered the fittest spot on which to celebrate his praise. The coffin, wreathed in flowers, was placed in the centre of the stage near the foot-lights, a minister of religion—denomination immaterial—said some appropriate words, and a brother actor pronounced an eloquent funeral oration. The full orchestral band struck up a plaintive air, and, preceding the procession into the street, hushed back into silence the bustle of the city just awaking to its morning's work. Thus they passed on through the streets till they reached the city's limits, followed by several hundred members of the various fraternities to which the deceased belonged. But the San Franciscan does not spare much time for sorrow. That very same night the same stage was the scene of a screaming farce, at which the same orchestra played their appropriate parts. Such is life and death in San Francisco.

In educational matters California is not behind the Eastern States. The State schools provide for the education of all children from five to fifteen years old, and on the part of the pupils there is an anxiety to learn, and a shrewdness of comprehension, which is enough to astonish any one accustomed to watch the process by which knowledge is drilled into the brains of an English school-child. In addition to the schools, there is a State University, consisting of two roomy buildings, situated on a spot which looks the healthiest of the healthy, on the slope of the foot-hills, not far from Oakland. Armed with letters of introduction to the professors, we crossed the bay one morning to pay them a visit. On nearing the hills, the green-sward is seen to be obliterated by a carpet of flowers. A belt of fir-trees stretches along the hills at the back of the buildings, while the snug and tiny residences of the professors and the students are dotted about in little dells, and almost hidden each in its own peculiar grove. The two large buildings are devoted exclusively to lecture-rooms, more airy and commodious than is the case in any of the other States. Their doors are labelled respectively 'Greek,' 'Logic,' 'Rhetoric,' 'Geology,' &c., according to the subject taught within. There were then 250 students in all, 30 of whom were ladies. The professors, being mostly Harvard men, are men of no extreme views. They are careful, never headstrong, thinkers, contenting themselves with teaching the elements of the sciences, or pointing out the weak places in the theories of others, but seldom or never committing themselves to any conclusion. Thus, for example, they follow their master Agassiz in accepting the evolution hypothesis

hypothesis only with the very greatest reserve. Their religion (where they profess any) is the liberal Unitarianism of Boston, and their views are represented by the 'North American Review.' There are signs, however, that the pupils will soon outstrip their teachers. One of the professors, in answer to a question, acknowledged the immense influence which modern English philosophy has had amongst the students. He particularly mentioned that their leisure hours were constantly devoted to the works of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Amongst the Californian youth in general, independent of the students, 'Draper's Conflict of Science and Religion' has been read with avidity, and Mr. Bancroft (the owner of a book-shop in San Francisco second in fulness and magnificence to none in the States) stated that the demand for this work, and for Herbert Spencer's 'Study of Sociology,' exceeded anything he remembered in the case of any other books of a similar class. In fact, any attack on the Old-World faiths and notions is caught up and devoured voraciously.

A passage from a little work taken up at random will show the stage to which thought has advanced in the Far West. The author is an eminent physician, and his object is an attack upon spiritualism. The argument is that the soul, after the so-called separation from the body, cannot be material, because it is simply a mode of force correlative with matter, inseparable from it, and participating in the universe itself. 'We are one,' he says, 'with every object on the earth and with the dear old earth itself.' So inexplicable is this mode of force to man himself, that he deifies it as a fetish and calls it a soul. In another place we find the following definition. 'The utilization of force by the brain is thought: this utilization is the function of that part of the brain which we call the cerebrum. Here we arrive at the scientific soul. It is nervous energy. A soul is finer than any metaphysical entity—thinner than a ghost—purely immaterial.' Californian thinkers, like this writer, had no sooner mastered the 'Correlation of the Forces' than, without a moment's hesitation, they sent it like a bombshell into the regions of psychology to take what course it would.

We must not pass from the Literature of San Francisco without paying the tribute he so richly deserves to Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, the author of 'the Native Races of the Pacific States.' When a Californian embarks on an enterprise, we may be sure that he means success; when a Californian undertakes a work, he performs it on a 'mammoth' scale. Mr. Bancroft undertook to write the history of the native tribes, from the Eskimo on the north to the Isthmus on the south, and the machinery he set in motion

motion to make his work as perfect as possible is truly marvellous. Having purchased the library of the Emperor Maximilian, so far as it bore on the question before him, containing almost every work on the subject, he engaged a staff of young men, capable of reading and translating the various languages in which these works were written. Their task was to read them through, and, as they read, to make a careful index of each, according to subjects. These indices he then caused to be thrown together into one, and, having previously arranged his work into suitable divisions, he was able, by referring to the grand index, to bring every word that had ever been written on each particular point at once to his assistance. Five bulky volumes are the result, prepared from a list of upwards of 1200 works referred to. We know of no parallel in the annals of literature to this extraordinary achievement. However mechanical the process, the conception reflects the highest credit on the author who could by no other means have accomplished in a whole life's work the patriotic object he had in view. Having spent several hours with Mr. Bancroft during the course of his work, we can testify to the severity of the mental strain which from its very nature the composition cost him, and to the heavy expense which the love of his subject caused him to incur. He has to a great extent saved from oblivion the annals of primitive races who have already perished from the face of the earth, or whose survivors are fast dying out.

It is now time to say a word or two on that wonderful *imperium in imperio*,—China-town, where 35,000 Chinese are domiciled in the midst of the white population. Owing to the absence here of many of the restrictions put upon them in their own country, it is an easier matter to gain an insight into their manners and habits, by visiting this quarter of San Francisco, than it is by going to Canton itself. Here they have their temples, or joss (Dios) houses, as the Portuguese called them, their club-houses (if the headquarters of their associations can be dignified by such a name), their shops gay with proverbs from Confucius, in proof of the honesty of the pious vendor, their gambling houses, their haunts of vice, and their low underground hovels, where the haggard opium-smoker wears out in skin and bone the residue of his useless existence. As in the case of cities nearer at home than China-town, there are two widely different pictures to be drawn of the social status of the inhabitants. On the one side, nothing can be better than the prosperous appearance of the sleek Chinese merchant, as, attended by his servant, he passes rapidly along the pavement in his garb of spotless blue: nothing can be cleaner or more tasty than

than the 'store' in which he so courteously shows his wares. Yet, on the other hand, scarcely a stone's throw off, nothing can be more filthy or degraded than the human beings who grovel in mire on their cellar floors, or peep out at the passers-by through slits in the doors or shutters, and shriek out their unintelligible invitations to enter and behold the effects which starvation and ill-usage, which intoxication by opium, which the gnawings of irremediable disease, can work on a body where yet there is life. The women, sold as slaves and treated as brutes ;—the sick left to die, like wounded oxen on the plains, when they cannot rise to help themselves ;—the dead left to bury their dead to such an extent that it is with difficulty that the American authorities can prevent the ill-effects of corruption ;—such are the scenes of cruelty and heartlessness which the Chinese nature is capable of enacting when left to itself. Strange, as it may seem, the Chinese, in spite of all this misery, are much more prolific than the Californian settlers—a fact which bids fair to raise a serious difficulty. It may be possible for the central Government to devise measures to repress the increasing immigration from Asia, but the extreme expedient of banishment can alone diminish the number of those already located there. The bearing of the Chinese question, which has just been the subject of a Commission from Washington, briefly stated, amounts to this :—By a treaty entered into years ago between the United States and China, the right was conceded to the Chinese to come to California, to settle, and to enter into business. The consequence has been that a continuous stream of immigration has flowed ever since across the Pacific, making the fortune of that powerful body, the Pacific Mail Navigation Company, opening up and developing the resources of the agricultural and mining districts, and resulting in a shifting Chinese population in California, of probably not less than 200,000 persons. These are mostly recruited from the Canton district, and come to serve their time as labourers, artisans, or domestic servants, under the supervision of Chinese capitalists. Before shipment for their new field of activity, each one is enrolled on the books of a company, which pays his passage and whose rules he is bound to obey. On arriving at San Francisco he finds the club-house of his company awaiting him, where he can live until his work is cut out for him. These club-houses, besides supplying his wants, and taking care of him when sick, are also co-operative stores. From this source alone each member of the association, whether he be in the Sierra or the city, must obtain his supplies of rice and clothing. These articles again are not the produce of California, but are shipped (and, if possible, smuggled) from China direct. As soon

soon as his term of service is up, the Chinaman can either at once return to his country, or continue where he is. In either case, he spends no money in California, and returns home with his wealth. Frugal in his habits, diligent and persevering at his work, and, above all, an expert miner, he frequently (if not plundered by whites) amasses a very considerable fortune. But, apart from the fact that he has brought large tracts of land under cultivation, the complaint is well grounded, that his presence is a drain on the State. Even his dead body is sent home (not to be made into soap, as tradition has it), but to be buried in the ancestral line, so that his descendants may not suffer from a break in the chain of protection afforded by the spirits of their fathers.

It is contended that Congress should take some step to relieve California from the burden of these people.* The white man, it is said, cannot command his fair amount of wages where labour can be had so cheaply. Added to this, the country, they say, will actually become Mongolian. The horrible thought, which serves as a nightmare to Californian politicians, is that, were the Chinese once given a vote, and were they ambitious of using it, they could actually control the elections. Fortunately, however, nothing is further from their minds than such a wish, and the scope of their intellect is, we suspect, far too confined to admit of their mastering intelligibly such a principle as the franchise. The Chinese question has scarcely been argued on its merits, and, great as the evils undoubtedly are, even the report of the Commission, which recommends the President to modify the treaty, to confine it to commercial relations, and to restrain future immigration, savours too strongly of the anti-Chinese party policy. Two classes of persons are specially interested in the expulsion of the Chinamen. First, the ministers of religion, who, finding him conversion-proof, join the cry to hunt the heathen out; and, secondly, the lazy and dissatisfied, who expect to lead in California the life they love — little work and high pay. Unfortunately, the latter class, incited by the former, have lately been taking the law into their own hands; debarring the Chinese from engaging in certain prescribed occupations, and even attacking and murdering their hapless rivals whenever their prosperity has excited their envy, or their thrifty ways have registered a silent protest against the enervating results of drunkenness and sloth. It is in the 'placer works' that these collisions have most frequently taken place; and, considering

* Measures in this direction have been adopted since the time we are writing of, namely, five years ago.

that the 'gold washing' has been almost abandoned by the whites, it seems extremely unjust to debar others from eking out a living, by the sweat of their brow in the toil which they themselves have left for more ready, if more precarious, roads to wealth. It need scarcely be added, that marriages between white people and Chinese are unknown. To us the fears of Californian society being swamped by the Mongolian element appear exaggerated; and the argument that the Chinese prey on the country might with equal truth be applied to the Germans in the Eastern States. Speaking from the broad ground of humanity, it seems hard that those, who have made California the fertile land of corn and wine and oranges that she is, should be banished on account of those very habits of industry and frugality which have achieved this end. To us it appears that, although in our own country, enlightened as it is by the doctrines of political economy, no such scheme could meet with acceptance, still, in protectionist America, the most straightforward course would be to induce Congress to place such heavy restrictions on all imports of food and clothing from China as would crush the power of the monopolies, and force the Chinese to consume Californian produce; and, secondly, to get the State Legislature to pay attention to the improvement of the Chinese quarters in each and every town; to make remissness in sanitary matters the subject of a penalty; and, generally, to adopt every course which would place upon a higher footing a naturally industrious and a useful people.

Attached to the headquarters of the several associations is usually a Buddhist temple. The interest we have since felt in the ceremonial of this worship, when staying at monasteries in the interior of China, or in visiting the temples in that country and in Japan, has by no means diminished that with which we look back on those of San Francisco. In China, the apathy of the people has at last fallen on their religion, and grass grows in the untrodden courtyards of the shrines. In Japan, Buddhism, the religion of the Shogoonate, has been disestablished and disendowed, and, except in a few popular mixed temples, no ceremonial is practised. But 'new brooms sweep clean;' and in San Francisco there is a freshness of worship, and a distinctness of ceremonial detail, which seems worthy of a short description. Passing down a narrow court, where beggars were displaying their horribly diseased bodies to excite compassion, we found ourselves in front of a large building, having a balcony gorgeously trimmed with coloured Chinese lanterns. The ground-floor was used as a hospital, through which we made our way to the apartment of the priests.

A friend,

A friend, who took special interest in the Chinese, and who was an intimate acquaintance of the high priest, obtained for us instant admission, and we found three of the divines engaged in opium-smoking. They were in mourning, they told us, for their Emperor, in token of which they had allowed their beards to grow. Having partaken of their hospitality in the form of cigars, we were escorted by one of their number to the temple, which was upstairs. The room appropriated to the sacred office was about forty feet long, rich in red and gold and gaudy hangings, vases of chrysanthemum, the holy flower, and exquisitely carved sandal wood. Ranged along either side were canopies like the stalls in a cathedral choir, and under each hung a weapon like a pike, to be used by the church-militant in case evil spirits should intrude. Tablets were suspended round the walls and from the roof, each commemorative of some successful Chinaman who, having made his fortune in California, had returned to his home, leaving here his name behind him, coupled with the record that he faithfully kept the law. No regular service was performed in this temple. It was simply a house of prayer. In front of the outer altar a carpet was spread, where the suppliant, when he approached to offer his prayer, held two pieces of wood in his hand, round on one side and flat on the other. These he let fall on the carpet when his prayer was said, and according as they fell he knew whether it was answered or not. If both sticks fell on their flat side, the omen was very bad ; if one fell on the flat, the other on its round side, his request was complied with ; if both fell on their round side his prayer was partly granted. Just under the outer altar is another means of divination, from which the priests must derive no small advantage by telling fortunes. It consists of a table covered with fine flour, over the surface of which the priest, having his eyes shut, moves an instrument (like the planchette of the spiritualists) which inscribes the words of fate. The front altar is covered with incense-boxes, candles in red and gold papers, and models of sacred animals, which it is profanity to touch. The whole effect reminded me forcibly of a conjuror's table. A passage behind this altar separates it from the high altar itself, on which are set three cups of tea, renewed every morning. Above these are suspended two tumblers of water, and between them a large red lamp is always burning. Behind this again, in lurid majesty, between darkness and light, his hideous visage heightened by red paint and gilding, sits Khan, a bearded image dressed in red. In little side chambers stand, on the left, a basin and towel for purification ; on the right, a drum and bell to summon the spirits when they are required.

Prayers

Prayers printed on small strips of red paper are fixed against the wall of this temple, near the door. If a woman wishes for a son and heir, up goes her prayer upon the wall. Fire is the means of communication with heaven, and the priest finally burns all these prayer-papers in a bronze furnace, handsomely cast, which stands outside the door. In like manner, if persons desire to send a horse, or a house, or any other object to the spirits of the departed, they cut the image of it out in paper and burn it. Such is Buddhism as practised in San Francisco. A grovelling form of superstition has clearly superseded the pure philosophy of its earlier phase, and a species of fatalism has supervened, which, as we have already remarked, finds a curious counterpart in the spiritualism of Europe and America.

A pleasant contrast to the endless excitement of the city is to be found in the quiet pretty towns lying southwards along the Pacific coast. One of these may be taken as a type of the rest. Los Angeles, about three hundred miles south of San Francisco, lies in the midst of a grazing country, on a plateau between the sea, on the one side, and that portion of the Sierra which culminates in the peak of San Bernardino, on the other. Recent agricultural operations have studded all the country round with orange groves and vineyards, attracting hither a class of settlers greatly calculated to give prestige to the State. Young men from England, coming out with small sums of money, have bought up land near the town, on which they build their wooden ranches. Here they lead an easy life, smoking their pipes under their orange trees, their only care being to see that their tenants, generally Chinamen, do full justice to the land during their leases of two years. Amongst the other settlers are not a few families from the Southern States, sufferers in the Civil War, who have been able to save enough from their large properties to have some money left to invest here. Besides these, there are capitalists who have set up as horticulturists on a large scale, bringing water (the only desideratum) from the mountains, and covering broad tracts with vines and oranges. The result is that nowhere did we meet with more agreeable society than in and around Los Angeles. Picnics to the Pacific coast, varied with garden parties, were the order of the day. The latest London periodicals lay on the tables, and lawn tennis was known in California almost as soon as in London. The young ladies were highly educated, and refined. They combine genuine free and easy manners with perfect propriety; and never having known what it is to have a chaperon, they need none. The beauty of
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the scenery is in keeping with the exquisite climate, and the words of an ardent admirer are not overstrained, when he says :

‘I could wish no better home for myself and my friends than such a one as noble sensible men could here make for themselves. Nature has preserved here, in its workings and phenomena, that medium between too much and too little, which was one of the great conditions of high civilization in the classic regions of ancient times.’

The town of Los Angeles itself is a flourishing one. It contains its Spanish Californian (or Mexican) quarter, built of adobe bricks ; its Chinese town ; and above these rise the fine pretentious stores of Americans and German Jews. The rancour which still exists in the breasts of those of Spanish extraction for their American supplanters is often apparent, but since 1854 no serious disturbance has taken place. They are neither rich enough, numerous enough, nor sufficiently free from jealousies amongst themselves, to care to change their lazy life for active rebellion, to end in certain defeat. The Irish element in Los Angeles is very strong. On St. Patrick’s day we witnessed the procession of a Fenian lodge. A hundred and twenty-eight men, wearing regalia, walked two-and-two through the street, preceded by a band, and followed by carriages containing priests, ladies, and professional gamblers. An oration was afterwards delivered, the proceeds of the entertainment ‘to be devoted to the wives and children of Irishmen confined in British dungeons for their political faith.’ A bodyguard of Mexican horsemen, in their broad hats and feathers, gave colour to the scene.

Near Los Angeles are still to be seen several of those old Franciscan mission houses, to which allusion has been made before. That of St. Gabriel still retains, strange to say, a few of its silver bells. The figure of the angel over the altar was a specimen of the style of work executed for the friars by the native Indians. He was represented in full war-paint, with a plume of feathers in his hair. The church, which was empty and extremely plain, had probably been robbed at no distant period of its former decorations. The worshippers were Spanish Californians (half-breeds with the Indians) of the very poorest class, and the padres who minister to them are no better off than they. Ill-treatment has made them dread the face of an American, and the poor old man who opened the door of his church to us looked half scared as he did so, pointing the while to the marks of batterings it has received on former occasions.

We had come to Los Angeles by sea, and determined to
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return over land, passing through the San Fernando pass, and descending at Fort Tejin to the extensive *alkaline* plain of Central California. This spur of the Sierra is still infested by Mexican banditti. A few days before, one of their leaders, Vasquez, had been captured and hanged at Sacramento, an example which, though the rest of his band swore revenge, has perhaps put a stop to the periodical murders and robberies then committed. After crossing the plain, our route lay to Merced and the Yosemite Valley. This extraordinary gulf in the heart of the Sierra, eight miles long, one mile wide, and walled in by perpendicular granite cliffs nearly a mile in height, was, until the trail was betrayed in 1856, the secure and impregnable fastness of a tribe of Californian Indians. The district has now been secured as a national park belonging to the United States, and the Indian bark lodges have been replaced by 'grand hotels.' Still the survivors of the primitive occupants wander about the surrounding country, and we were fortunate enough to make their acquaintance. We found the first traces of their presence on the side of a river twenty-five miles from the valley. The sandy banks had been their camping ground, and the place was strewn with chips and cores of obsidian—the refuse of a manufactory of those beautiful little arrow-points with which they still bring down small game. The material they derive from the Lake Moro, some seventy miles distant. On the surface of a flat granite rock close by were numerous holes, made by pounding acorns. Branches had been stuck up around the rock to serve as a sun-shade for the women at work. At no great distance a rude circular timber fence marked the scene of a recent funeral ceremony called the 'Pow-wow.' It much resembles an Irish death-wake, the people blacking their faces, yelling, wailing, and dancing. In this instance the orgie had been kept up for six nights in succession over the body of a squaw. A little nearer the stream stood a hut of singular construction, looking like a simple mound of earth with a trench dug round it. It had been made by digging a round hole in the ground of the required diameter, and bringing poles and slices of bark to meet in the middle. These were supported in their places by a framework of two poles with a third laid across them. The whole was covered in with earth: it was 12 feet in diameter, and high enough to stand upright in. The doorway was only 3½ feet high, but its structure showed no slight skill. Outside lay a pile of ashes, and the stream ran not 20 yards off. This is called a 'sweat-house,' or, as we should say, a 'Turkish bath.' The Indians shut themselves tight in, light a fire in the centre, and dance round. The intolerable smoke and heat is to

them no inconvenience, and their object is to get into a profuse perspiration, which done, they suddenly open the door, rush out, and plunge into the water. This operation is the preliminary to hunting, since it prevents the smell of their bodies being detected by the beasts, and it is probable also that they have discovered that it gives them elasticity of muscle. It is not a little curious to find that this custom prevailed all along the western coast, from Alaska to the old Aztec peoples of Mexico, and that amongst the latter it became a religious observance, fine buildings being erected for the performance of the rite. These Yosemite Indians feed principally on roots, but when hard pressed they will eat worms, lizards, and lice. Formerly they wore no clothing, but they have recently adopted blankets and other raiment when they can get it. On the banks of some of the rivers, where clam shells are abundant, the sites of their summer quarters are marked by shell mounds, sometimes 300 yards in length, and in these flint implements are found.

A few days after we had seen this spot, we were able to pay a visit to the winter residence of the chief of the tribe, whose name was 'Bullock.' It was a log hut, with a chimney at one end of clay and stones, built in imitation of a white man's house. Near it stood the old native lodge, made of strips of bark, but which, from its ruinous condition, had evidently been abandoned for the more commodious novelty. The chimney of the latter the occupants were extremely proud of. An old squaw (the squaws are the hewers of wood and drawers of water) had dug the clay for it with her own hands out of a pit near by. The young 'bucks' of the tribe were out squirrel-hunting, and three squaws were engaged in preparing flour from the acorns. One was shelling them with her teeth, and laying them on a blanket to dry. Another was pounding them on a granite rock, with a round stone muller; while a third was separating the good flour from the bad, by tossing it cleverly in a target-shaped basket. They have no pottery, but baskets supply its place, woven into elegant shapes, and capable of holding water. The bread is subsequently baked in holes in the earth. For drink they press a rough cider from the manzaneta berry. On looking into the cabin, we saw evidences of an approach to civilization, in a good pair of boots and a rifle—the latter used to kill big game, while the flint-tipped arrows bring down the small. A sad sight presented itself as soon as our eyes became accustomed to the darkness. On the floor, moaning piteously and looking up to us for help, which we had no power to render, lay the poor old chief himself. He had met with an accident, broken his leg we were told. No surgical

surgical aid had been called in, nor could any relief be obtained for the acute pain he had been in for weeks. The two hideous squaws who attended him made us understand that mortification had set in. Finding that he was dying, in truly patriarchal style, he had, only the day before, summoned his tribe around him, given his last instructions, and appointed his successor. However filthy the Californian Indian may be in his habits, an incident like this is enough to convince us, that, had his white brother treated him otherwise than he has, there was a chance at least that he might have been raised to a state of comparative civilization. But now the time is past. The condition of this old chieftain was the condition of his people. Nothing is left for them but to fulfil their destiny, and soon the 'place that knew them will know them no more' for ever.

In the 'Digger' Indian, the lowest of his race, these sketches of Californian society find an appropriate close. The object of this article will have been gained if it has brought together some few facts and considerations for the student of sociology at large, and if we have been able to impart to the reader some portion of that interest which our sojourn in the country awakened in ourselves.

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- ART. III.—1. *The Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.* In five volumes. Published by David Mallet. London, 1754.
2. *The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John.* Five volumes. London, 1754.
3. *The Life of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.* By Thomas Macknight. London, 1863.

IN a former number of this Review* we commenced a sketch of the political and literary life of Lord Bolingbroke. We then broke off at the death of Queen Anne. We now propose to resume our task, and to trace his fortunes from an event which speedily, indeed, reduced him to insignificance as a statesman, but which marked the commencement of what is, beyond question, the most interesting and instructive portion of his personal history. From 1690 to 1704 his career differs little from that of other clever and dissolute youths with indulgent relatives and with good expectations. From 1704 to 1714 it is, if we except the short interval of his retirement, that

* 'Quarterly Review,' January, 1880, vol. 149, pp. 1, foll.

of a thriving and busy politician, whose life is too essentially bound up with contemporary history to present those features of individual interest which are the charm of biography. But from 1714 to 1752 it assumes an entirely new character. During this period he passed in rapid succession through a series of vicissitudes which it would be difficult to parallel even in fiction. During this period he played innumerable parts. He became identified with almost every movement of the public mind in Europe, with political opinion, with polite letters, with the speculations of science, with the progress of free-thought, with historical and metaphysical discussion. He became the teacher of men whose genius has shed lustre on the literature of two nations, and with whose names his own is imperishably associated. He produced writings which are, it is true, too crude and intemperate to hold a high place in didactic philosophy, but which were of great service in stimulating enquiry, and which are, regarded as compositions, second to none in our language. From 1726 to 1742 the influence he exercised on English politics was such as it is scarcely possible to overestimate. He was the soul of the most powerful Coalition which ever gathered on the Opposition benches. He kept the country in a constant ferment. He inaugurated a new era in the annals of Party. He made Jacobitism contemptible. He reconstructed the Tory creed. Of the Patriots he was at once the founder and dictator. To his energy and skill is, in a large measure, to be attributed that tremendous revolution which drove Walpole from office, and changed the face of history. And yet this is the period of his life of which his biographers have least to say. With them he ceases to be important when he ceases to be conspicuous. They do not perceive that the part he played was exactly the part which Thucydides tells us was played by Antiphon in the great drama of B.C. 411—the part of one who, unseen himself, directs everything. Of his literary achievements their account is, if possible, still more vague and meagre. Indeed, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Macknight appear to have no conception of the nature and extent of his influence on the intellectual activity of his age. They have not even discussed his relations with Pope and Voltaire. They have not even furnished us with a critical analysis of his principal works. We shall therefore make no apology for entering with some minuteness into the particulars of this portion of his life. It divides itself naturally into three periods. The first extends from his fall, in 1714, to his re-appearance in England in 1723; the second extends from 1723 to his departure for the continent in 1735; and the third is terminated by his death in 1752.

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On the death of Anne it became at once apparent that any attempt to set aside the Act of Settlement would be vain. Atterbury, indeed, importuned Bolingbroke to appeal to the nation, and to declare open war with Hanover. He offered, himself, to lead the forlorn hope. He was willing, he said, to head a procession to Charing Cross, and to proclaim, in full canonicals, the accession of James III. But his proposal found little favour. Bolingbroke saw that all was over, and that for the present, at least, things must take their natural course. It must, in truth, have been obvious to a man of far less discernment than he that the position of the Hanoverians was impregnable. Their leaders were united, their arrangements had been judicious. They were in possession of all the means which command dominion—of the fleet, of the army, of the garrisoned towns, of the Tower. The recent divisions in the Cabinet, the unpopularity of the Commercial Treaty, and the sudden death of the Queen, had confounded the Tories. Their only chance was to outbid the Whigs in loyal zeal for Hanover, to purify themselves from all taint of Jacobitism, and to leave the few desperate fanatics who still held out for James to their fate. Such was clearly their policy, and such was the course that Bolingbroke now prepared to take. That it was his original intention to set aside the Act of Settlement it would, in spite of his repeated assurances to the contrary, be absurd to doubt. It would be equally absurd to suppose that he had any bias in favour either of Hanover or St. Germain. He was as destitute of sentiment as he was destitute of principle. From the moment he entered public life his interests had centred and ended in himself. To crush Marlborough and to supplant Oxford he had found it expedient to ally himself with the extreme Tories. In allying himself with that faction it had become necessary to identify himself with the Jacobites. But he knew his danger. He had tried hard to stand well with George as well as with James. He had regularly corresponded with both of them. He had sworn allegiance to both of them. The exigencies of his struggle with Oxford had, however, necessitated a decided course, and at the beginning of 1714 he was fatally compromised. He saw that the Whigs had then succeeded in making the succession a party question. He saw that if the Elector ascended the throne, he would ascend it as the head of the Whig faction; and that if the Tories were to maintain the supremacy, they must maintain it under a Tory king. He saw that the Elector regarded him with suspicion and dislike. He saw that the return of the Whigs to power would in all likelihood consign him at once to impotence and ignominy.

ignominy. He was therefore bound by all considerations of self-interest to attach himself to James, and of his intrigues in favour of James we have ample proofs. Circumstances had, however, gone against him, and it was now necessary to retrace his steps. Though his prospects were far from promising, they were not hopeless. If he could not transform himself into a Whig, he could at least abandon the Jacobites and figure as a zealous Hanoverian. It was just possible that the new King might adopt the policy of William, and consent to a coalition. The Tories were, after all, a formidable body, and there was little likelihood of repose in any government in which the land interest and the Church were not powerfully represented. Of these representatives he was the acknowledged leader. The Elector was notoriously a man of peace, and averse to extreme measures. He had undoubtedly flung himself upon the Whigs, but it had been from motives of policy. Such, if we may judge from his correspondence, were Bolingbroke's reflections as he watched from his window in Golden Square the flare of the bonfires in which his effigy was crackling.

He lost no time in expressing in abject terms his devotion to his new master. He enlarged on the fidelity with which he had served Anne, congratulated himself on being the servant of so great a prince as her successor, and concluded by observing that in whatever station he might be employed he could at least promise integrity, diligence and loyalty. During the next three weeks there was much to encourage him. The Council of Regency had, it is true, submitted him to the indignity of being superseded by their secretary. But Clarendon's despatches from Hanover were favourable. Goertz, one of the Elector's confidential advisers, was openly enlisted in the Tory cause. There were already signs of disunion in the Ministry, and Halifax had even suggested that Bromley should be Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was confidently rumoured that the King, so far from having decided to crush the Tories, was even hesitating as to which of the two factions should be preferred to honour. This report emanated, we suspect, from Bothmar. That wily diplomatist had seen all along the expediency of amusing the Tories till the arrival of George should settle the kingdom. The general tranquillity of affairs had by no means thrown him off his guard. He was too well acquainted with the history of revolutions not to know that the first thing generated by them is ambition, and that the last things changed by them are principles.

It was now late in August, and Bolingbroke was awaiting with some anxiety a reply to his letter. The answer arrived on the
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the twenty-eighth, in the form of an express, addressed not to himself but to the Council of Regency. He was summarily dismissed from his post of Secretary of State; his office was to be put under lock and key; his papers were to be seized and sealed up. This disagreeable intelligence he affected to receive with indifference. It shocked him, he says—for at least two minutes. Towards the end of the following month the King landed at Greenwich, and Bolingbroke hurried up from Bucklersbury to offer his congratulations. His worst fears were soon realized. The Tories had learned, indeed, some days before that they were to be excluded from all share in the Government, but they had not yet learned that they were to be excluded from all share in the royal favour. They were at once undeceived. Their leaders were treated with contempt. Ormond and Harcourt failed to extort even a glance of recognition; Oxford was openly insulted; Bolingbroke was not permitted to present himself. This was the signal which had been long expected. For some weeks the struggle between the two great factions had been suspended. A great victory had been won, but the ultimate issue of that victory depended upon the attitude of the new Sovereign. The prostrate Tories trusted to his moderation, for protection; the Whigs to his gratitude, for revenge. Till he declared himself, the combatants could only stand glaring at one another. Between the death of Anne and his reception at Greenwich, George's policy had been studiously concealed; his Ministers had been feeding both parties with hopes, and the majority of men had been deceived. Now, however, all was clear. His pretended neutrality had been a mere trick to effect a peaceable entrance. He had come, not as a mediator but as a partisan, not as the guardian of the common interests of his people, but as the leader of an insolent and vindictive faction. In less than a month the three kingdoms were again on fire with civil fury. The Whigs, eager to indemnify themselves for long oppression, were bent on nothing less than the utter destruction of their rivals. The Tories, fighting against fearful odds, were driven in despair to take a course which, for forty-five years, reduced them to impotence in the Senate, and which brought many of them to the scaffold.

On the 17th of March, the Houses met, and Bolingbroke appeared as leader of the Opposition. The King's Speech, which was read by Cowper, was judicious and temperate. With the Addresses in answer, the war began. The Opposition took their stand on a clause in which the House had expressed their hope that His Majesty would recover the reputation of the kingdom. This the Tories very properly interpreted as a reflection
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on the conduct of their chiefs. A warm debate ensued, and Bolingbroke rose for the last time to address that Assembly which had so often listened to him with mingled aversion and pleasure. His speech was an elaborate defence of his foreign and domestic policy. He paid a pathetic tribute to the memory of the late Queen, and he addressed a still more pathetic appeal to the wisdom, equity, and moderation, of the reigning Sovereign. He was willing to be punished if he had done amiss, but he thought it hard to be condemned unheard. He then proceeded to deal in detail with the transactions in which he was so deeply concerned, and he concluded a long and masterly harangue by moving that the word 'maintain' should be substituted for the word 'recover.' He was supported by the Earl of Strafford and the Duke of Shrewsbury. But all his efforts were vain. The motion was rejected by an overwhelming majority. In the Lower House the late Government fared even worse. There Walpole openly charged them with being in league with James, and stated that it was his intention, and the intention of his colleagues, to bring them to justice. What Walpole announced was repeated with still more emphasis and acrimony by Stanhope. Endeavours had, he said, been made to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagement, by conveying away several papers from the Secretaries' offices; but there still remained ample evidence against them, evidence which would not only prove their corruption, but place it beyond doubt that far more serious charges could be established.

Bolingbroke now saw that the storm was gathering fast. His private secretary had indeed succeeded in defeating the vigilance of the Government, by concealing such papers as might be prejudicial. Almost all those witnesses who could conclusively prove his treason were either out of reach, or above temptations to treachery. Azzurini was in the Bastille, Gautier had retired to France, D'Iberville was protected by his diplomatic character, De Torcy was the soul of honour. But there was one man whom Bolingbroke had for many years loved and trusted as a brother, who had been his companion in business and pleasure, who had shared all his secrets. That man was Prior. Prior had recently arrived from France. The emissaries of Stanhope and Walpole had been busy with him, and Bolingbroke heard with terror and astonishment that his old friend had promised to reveal everything. This report, for which, as it afterwards transpired, there was not the slightest foundation, had the more weight, because it appeared to confirm what had reached him from another quarter. He had been informed that the Whigs had engaged to bring him to the scaffold, that they had entered
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into an alliance of which his blood was to be the cement, and that all attempts to defend himself would be vain, for sentence had virtually been passed. There is reason to believe that this alarming intelligence was, under the guise of friendship, conveyed to him by Marlborough, and that it was part of an ingenious manœuvre, suggested by Walpole and Stanhope, to induce him to leave the country—a step which would enable them to proceed against him by Act of Attainder, and to accomplish, without difficulty, his destruction. The stratagem succeeded.

On Saturday, the 26th of March, it was reported in London that Bolingbroke had fled. The report was at first received with contemptuous incredulity. He had been seen by hundreds the night before in his usual high spirits at Drury Lane, where he had, from his box, complimented the actors and bespoken a play for the next evening. He had repeatedly assured his friends—and his friends were to be found in every coffee-house in town—that he was under no apprehensions of what his enemies might do. He was only anxious for an opportunity to clear himself, and that opportunity would be provided by the Parliamentary enquiry then pending. In a few days all was known. The greatest excitement prevailed in political circles, and this excitement was shortly afterwards increased by the intelligence that a man who had been instrumental in effecting the escape of the fallen Minister was in custody. The man's name was Morgan, a sea captain. In the course of his examination before the Privy Council he stated that he had met Bolingbroke, disguised as a French courier, and travelling as the servant of one La Vigne, at Dover; that he had at one time been under obligation to him, and that when Bolingbroke revealed himself and begged for a passage to Calais, he had not had the heart to refuse him. This statement had been already supplemented by communications from Bolingbroke himself. He had written to Lord Lansdowne and he had written to his father. The letter to Lansdowne was published. It was dated from Dover. He had left England, he said, not because he was conscious of any guilt, not because he shrank from any investigation, but because his enemies had resolved to shed his blood. Had there been the least hope of obtaining a fair trial, he should have stood his ground, but he had been prejudged. His comfort in misfortune would be the memory of the great services he had done his country, and the reflection that his only crime consisted in being too patriotic to sacrifice her interests to foreign allies. This letter was not regarded even by his friends as a very satisfactory explanation of the step he had taken. Several harsh comments were made on
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on it, and his conduct was generally regarded as reflecting little credit either on his judgment or his courage. His flight was, in truth, the greatest blunder of his life—a blunder which it is scarcely credible that any one possessing a particle of his sagacity and experience could ever have committed. A moment's calm reflection might have shown him that any attempt on the part of his enemies to bring him to the block would be futile. Whatever may have been the measure of his moral guilt in the negotiations with France, there had been nothing to support a capital charge. Whatever had been most reprehensible in his conduct had been sanctioned by two Parliaments. In the intrigues with James several of the leading Whigs had been as deeply involved as himself, and of his own intrigues it would, even if Prior had turned traitor, have been very difficult to obtain corroborative evidence. The temper of the nation was such as to make extreme measures eminently impolitic. The King had already made many enemies. The Government was becoming every day more unpopular, the Opposition more powerful. The Tories were beginning to rally. The schisms which had at the end of the last reign divided them showed symptoms of healing. A reaction was to all appearance merely a matter of time. That reaction could scarcely fail to be hastened by the impeachment of a Minister so representative and so popular as himself. By awaiting his trial he would, therefore, have run comparatively little risk. By his flight he ruined everything. Bolingbroke has, however, seldom the magnanimity to acknowledge himself in error, and to the end of his life he continued to defend this suicidal step. The account which he afterwards gave of it is a curious instance of his disingenuousness. He left England, as his letter to Lord Lansdowne proves, in panic terror, to save himself from the scaffold. He left England, according to his subsequent statement, after mature deliberation, not to save himself from the scaffold, not because he was afraid of his enemies, but to avoid the humiliation of being beholden to the Whimsicals for protection, and to embarrass Oxford.

On his arrival at Paris he immediately put himself into communication with Lord Stair, the English Ambassador. He solemnly promised to have no dealings with the Jacobites, and these promises he reiterated in a letter to Stanhope. Within a few hours he was closeted with Berwick, assuring him of his sympathy, assuring him that all was going well for James in England, but adding that, for the present at least, he must refrain from any public co-operation with the Jacobites. Having thus, by a piece of double duplicity, established relations with both parties

parties and provided for either alternative, he proceeded to Dauphiné to watch the course of events.

Meanwhile his enemies in England had not been idle. Prior had been arrested. The papers relating to the negotiations with France had been called for and produced. A Secret Committee had been appointed to collect and arrange evidence. The most unscrupulous means had been resorted to, to make that evidence complete. Private correspondence had been seized and scrutinized. The *escritoirs* of the late Queen had been ransacked, and such was the malignant industry of this inquisition that in six weeks the evidence accumulated by them amounted to no less than twelve stout volumes. An abstract of this evidence was drawn up by Walpole with great ability in the form of a Report. On the 2nd of June he informed the House that the Committee were in a position to communicate the result of their inquiries, and the day fixed for the communication was that day week. The news of these proceedings had for several weeks kept the two factions in a state bordering on frenzy. The Whigs were eager to enhance the glory of their recent triumph by the meaner satisfaction of being able to trample on a fallen foe. The treachery of Bolingbroke and Oxford would now, they said, be incontrovertibly established. They would be punished as they deserved. The Tories, on the other hand—though Bolingbroke's flight had been a great shock to them—professed to anticipate very different results. They had no fear at all, they answered, of any such investigation, provided only it were properly conducted; they would never believe that their leaders had been guilty either of treason or misdemeanour. The Whigs, therefore, took their stand by Walpole and Stanhope; the Tories, with the exception of the Whimsicals, identified themselves with the cause of Bolingbroke and Oxford. The important day arrived. The House was densely crowded. Walpole announced, amid a breathless silence, that before producing his Report he had a motion to propose. He must request the Speaker to issue warrants for the apprehension of several persons. Upon that the lobby was cleared, the doors were locked, and the keys laid upon the table. The persons named by him were at once arrested, and among them were Thomas Harley and Mathew Prior. With these alarming preliminaries he proceeded to deliver his Report. The ceremony occupied many hours; when the House adjourned it was not concluded, and it was late in the afternoon of the following day before the last folio was read. The Whigs had triumphed. The Tories saw that defence was hopeless. The charge of Jacobitism had not, indeed, been satisfactorily established, and it was open to doubt whether anything
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had been brought forward which was technically sufficient to support a charge of high treason. But of the moral guilt of the two Ministers there could be no doubt. They had sullied the national honour, they had set at nought the most sacred ties which can bind nations together, they had sacrificed to party considerations the common interests of their country, they had had recourse to the most dishonourable subterfuges. A skilful advocate might undoubtedly have shown that these misdemeanours, grave though they were, had been accompanied with extenuating circumstances. He could have been at no loss to prove that the termination of hostilities with France was not only expedient but necessary, and he might have reasoned that if the means employed had been reprehensible, if the terms accepted had been inadequate, the blame lay with the vexatious opposition of the Whigs. He would not, we think, have had much difficulty in refuting such evidence as the prosecution had then been able to obtain touching the intrigues with James. He could have protested, and have protested with justice, against the sophistry to which Walpole had resorted in his endeavours to heighten the minor charge of high crimes and misdemeanours into the most serious charge which the law knows. On this point the Whigs undoubtedly went too far. The moral delinquency of Oxford and Bolingbroke can scarcely be exaggerated, but there had been nothing in their conduct to warrant a charge of high treason. The grounds on which the Whigs succeeded in establishing their case are well known. It was proved that in the negotiations with De Torcy Bolingbroke had endeavoured to procure for France the city of Tournay. The possession of Tournay was for the advantage of the French, with whom we were at that time in open hostility. The attempt was, therefore, interpreted as an adherence to the Queen's enemies, and adherence to the enemies of the Crown had, by a Statute of Edward III., been pronounced to be high treason. The answer to this was obvious. Tournay, as a matter of fact, had not been surrendered. Had the place been actually abandoned the sacrifice would have done no injury to England, for Tournay did not belong to her. The proposal, moreover, had been made not with a view to benefit the French, but with a view to benefit the English. The Queen herself had been a party to the proposal, and when there seemed probability of disapprobation the project had been abandoned. But the temper of the House was such that none of the partisans of the late Ministers had the courage to undertake their defence. Hanmer, indeed, rose to move that further consideration of the Report should be deferred till the members had been served with copies. To this Walpole
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and Stanhope declined to accede. Walpole then rose and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason. On the 6th of the following month Walpole presented himself at the bar of the Upper House. On the 14th of September Bolingbroke was an attainted outlaw. We have little doubt that had he remained in England this terrible sentence would never have been passed. Many of the Whigs had, we now know, serious misgivings about its justice. Some had even refused to sanction it. The wise and moderate Somers had expressed his dissent in the most emphatic terms, and had even gone so far as to compare the vindictive proceedings of Walpole and Stanhope to the proscriptions of Marius and Sulla. But the minds of the most scrupulous were soon to be set at rest. Before the measure had passed into law it had unhappily received its justification.

We have now arrived at a period in Bolingbroke's life of which he has himself left us an elaborate account. In the Letter to Sir William Wyndham he narrates the circumstances under which he attached himself to the interests of the Pretender, and he professes to lay bare without reserve the motives which induced him to take this unfortunate step. That his narrative of the events of 1715 is substantially correct we have not the smallest doubt. His principal object in penning it was to cover James and his projects with ridicule, and to show the Tories that an alliance with the Jacobites meant nothing less than alliance with disgrace and ruin. This object was, as he well knew, best attained by stating simple truth. There was no necessity for fiction; there was no necessity for over-colouring. Everything that the art of the satirist could do to render the character of James contemptible Nature had actually done. To exaggerate his incapacity was superfluous, for his conduct had been in itself the quintessence of folly. To make his Cabinet the laughing-stock of Europe all that was needed was to preserve with exact fidelity its distinctive features, for those features presented in themselves everything that the most malignant caricaturist could desire. The whole drama of 1715 was in truth such a ludicrous exhibition of recklessness and mismanagement as to be almost without parallel in history. There is, however, one portion of this narrative in which we are not inclined to place much confidence. Bolingbroke informs us that he allied himself with the Jacobites, not from motives of self-interest, but from the loftiest and purest motives which can animate a man of honour. Till his departure from England he was the acknowledged leader of the Tory party. To that party he was, he said, bound by every tie, both of sentiment and principle. Since his exile those ties had been drawn closer.

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The Tories had been submitted to a grinding despotism. They had been excluded from all share in the favour of the new King. In Parliament they had been reduced to political impotence. Principles for which they would gladly have shed their blood were trampled under the feet of savage and vindictive foes. Their very lives were at the mercy of sycophants and informers. The very existence of Toryism was at stake. At last, partly owing to the conviction that the only remedy for their misfortunes lay in a change of dynasty, partly owing to continued persecution, and partly moved by resentment at the measures which had doomed their chiefs to the fate of traitors, they had thrown themselves into the arms of the Pretender. In this extremity they appealed to their banished leader, and he responded to their call. He anticipated failure, but he had, he said, no choice. As the servant of the Tories he was, therefore, forced to cast in his lot with the Jacobites, and as the servant of the Tories he accepted the seals from James.

Now nothing is more certain than that Bolingbroke had made overtures to Berwick several weeks before any appeal had been made to him from England. He had accepted the seals at least six weeks before the Bill of Attainder had been passed,—a fact which he repeatedly denies, but which is now placed beyond doubt by the date of his first letter to James, preserved in the Stuart papers. That many of the Tories who, previous to the coronation of George, held no communication with the Jacobites had, by the violence of the Whigs, been driven to open communications with them is unquestionably true, but that Bolingbroke should have believed for one instant that the majority of the Tories would have consented to set a Papist on the throne is ludicrous. The appeal made to him emanated, as he well knew, from a small knot of men as desperate as himself. The truth is, that in taking this step he was guided, as he always was guided, by purely personal considerations. In England the game had been played out. The Tories were too feeble to become his tools, and the Whigs too wise to become his dupes. His only hope lay in mischievous activity and in the chances of fortune. He clung to the cause of James, not as an honest zealot clings to a principle, but as desperate adventurers clutch at opportunity.

His first interview with his new master was not encouraging. 'He talked,' says Bolingbroke, 'like a man who expected every moment to set out for England or Scotland, but who did not very well know which.' Of the state of his affairs the Chevalier gave, indeed, a very glowing account; though it appeared on investigation that he had arrived at his satisfactory conclusions
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by a somewhat unsatisfactory process. In other words, he had invented much, assumed more, and coloured everything. For the furtherance of his designs it was soon obvious that, in spite of all his blustering, he had done nothing. He assured Bolingbroke, however, that everything was in readiness, and he was, he said, convinced that in a few weeks he should be on the throne of his ancestors. Bolingbroke consented to accept the seals, which at the conclusion of the interview were pressed on him, but he left his new master with no very exalted ideas either of his character or of his capacity. Indeed, he afterwards assured Wyndham that he had already begun to repent of the step he had taken almost as soon as he had taken it. His penetrating eye had probably discerned in the young Prince the germs of those odious qualities which had, in the person of the Second James, made the name of Stuart a synonym for folly, and in the person of the Second Charles a synonym for ingratitude. In a few hours he received his instructions. He was to proceed to Paris, which was to be the basis of operations. He was to put himself at the head of the Jacobite party. He was to open communications with the United Kingdom, and to lose no time in soliciting the assistance of Louis. Bolingbroke arrived in Paris at the end of July. He was anxious to meet his coadjutors, and orders were at once issued for the Jacobite Ministry to meet. His interview with James had been a shock, but when his eyes rested on the spectacle which now presented itself, his heart sank within him. He saw before him a sordid rabble of both sexes. They appeared to have no bond of union, but had gathered in knots, and in a few minutes he was enabled to discover that they represented the scum of four nations. Their hopes were high, their voices were loud; their air and gestures indicated boundless self-importance. Those who could read and write had papers in their hands, and those who could neither read nor write were contenting themselves with looking mysterious. On analysing this assembly into its constituent parts, he perceived that it consisted of hot-headed Irish vagrants, largely recruited from the least reputable sections of Parisian society; of a few Englishmen who had been glad to put the Channel between themselves and their infuriated creditors; and of several women whose characters were more obvious than respectable. To these had been added a small body of Scotch adventurers, desperate from poverty, and mad with fanaticism. As each of these politicians recognized no leader but James, each, in the absence of James, had proceeded on the principle of doing what was right in his own eyes. Each regarded his neighbour, not in the light of an ally,

ally, but in the light of a rival; and as nobody had looked beyond himself, nobody had advanced one step toward the attainment of what could only be attained by mutual co-operation. The temper of such assemblies has been the same in all ages. The only counsellors in whom they have any confidence are those who flatter their hopes; the only counsellors to whom they refuse to listen are those who would teach them how those hopes may be realized. Everything is seen by them through a false medium. Their imagination is the dupe of their vanity. Their reason is perverted by their passions. As their distinguishing features are ignorance and credulity, they are, of all bodies of men, the most impracticable; for the first renders them incapable of discerning their true interests, and the second keeps them in a state of perpetual agitation. Never were these peculiarities more strikingly illustrated than by the crowd which now surrounded Bolingbroke. The public discontent in England was multiplied a thousand-fold. Every riot was a rebellion. Every street-brawl portended revolution. Scotland and Ireland were on the point of rising. The Whig Cabinet had collapsed. The army had mutinied. Nothing was more certain than that in a few weeks James would be at Whitehall and George in exile. Letters and despatches, which had in truth emanated from men of the same character as those with whom they corresponded, were produced to prove the truth of this rodomontade. It was useless to reason with these fanatics. It was useless to point out to them that the battle had yet to be fought, and that, if victory came, it would not come spontaneously, but as the prize of valour and prudence.

Bolingbroke now clearly saw that to have any chance of success he must stand alone. He could rely on no assistance from his master, he could expect nothing but embarrassment from his colleagues in Paris. He proceeded at once to grapple with the difficulties of his position, and he grappled with them as few men have ever grappled with difficulties so arduous and complicated. At this moment the prospects of the Jacobites were not unpromising. Among the States of Europe there was scarcely one which regarded the accession of the House of Hanover with favour. Louis XIV. took no pains to conceal the fact that nothing but national exhaustion, occasioned by recent disaster, prevented him from openly espousing the cause of James. The sympathies of Spain were entirely on the side of Jacobitism. The policy of Portugal was to stand well with France. The Emperor, incensed at the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht, kept sullenly aloof from both parties, but it was generally understood that he viewed the elevation of the Elector with

with feelings of suspicion and jealousy. Indeed, the only Powers who could be described as in any way attached to George were Holland and Prussia. Of these Holland was too deeply involved in financial embarrassment to be of much service, and Prussia was not in a condition to do more than contribute a few troops for the preservation of Hanover. In Scotland the discontent was deep-seated and general. In Ireland the prospect of James's accession was hailed with joy. In England, though affairs had by no means advanced so far as the Jacobite agents represented, there were ample grounds for hope. These advantages were, however, of a negative character; the task before Bolingbroke was to discover in what way they might be turned to the best account. The ground was cleared, the material lay ready, but the edifice had yet to be raised. His proper course was easy to discern. He must unite the scattered forces of his party by establishing a regular communication between them. He must make the Jacobites, who lay dispersed through France, through England, through Scotland, through Ireland, act in unison. When they rose they must rise not in detachments and at intervals, but simultaneously, under the command of competent officers. He must obtain assistance from France, for without that assistance no manœuvre could be effectual. He must endeavour by dint of skilful diplomacy to secure the co-operation of Spain and Sweden.

To these difficult duties he devoted himself with admirable skill and temper. Never indeed were his eminent abilities seen to greater advantage. In a few weeks he had not only induced Louis to provide the Jacobites with ammunition, but he had kindled in the breast of the aged King the same ardour which glowed within his own, and he had brought him almost to the point of declaring war with England. He had obtained pecuniary assistance from Spain. He had opened negotiations with Charles XII. He had put himself into communication with the leading Jacobites in the three kingdoms, and had exactly informed them both of what it was necessary for them to do, and of what it behoved them to guard against. He had twice saved James from taking steps which must inevitably have ruined him. Affairs which were, before he left Dauphiné, in the utmost possible perplexity, now began to assume an aspect so promising that some of the leading members of George's Government were meditating treachery, and the Chevalier could number among his adherents the great names of Marlborough and Shrewsbury. Measures had, moreover, been concerted for seizing Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth. It would not, we think, be going too far to say that, had Boling-

broke been suffered to continue as he commenced, had he been properly supported by the Jacobite leaders, had his warnings been regarded, had his instructions been carried out, had his supremacy in the Council been seconded by Berwick's supremacy in the field, the whole course of European history might have been changed. The more closely we examine the Rebellion of 1715, the more apparent will this appear. It began as a desperate enterprise on the part of a few hot-headed adventurers. It promised under the direction of Bolingbroke to become the first act of a tremendous drama. The scheme of operations, as designed by him, was without a flaw. He had provided for all contingencies except those contingencies which no human foresight can meet. In the United Kingdom he had laid the foundation of a coalition which would in all probability be irresistible; on the Continent he was sure of the neutrality of those Powers which could oppose his designs, and he had ample reason for supposing that those Powers would on the first appearance of success declare in his favour. But the levity and faithlessness of James, and the insane folly of the Jacobites, were unhappily in exact proportion to his own wisdom and foresight. At the end of August he was astounded to hear that Ormond, on whom everything depended in England, and who had in a recent despatch promised to hold out, had deserted his post and was in Paris. The flight of Ormond was shortly afterwards succeeded by the death of Louis XIV. 'He was,' said Bolingbroke, 'the best friend the Chevalier ever had.' These events were a severe blow. For the flight of Ormond augured ill for the prospects of the Jacobites in England, and the death of Louis augured ill for their prospects in France. Still he was sanguine. The next three weeks were spent in receiving and in answering despatches from England and Scotland, and in sounding the new French Government. The Regent was courteous and sympathetic, but Bolingbroke was not long in discerning that the interests of his wily neighbour were by no means compatible with running any risks for the Jacobites. The state of France was indeed such as to preclude all hopes of assistance. Louis had left his kingdom in a deplorable condition. Her provinces were desolated by famine. Her finances were hopelessly involved; her capital was torn by faction. The only thing which could enable her to recover herself was peace, and the maintenance of peace was therefore the Regent's first consideration.

There was also another question which entered largely into his calculations. The diseased and sickly child whose place he filled was scarcely likely to survive infancy. Philip of Spain, who

who was in order of succession next heir to the throne of France, had by the Treaty of Utrecht solemnly renounced all claims to it. The Regent, therefore, was heir-presumptive. But Philip had recently announced that he had no intention of abiding by his former decision, and that the renunciations he made at Utrecht were, as the lawyers had at the time justly asserted, invalid. His claim was good, and it was his intention, should occasion offer, to assert it. This claim Orleans very naturally determined to resist, and was anxious to form such alliances as might enable him to make this resistance effectual. He shrank therefore from compromising himself with the English Government by assisting the Jacobites, and from compromising himself with the Jacobites by assisting the English Government, for either might serve his turn. His policy was to leave the two parties to settle the question of supremacy between them, and to maintain a position of strict neutrality until that question should be decided. It was a matter of little importance to him whether George or James sat on the throne of England, but it was a matter of great importance to him that the King who filled that throne should, in the event of young Louis's death, consent to guarantee the succession of the House of Orleans. Such was, we believe, the real policy of the Regent at this conjuncture. He was certainly in communication with Ormond and Bolingbroke; he was as certainly in communication with Stair and Stanhope.

And now everything began to go wrong. The Jacobites were apparently bent on nothing but self-destruction. The chief objects of their leaders appeared to be to outbid each other in folly, and to defeat the efforts of the two men who might have saved them. The only coadjutors in whom James had any confidence, were those who were betraying him to Stair. The only counsellors who had any weight with Ormond, were two harlots and a hare-brained priest. Bolingbroke and Berwick had scarcely a voice in the conduct of affairs. If they were consulted, they were consulted only to be laughed at; if they issued instructions, their instructions were either countermanded or set at nought.

This was bad, but this was not all. To men situated as the Jacobites then were, nothing was more indispensable than secrecy; but their secrets were, as Bolingbroke bitterly observed, the property of everybody who kept his ears open. In consequence of this indiscreet loquacity, it was soon known that a small armament, assembled at Havre, had been assembled for the purpose of assisting the Chevalier. Stair demanded therefore that it should be surrendered to the English Government. To

this request, however, the Regent refused to accede, but a compromise was accepted, and the flotilla was disarmed and broken up. Having thus succeeded in ruining themselves by sea, the Jacobites lost no time in ruining themselves by land. In the middle of September, Bolingbroke addressed a despatch to Mar, who had undertaken the management of affairs in Scotland, pointing out to him that it would be worse than useless to raise the Highlands without support from France, and without providing for a simultaneous movement on the part of the Jacobites in England. But Mar had already assembled the clans before Bolingbroke's despatch arrived. It appears, indeed, that James had had the inconceivable folly to issue on his own responsibility, and without consulting either Bolingbroke or Berwick, previous instructions ordering Mar to take this insane step. All that ensued was of a piece with all that preceded. Blunder followed on blunder, disaster on disaster, in rapid succession. Ormond sailed for Devonshire to find, instead of loyal multitudes rallying round his standard, a solitary coast, a churlish fellow who refused him a night's lodging, most of the leading Jacobites in custody, and warrants out for the arrest of Jersey and Wyndham. The Chevalier, not to be outdone in folly, dallied at St. Malo, debating about what was the best thing to do till it was too late to do anything but despair, and then hurried off to head a forlorn hope in Scotland. In a few months all was over. A tragedy, the particulars of which it is difficult even at this distance of time to peruse without tears, had been enacted. A large multitude of brave and generous enthusiasts had, in obedience to a noble impulse, and after making heroic self-sacrifices, rushed to destruction. Everything that could be effected by a spirit which rose superior to privation and reverses, by fidelity strong even to martyrdom, and by a fortitude which death could subdue only by extinguishing, these gallant men had done. For a cause which was in their eyes the cause of justice, they had sacrificed their fortunes; for one who was to them merely the representative of a righteous claim, they had poured out their blood. Whatever may have been the motives which animated their leaders in France, the motives of these unhappy men had at least been pure and honourable. But terrible indeed had been their fate. Many who had not had the good fortune to find a grave in the field, had been condemned to die the death of felons. Two chiefs, distinguished by rank and opulence, and still more honourably distinguished by the virtues of heroism, had been led to the scaffold. The hopes of the Jacobites had been blighted; their power had been destroyed; their very names had become a by-word.

One thing and one thing only was now wanting to make James and his counsellors completely contemptible. If their party contained a man whose sagacity and good sense had, during the general frenzy, been above imputation, and whose services had entitled him to the respect and gratitude of the Jacobites, that man was Bolingbroke. Of all James's servants, he had been the most able and the most zealous. He had furnished the Jacobites with a plan of operations which nothing but their own temerity and wrongheadedness could have defeated. He had amply forewarned them of their errors, and when they had set his warnings at defiance, he had moved heaven and earth to extricate them from the consequences of those errors. When the prospects of Jacobitism were blackest, when everything was lost in England, and when everything was on the point of being lost in Scotland, he had not despaired. He had renewed his applications to Spain and Sweden, he had been at great pains to procure and ship off ammunition and soldiers. He had submitted to every indignity that he might gain access to the Regent, and obtain assistance from the French Court. His official duties he had performed with punctilious exactness, and from the day on which he took up the Seals at Commercys to the day on which he was ordered to resign them, he had done nothing inconsistent with the character of a wise and honest Minister. All this weighed, however, very little with men who saw that they might, with a little management, make him the scapegoat of their own follies. With the Jacobite clique in the Bois de Boulogne he had never been popular. From the Jacobite rabble he had always stood contemptuously aloof. Scandalous stories were therefore without difficulty vamped up against him and industriously circulated. He was charged, among other things, with having at a supper party spoken disrespectfully of James, which was possibly true; with having lavished on his mistress money which had been entrusted to him for State purposes, which was certainly false; with having neglected his duties, which carried with it its own refutation. Mar and Ormond, with scandalous indifference to truth, attributed to his incapacity and negligence the misfortunes in Scotland, and the fact that no assistance had been obtained from France. The Chevalier, glad to find an opportunity of imputing to his Minister the calamities for which he had himself been mainly responsible, caught eagerly at these calumnies. At the end of January, therefore, Bolingbroke suddenly received his dismissal, the dismissal being accompanied with gross insult, and succeeded by a storm of obloquy. So terminated his unfortunate connection with the Jacobites.

We have thought it desirable to enter at some length into this episode in his career, first because of the influence it subsequently exercised both on his conduct and on his opinions, and secondly because it has, we think, been very generally misunderstood. Few parts of his public life have been so malignantly assailed, and no part of his public life was, we are convinced, more creditable to him. He served James as he had never before served Anne, and as he never afterwards served any master. At no period was his political genius seen to greater advantage, at no period were his characteristic defects under better control. During these few months he exhibited, indeed, some of the highest qualities of an administrator and a diplomatist, and if he failed, he failed under circumstances which would have rendered Richelieu powerless, and have baffled the skill of Theramenes or Talleyrand. The motives which originally induced him to join the Jacobites were, as we have already admitted, anything but laudable, but an estimate of the motives which induced him to join the Chevalier, and an estimate of his conduct as the Chevalier's Minister, ought by no means to be confounded. What he did he did well, though it should never have been done at all.

The news of his disgrace was received with great joy by the English Cabinet. The character of Bolingbroke was too well known to admit of any doubt as to the course he would take. All who knew him knew that his recent allies had transformed the most formidable of their coadjutors into the most formidable of their enemies; and he would, it was expected, run into all lengths that revenge and interest might hurry him. The Jacobites had, indeed, suffered too severely in the recent struggle to make it probable that they were in a position to renew hostilities, but their real strength was still unknown, their numbers were still uncertain, their movements were full of mystery. If Bolingbroke would consent to throw light on these points—and no man was more competent to do so—he would relieve the Ministry from much embarrassment. If he could be induced to open the minds of the Tories to the real character of James, he would do much to restore public tranquillity. It was resolved, therefore, to see what could be done with him, and instructions were forwarded to Stair to solicit an interview. The two statesmen met at the Embassy. Bolingbroke behaved exactly as Stair anticipated. He longed, he said, to get back to England. His sole anxiety was to be enabled to serve his country and his Sovereign with zeal and affection. He would do everything that was required of him. He would show the Tories what manner of man the Pretender was,

was, and how grossly they had been deceived in him. He could not, as a man of honour, either betray individuals or divulge private secrets, but he would throw all the light he could on the movements and on the designs of the Jacobites. 'Time and my uniform conduct will,' he added in conclusion, 'convince the world of the uprightness of my intentions, and it is better to wait for this result, however long, than to arrive hastily at one's goal by leaving the highway of honour and honesty.' To all this Stair listened with sympathy and respect. His instructions had, however, gone no further than to hold out 'suitable hopes and encouragement,' and suitable hopes and encouragement were all that Bolingbroke could obtain from him. Bolingbroke left the Embassy, little thinking that seven years were to elapse before those hopes were even partially to be realized.

Those seven years were perhaps the happiest years of his life. He was, it is true, pursued by the unrelenting malevolence of the Jacobites, and he was kept in a state of uneasy expectation by Stanhope and Sunderland, who would neither definitely refuse or definitely promise a pardon. But, for the rest, his life was without a shadow, and he had in truth little occasion for the exercise of that stoicism which he now began with so much ostentation to profess. He was in the prime of manhood. His excesses had not as yet begun to tell upon his fine constitution. A fortunate speculation had secured him a competence. A fortunate connection was soon to win him from grosser indulgences to more refined enjoyments. He was the centre of a society which numbered among its members some of the most accomplished men and women of those times. In the salon of the Faubourg Saint-Germain he was a welcome guest. In the Société d'Entresol he had a distinguished place. He was enabled to gratify to the full, first at Marcilly and subsequently at La Source, the two passions which were, he said, the dominant passions of his life—the love of study and the love of rural pursuits. Ambition had still its old fascinations for him, but the nature of that ambition had undergone a complete change. Up to this time he had been the leader of a party; he now aspired to be a leader of mankind. Up to this time the prize for which he had been contending had been popularity; the arena on which he had fought, an arena crowded with ignoble competitors. He now aspired to enter that greater arena where, in a spirit of more honourable rivalry, nobler candidates contend for nobler prizes. At the beginning of this period he produced, within a few months of each other, a work of which the best that can be said of it is that it would not disgrace a University prizeman,

prizeman, and a work which has by many of his critics been pronounced to be his masterpiece—the ‘Reflections on Exile,’ and the ‘Letter to Sir William Wyndham.’ The ‘Reflections on Exile’ is, in truth, little more than a loose paraphrase of Seneca’s ‘Consolatio ad Helviam,’ garnished with illustrative matter from Cicero and Plutarch, and enlivened with a few anecdotes derived principally from the Roman historians and from Diogenes Laertius. It reproduces in a diffuse and grandiloquent style those silly paradoxes by which the followers of Zeno affected to rob misfortune of its terrors. As exile has been the lot of some of the most exalted characters of antiquity, exile involves no dishonour, and dishonour is all that a good man has to fear. To a philosopher exile is impossible, for a philosopher is a citizen of the world, and how can a man be banished from his country, when his country is the universe? If exile is a misfortune, exile is a blessing, for without misfortune there can be no virtue, and without virtue there can be no enjoyment. These sentiments, which would have been ridiculous in the mouth of Cato or Brutus, become doubly ridiculous when proceeding from a man like Bolingbroke, and their inconsistency is the more grotesque when we remember that at the time this Essay was written the profligacy of his private life had reached its climax, and that he was, in his letters and conversation, expressing the greatest impatience to return to England. In striking contrast to this false and puerile declamation stands the Letter to Wyndham, which must not be confounded,—and we are surprised to see that so well-informed a writer as M. Charles de Rémusat does confound it—with the shorter ‘Letter to Wyndham,’ dated September 13, 1716, and preserved among the ‘Townshend Papers.’ The immediate cause of the composition of this celebrated work was the appearance of a pamphlet, entitled ‘A Letter from Avignon,’ a publication in which the Jacobites had at great length enumerated the crimes and blunders of which they accused Bolingbroke. Incensed at this libel, which he afterwards described as a medley of false argument, false English, and false eloquence, he determined not only to refute once and for ever the calumnies of the contemptible assailants, but to do everything in his power to remove the divisions between the Tories and the Jacobites, and to restore harmony with an elaborate vindication of his conduct from his accession to office in 1710 to his dismissal from the Secretary’s service in 1716. Of the historical value we have already spoken. Of its literary value it is impossible to speak too highly. As a composition it exhibits in perfection that style of which Bolingbroke

Bolingbroke is our greatest master—a style in which the graces of colloquy and the graces of rhetoric harmoniously blend. Walpole never produced a more amusing sketch than the picture of the Pretender's Court at Paris, and of the Privy Council in the Bois de Boulogne. Burke never produced anything finer than the passage which commences with the words—‘The Ocean which surrounds us is an emblem of our government.’ The account of the state of affairs during the last years of Anne, at the accession of George I., and during the course of the Rebellion, are models of graceful and luminous narrative, and we shall have to go to Clarendon or Tacitus to find anything superior to the portraits of Oxford and of James.

Its serious reflections, its strokes of humour, its sarcasm, its invective—are equally admirable. It is singular that though this Letter was, as we have seen, written with the immediate object of crushing the Jacobites, it was never published, perhaps never even printed, until after Bolingbroke's death. Of this curious circumstance no satisfactory explanation has been given. Mr. Macknight's theory is that Bolingbroke withheld its publication in consequence of the suspension of his pardon, and afterwards forgot it. This is not, we think, very probable. Our own opinion is that when busy with the work he altered his mind, and, attaching more importance to it as a vindication of his conduct in the eyes of posterity than as a contribution to ephemeral polemics, resolved to keep it by him until death had removed those who might challenge his assertions, and shake his credit. The Letter abounds in statements which rest on no authority but that of the writer, statements which may be false or which may be true, but which, true or false, would not have passed unquestioned by contemporaries. It bears, moreover, all the marks of careful revision. No work of Bolingbroke is more highly finished.

Bolingbroke was now in his thirty-ninth year. Since his residence in France his relations with the other sex had either been those of a libertine or a trifler. Sensual pleasures were beginning to pall upon him. Platonic gallantries were becoming wearisome. His wife was in England, and his wife he regarded with contempt. But in the spring of 1717 he met a woman who inspired him with a passion very different from anything which he had experienced before. Marie-Claire Deschamps de Marcilly was the widow of the Marquis de Villette, and the niece of Madame de Maintenon. As a schoolgirl at Saint-Cyr, she had attracted the attention of Louis XIV., by the skill with which she had supported the character of Zarès, when, under the auspices of Madame de Maintenon, Racine's ‘Esther’ was acted by

by the scholars of that famous seminary. She was now upwards of forty, and her beauty had lost its bloom. But her grace, her vivacity, her accomplishments, made her the delight of the polished circles in which she moved. Her wit has been celebrated by Walpole, and her conversation was, even among the coteries of Versailles, noted for its brilliancy. In the majority of women such qualities are perhaps more calculated to impress the mind than to touch the heart; but in the Marquise de Villette they were tempered with the feminine charms of amiability and good taste. Bolingbroke was soon at her feet. His mistress was not obdurate, and the two lovers appear to have divided their time between the Rue Saint-Dominique, Faubourg Saint-Germain, where the Marquise had a town residence, and Marcilly in Champagne, where she possessed a fine chateau. The death of Lady Bolingbroke, in November, 1718, removed the only impediment to their marriage, but the ceremony was deferred till 1720, when they were in all probability united at Aix-la-Chapelle. A little before this event occurred, Bolingbroke was relieved by a great piece of good luck from the disagreeable necessity of being dependent on his wife's fortune. He had been induced to take some shares in Law's Mississippi Stocks, when the shares were low, and these shares he had sold out in time to realize large profits. He afterwards observed that if he could have condescended to flatter Law for half an hour a week, or to have troubled himself for two minutes a day about money markets, he might have gained an immense fortune, but such transactions were in his opinion little worthy either of a philosopher or of a gentleman.

At the beginning of 1720 he removed with his wife to that romantic and picturesque spot which is still associated with his name, La Source, near Orleans. Here he amused himself with laying out his grounds, with scribbling Latin inscriptions for his summer-houses, and with trying to persuade his friends and himself that the world and the world's affairs were beneath his notice. In his Letters to Swift he affects the character of an elegant trifler, indulges with absurd affectation in the cant of the Porch and the Garden, and writes in a style in which the best vein of Horace and the worst vein of Seneca are curiously intermingled. Such was Bolingbroke as he chose to describe himself to his acquaintances in England, but such was not the Bolingbroke of La Source. His habits were, in truth, those of a severe student. He rose early, he read hard. His intimate companions were men of science and letters, and the time that was not spent in study was spent for the most part in literary and philosophical discussion. Since his retirement

ment from Paris he had been engaged on works which could have left him little leisure for idling. We find him busy with antiquities, with patristic and classical literature, with researches into the credibility of ancient annals, and with a comparative criticism of the various systems of chronology. We learn, moreover, from his correspondence, that he had, in addition to all this, struck out some new theory about history, and that he was meditating an account of Rome and England to be written in accordance with that theory. Since his residence at La Source his undertakings had been still more ambitious. By the end of 1722 he had probably produced—for it is extremely difficult to settle the exact date of his earlier works—the Letters to Pouilly, of which he afterwards published an interesting abstract; a ‘Treatise on the Limits of Human Knowledge,’ of which he speaks in a letter to Alari, and which is perhaps substantially identical with the first of the Four Essays addressed to Pope; a Letter occasioned by one of Archbishop Tillotson’s sermons; and the ‘Reflections on Innate Moral Principles.’ In a word, he had before he quitted La Source formulated the most important of those historical and philosophical theories which were afterwards developed in his works. He had forged the weapons which, variously tempered, were in a few years to be wielded with such tremendous effect by his disciples. This is a circumstance which, in estimating his influence on contemporaries, and pre-eminently on Voltaire, it is very necessary to bear in mind. But it is a circumstance which has, we believe, escaped the notice of all his biographers and critics. The consequence has been that they have fallen into error of a fourfold kind. They have represented Bolingbroke as following, where in reality he was leading. They have attributed to his disciples what undoubtedly belongs to him; they have confounded his theories with the theories of the English Freethinkers, and they have supposed that the movement, of which he was the central figure in France, was identical with the movement of which Toland and Tyndal were the central figures in England. Nothing is, it is true, more natural than to estimate the influence of an author upon his age by the influence of his published writings, and yet in Bolingbroke’s case nothing would be more misleading. The era inaugurated by him in the history of political opinion dates indeed from the appearance of his papers in the ‘Craftsman,’ but the era he inaugurated in a far more important revolution dates from a period long antecedent to the publication of a single treatise by him. This era was marked, not by what he printed, but by what he spoke; not by what he dictated to an amanuensis, but
what

what he dictated in familiar intercourse to his friends. Many years before his appearance as an author, his work as an initiator had been done. Many years before he appealed himself to the public mind, he had appealed to those by whom the public mind is moved. While the circulation of his writings was confined to private cliques, the substance of his writings had been interpreted to Europe in prose as matchless as his own, and in verse more brilliant than that in which Lucretius clothed the doctrine of Epicurus; for his first disciple was Voltaire, and his second disciple was Pope.

We believe, then, that when young François Arouet arrived in the winter of 1721 as a visitor at La Source, Bolingbroke had made considerable progress in the First Philosophy, had formulated his creed, and was perhaps not unwilling to provide the new creed with neophytes. Voltaire—to call him by the name he afterwards assumed—was in raptures with his host. He found him almost omniscient: ‘J’ai trouvé dans cet illustre Anglais,’ he is writing to his friend Theriot, ‘toute l’érudition de son pays et toute la politesse du nôtre. Cet homme, qui a passé toute sa vie dans les plaisirs et dans les affaires, a trouvé pourtant le moyen de tout apprendre et de tout retenir. Il sait l’histoire des anciens Égyptiens comme celle d’Angleterre; il possède Virgile comme Milton; il aime la poésie anglaise, la française et l’italienne.’ The young poet was at that time busy with his epic poem, which Bolingbroke pronounced to be superior to anything which had yet appeared in French poetry. Their conversation soon turned, however, on more serious topics than the virtues of Henri Quatre, and Voltaire, who entered La Source meditating the ‘Henriade,’ quitted it meditating ‘Le Pour et le Contre.’ How long he remained under Bolingbroke’s roof it is now impossible to say, but he evidently remained long enough to become impregnated with his ideas. The intimacy thus commenced in France was afterwards renewed in England, where for upwards of two years the friends lived within a few miles of each other.

The nature and extent of Bolingbroke’s influence on Voltaire is one of the most interesting questions in the literary history of the eighteenth century, and it is a question which has never, in our opinion, received half the attention it deserves. English biographers have, as a rule, ignored it; French critics have contented themselves with making a few general observations, in which a very laudable desire to do justice to Bolingbroke struggles with a very natural desire to do honour to Voltaire. Now Voltaire himself never made any secret of his obligations to Bolingbroke. When the two friends first met at La Source,

Bolingbroke

Bolingbroke discussed, he listened. To the end of his life he regarded him as his master. To the end of his life he continued to speak of him with mingled feelings of reverence and affection. When the two friends first met, Bolingbroke was just at that age when the individuality of men is most pronounced, Voltaire was just at that age when the mind is most susceptible and most tenacious of new impressions. The one was aspiring to open out fresh worlds of thought, to initiate a fresh era in the history of enquiry; the other had up to that time aspired to nothing higher than to polish verses and to point epigrams. Bolingbroke assumed, therefore, naturally enough, the authority of a teacher; Voltaire accepted, naturally enough, the position of a disciple. When they met in England, they met on a similar footing; the one eager to impart, the other eager to acquire; the one covering reams of manuscript with his thoughts, the other storing his memory with recollections. In conversation Bolingbroke delighted in long monologues, the diction of which was, we are told, as perfect as that of his printed dissertations. 'He possessed,' says Chesterfield, 'such a flowing happiness of expression, that even his most familiar conversations, if taken down in writing, would have borne the press without the least correction either as to method or style.' In these monologues he dealt at length with the topics which form the substance of his philosophical works. Indeed, it was notorious among those who knew him well, that there was scarcely a theory, an opinion, or even an idea, in his posthumous writings which had not been repeatedly anticipated by him in conversation. To these conversations Voltaire sat for two years a delighted listener. It would not, of course, be true to say that what he learned in the drawing-room at Dawley was the sum of what he gathered during his residence among us. For he studied our literature and our history, our institutions and our character, as none of his countrymen have ever done before or since. But there is, we think, a distinction to be drawn between what he derived from observation and study, and what he derived immediately from his intercourse with Bolingbroke. What he saw and read, sent him from our shores a master in the niceties of our tongue, a scholar familiar with almost everything which English genius had produced in poetry, in criticism, in satire, in metaphysical speculation; the champion of civil and intellectual liberty, the disciple and exponent of Locke and Newton. From Bolingbroke he learned the application of those studies. He emerged from the school of Locke and Newton a logician and a philosopher. He emerged from the school of Bolingbroke the
Prince

Prince of Iconoclasts and the Apostle of Scepticism. It was Bolingbroke who taught him to pervert the 'Essay on the Human Understanding' into a vindication of materialism, and the 'Novum Organon' into a satire on metaphysics. Nor was this all. The writings and the conversation of his friend furnished him not only with the hint and framework of those doctrines which the world has for many generations recognized as most characteristic of Voltaire, but with an inexhaustible store of illustrative matter; with references, with illustrations, with arguments. This will be at once evident if we compare what Voltaire has written on metaphysics, on early Christianity, on theological dogma, on the nature of the Deity, on the relation of man to the Deity, on inspiration, on religious sectarianism, on the authenticity of the Hebrew Scriptures, on the authenticity of the Gospels, on the credibility of profane historians, on the origin of civil society, on the study and true use of history—with what Bolingbroke has written on the same subjects. Should any one be inclined to question the correctness of what we have advanced, we would exhort him to compare the 'Traité de Métaphysique,' the 'Dieu et les Hommes,' and the 'Homélie sur l'Athéisme,' with the Abstract of the 'Letters to Pouilly,' and the 'Essays' addressed to Pope; the 'Examen Important de milord Bolingbroke,' the remarks on Jewish History in the 'Essai sur les Mœurs,' with the 'Letter occasioned by one of Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons,' and the dissertation on Sacred Annals in the 'Third Letter on the Study of History;' the 'Lettres de Memmius à Cicéron' with the 'Minutes of Essays;' the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth articles in the 'Fragmens sur l'Histoire' with the theories and principles inculcated in the 'Letters on the Study of History.' It would not, perhaps, be going too far to say that the historical dissertations of Bolingbroke suggested and inspired both the 'Essai sur les Mœurs' and the 'Essai sur le Pyrrhonisme de l'Histoire,' as they certainly furnished models for the opening chapters of the 'Siècle de Louis XIV.'

To return, however, from our digression. Though Bolingbroke continued to assure his friends that his life at La Source left him nothing to desire, that his philosophy grew confirmed by habit, and that he was—we are quoting his own words—under no apprehension that a glut of study and retirement would ever cast him back into the world, his whole soul was ulcerated by discontent and impatience. He implored Lord Polworth, whom he met in the spring of 1722, to remind the English Ministry of their promise. He applied to the Duke of Orleans

Orleans and to Du Bois to exercise their influence with Walpole and Townshend. He expressed himself willing to submit to any conditions if he could only procure a pardon. At last, in May 1723, the grant which enabled him to become once more a denizen of his native country passed the Great Seal. An Act of Parliament was still necessary for the restoration of his right of inheritance, and for the recovery of his seat in the Upper House. He was now, however, enabled to plead for himself. At the beginning of June he set out for England. As the ship was waiting for a favourable wind, a curious incident occurred. A few weeks before, his old coadjutor Atterbury had been convicted of treasonable correspondence with the Jacobites, and had, in consequence, been ordered to quit the kingdom. The two men, formerly allied so nearly, and now so widely estranged, passed each other without speaking at Calais—the one the proselyte, the other the martyr, of a common cause. ‘I am exchanged,’ was the Bishop’s very significant comment.

On his arrival in London, Bolingbroke found that the King had departed for Hanover, and that the two secretaries, Carteret and Townshend, were with him. Many months would in all probability elapse before the Houses re-assembled. During the interval he hoped by dexterous diplomacy to form such alliances and to mature such schemes as would, in the following Session, suffice to make the reversal of his attainder a matter of certainty. In the tactics of political intrigue he had few rivals, and he soon discovered that he was in a position eminently favourable for their application. The schisms which had from the formation of George’s first Ministry divided the Cabinet had now resolved themselves into one great struggle. The events of 1717 had left Sunderland and Stanhope masters of the field. The events of 1721 had ruined Sunderland and Stanhope, and had established the supremacy of Walpole and Townshend. That supremacy had been confirmed by the death of Stanhope in 1721, and by the death of Sunderland in 1722. There still remained, however, one formidable rival, a rival who had inherited all those principles of foreign and domestic policy which Sunderland had laboured to uphold, who with those principles possessed abilities such as neither Stanhope nor Sunderland had any pretensions to, and who, though he had not completed his thirty-third year, had more influence in the councils of Europe than either of the two Ministers. That rival was Carteret. As long as Carteret remained, Walpole and his brother-in-law saw that they would have no peace. But to get rid of Carteret was no easy matter. At this moment, indeed, it seemed probable that the struggle would

would terminate in favour of their refractory colleague. He stood well with the King; he stood well with those by whom the King was governed, with Berndorf and Bothmar, with the Countess of Darlington and with the Countess of Platen. At the Court of France his influence was paramount, for the English ambassador, Sir Luke Schaub, was his creature, and the late Regent's confidential adviser, Du Bois, was his friend. While the issue of this contest still hung doubtful, Bolingbroke prudently abstained from assuming the character of a partisan. Both of the belligerents could, as he well knew, serve his turn; the opposition of either might be fatal to his interests. By estranging Carteret, he would estrange the Court; by estranging Walpole and Townshend, he would estrange the most influential members of the Upper and the Lower House. In a few weeks, however, it became more and more evident that the power of Carteret was declining, and at the end of July Bolingbroke attempted, by a skilful and well-timed manœuvre, to establish such relations with Walpole as must have imposed on that Minister the necessity of becoming his advocate. He was, he said, in a position to make a proposal, which would not, he hoped, in the present condition of affairs be unacceptable. His friends, the leaders of the Tory party, Sir William Wyndham, Lord Bathurst and Lord Gower, were prepared to form a coalition with the brother Ministers. They had already been invited to coalesce with Carteret, but they had no faith either in Carteret's policy or in Carteret's promises, and they were now willing to take their stand by Walpole as they had been a few months back ready to take their stand by his rival. Walpole at once discovered with what object these overtures had been made. He had little confidence in the Tories, he had still less confidence in their ambassador; and he not only peremptorily declined to enter into such a negociation, but he boldly told Bolingbroke that he had been guilty of great indiscretion in entangling himself in Tory intrigues, when his political salvation depended on the favour of a Whig Parliament. This was not encouraging, but Bolingbroke had too much sagacity to display either resentment or chagrin; he gracefully acknowledged the justice of what Walpole had said, expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the result of their interview, and withdrew to try his fortune with Townshend and Carteret. In September he started for Aix-la-Chapelle, nominally on the plea of ill-health, really, no doubt, to see if he could succeed in obtaining an interview with the King, and to consider in what way he could turn to account the despicable intrigues which soon afterwards terminated in the fall

fall of Carteret. During his visit at Aix-la-Chapelle he received, however, no encouragement to go on to Herrenhausen, and in a few weeks he proceeded to Paris. He found the Court of Versailles the centre of that struggle which was agitating Whitehall and Herrenhausen. It had now reached its climax. The English ambassador, Sir Luke Schaub, the nominee of Carteret, had been virtually superseded by Horace Walpole, the nominee of Walpole and Townshend. Paris was distracted with the quarrels of the rival Ministers. The partisans of Carteret united with Schaub in taunting Walpole, the partisans of Walpole united with his brother in insulting Schaub; and all was confusion. In the midst of these ignominious squabbles the Duke of Orleans died, and the Duke of Bourbon succeeded him. It was a critical moment. Our relations with Foreign Powers were at that instant of such a kind that a change in the policy of the French Cabinet could not be contemplated without alarm. With Orleans and Du Bois our intercourse had been frank and cordial, with the Duke of Bourbon we were in a manner dealing with one who was almost a stranger. It became very necessary, therefore, not only to cultivate his good-will, but to ascertain, if possible, his views. The course of these events had been watched by Bolingbroke with anxious interest. He had now made up his mind that all was over with Carteret, he had accordingly determined to have nothing more to do with Schaub, and to come to an understanding with Schaub's antagonist. The accession of the Duke of Bourbon afforded him just the opportunity he wanted. He could now, he thought, repeat with a better chance of success the same stratagem which he had before attempted in England,—could, that is to say, force his services on the Cabinet in such a manner as to oblige them in common justice to assist him. With this object he waited on Horace Walpole. He had come, he said, to offer himself as a mediator between the Embassy and the Court, and for this post he was, he ventured to think, peculiarly qualified. He had the good fortune to be on intimate terms with the Duke, and with the only person who had influence with the Duke, with Madame de Prie. He wrote off in a similar strain to London, volunteering in lengthy despatches, not only information, but counsel. In a word, he managed, with consummate dexterity, to assume such importance in the conduct of affairs, as must, in a few weeks, says Coxe, have thrown the principal management of the whole business into his hands, and have necessitated his complete restoration, both as an act of justice and as an act of expediency. This, how-

Vol. 151.—No. 301. H ever,

ever, Horace Walpole, whose official distrust of his artful coadjutor appears to have been sharpened by feelings of intense personal dislike, determined to prevent. By taking the bold step of directly communicating with the Duke, he rendered the interposition of Bolingbroke unnecessary, and though he continued to avail himself, in some degree, of his assistance, he took care to keep him in a position strictly subordinate. 'I have,' he writes to his brother Robert, 'made good use of Lord Bolingbroke's information, without having given him any handle to be the negociator of His Majesty's affairs.' Before leaving Paris, Bolingbroke made another desperate attempt to force himself into prominence, by undertaking the management of an intrigue, the details of which can have no interest for readers of the present day, and into which, therefore, we shall not pause to enter. But all was in vain, and in the summer of the following year, weary, angry and dejected, he hurried off to bury himself in his library at La Source.

Meanwhile the treachery of an English banker, who had been entrusted to invest a large sum of money belonging to the Marquise de Villette, but who now refused to refund it, on the plea that, as she was the wife of an attainted citizen, the money had been forfeited, necessitated the appearance of Lady Bolingbroke in London. She arrived in May. She pleaded her own cause with success, and her husband's cause with assiduity and skill. Her voluble eloquence appears, indeed, rather to have embarrassed than to have charmed the King, but the judicious present of eleven thousand pounds to the Duchess of Kendal purchased the services of the most persuasive of all advocates. The King promised to consult Walpole. Walpole, who had no desire to find himself confronted on the Opposition benches, or side by side on the Treasury benches with a rival so able and so unscrupulous as Bolingbroke, expressed himself in the strongest terms against the measure. Several months passed by. The Duchess continued to importune her royal lover; Walpole persisted in entreating the King to let the affair stand over. Every day, however, the position of the Minister became more embarrassing. Strong though he was, he was not strong enough to brave the displeasure of the Duchess, who had already been instrumental in driving Carteret and Cadogan from the helm. He was anxious also to oblige Harcourt, with whom he was then on very intimate terms; and of all Bolingbroke's advocates, Harcourt was the most indefatigable. At last Walpole consented to a compromise. The Bill for Bolingbroke's restoration should be introduced, if the restoration proposed should extend

extend only to a restoration of property and of the right of inheritance. With this Bolingbroke, who had come over from France in the spring, and who saw that for the present at least nothing further was to be obtained, professed himself satisfied. Accordingly, in April, the Bill, presented by Lord Finch and seconded by Walpole, was brought in. Modified as it was, a large section of the Whigs, who had not forgotten the Treaty of Utrecht, and a large section of the Tories, who had not forgotten the events of 1717, united in opposing it. Finally, however, it became law, by a majority of 231 against 113, and Bolingbroke could now enjoy all the privileges of a private, though not of a public man. From this moment he led two lives. In his villa at Dawley he played with still more ostentation the part which he had played at Marcilly and La Source, surrounded himself with poets and wits, discoursed, we are told, as no mortal had ever discoursed since Plotinus unfolded himself to Porphyry, and became so ethereal that Pope, with tears in his eyes, prophesied for him the fate of Elijah. But in his house in Pall Mall he underwent a very singular transformation. There the founder of the First Philosophy degenerated into a factious and mischievous incendiary; there the opponent of Plato and the Academy condescended to become, under the influence of motives by no means honourable to him, the opponent of Hoadley and Grub Street; and there the Patriot, who had, in the morning been cursing faction because it was ruining his country, and expressing contempt for civil ambition as unworthy of even the momentary consideration of a philosopher, was, in the evening plotting with the chiefs of the Opposition the downfall of the Government, and ready to sell his very soul for a place.

But here, for the present, we must break off. The remaining portion of Bolingbroke's biography is too important to be treated cursorily, and the space at our disposal is already exhausted. We hope in our next number to resume the subject.

- ART. IV.—1. *Report on the Practicability of establishing 'A Close Time' for the Protection of Indigenous Animals, by a Committee* appointed by the British Association, 1869–1880.* British Association Reports. London.
2. *The Wild Birds Protection Act, 1880, with Explanatory Notes.* London ('Field' Office), 1880. 12mo.

AMONG the various 'movements' which have arisen within the last thirty years, there is one which to our forefathers would have indeed seemed passing strange, and yet in the course of twelve Sessions it has led to the passing of four distinct Acts of Parliament—Acts involving no political principle, and evoking no popular agitation. As there exists no connected account of this 'movement,' some of our readers may like to have its history concisely told, while, in attempting the narration, we shall try also to remove some of the many misconceptions prevalent on the subject.

The taste for the wild life and scenery of Nature, so characteristic of the present age, is the growth of little more than a century. Before that time the epithets commonly applied to the wide expanses of moorland or the deep recesses of forest, which now delight the soul of holiday-makers by the thousand, were 'desolate,' 'savage,' or something as depreciatory. The notion that it was desirable to maintain in such scenes any of their living ornaments—the beasts or birds that frequented them—except such as ministered directly to man's sport or profit, did not dawn till much later. Though in past times there was a King of Scots who is said to have built him an house that he might 'hearken to the hartis' belle,' it may be doubted whether he had not also the design of a hunting-lodge in his mind. We may be sure that good Queen Anne, when she 'with great complacency' reviewed, as Gilbert White tells us, the stags of Wolmer, took an interest in them mainly on account of the gallant runs they might afford the royal hounds. Among our poets some were doubtless to be found who had ears for the harsher notes of the wild denizens of our woods and fields, and tired of well-worn allusions to philomel and lark, turtle and swan, had the boldness to declare with Cowper—

' But cawing rooks, and kites that swim sublime
In still repeated circles, screaming loud ;
The jay, the pie, and even the boding owl
That hails the rising moon, have charms for me.'

The Task, book i.

* The precise title of the Committee was occasionally varied. In this article it is spoken of as the 'Close-time Committee.'

Such a sentiment, however, was almost confined to a poet's breast, and was 'caviare to the general.' To them the rook was a robber of grain; the kite, the curse of the henwife; the jay and the pie were notorious pilferers; while as to the owl, was it not ridiculous by day?—'gravity out of his bed' at noon—and hideous by night, a haunter of churchyards, and the har-binger of death? Very exceptional was Shakespeare's greeting of its hoot—

'Tu-whit, Tu-who—a merry note;'

and hardly to be matched until Sir Walter invoked—

'blessings on the jolly owl
Who all night blows his horn.'

Of the new 'movement' perhaps Waterton is entitled to be called the apostle, for he seems to have been the first to preach its doctrines, though he was not alone in its practice. Indeed, considering his many eccentricities—follies in the eyes of some—it is by no means certain that his intemperate zeal did not repel as many promising disciples as it made converts. It is certain that his practice, praiseworthy as it was, effected far fewer results than that of many another country squire who had not the pen of a ready writer, or was content to do his good deeds in secret.

In nearly every country man has carried out the behest to 'replenish the earth and subdue it,' by exterminating no inconsiderable number of his subject fellow-creatures. In our own island the extinction of the wolf and the bear, and hardly less that of the boar, though prompted by motives of self-defence, was probably effected indirectly—while that of the ingenious and almost innocuous beaver was certainly unintentional. It may be safely asserted that the number of animals which have been purposely exterminated from a district, or rendered altogether extinct, cannot compare with that of those in which the same result has followed without any such design. Even species like the northern manatee (*Rhytina*) and the great auk or garefowl, which are known to have been wholly rooted out by man's direct agency, within what may be called the scientific epoch, were, *as species*, the victims of 'death by misadventure,' rather than by wilful murder. The Russian sailors, who suffered shipwreck with Steller on Behring's Isle, had no thought that, while they were supplying their own needs by feeding on the sluggish 'sea-cows' that offered themselves an easy prey, they were extirpating the entire race of a most singular form of animal, any more than had the Danish merchants when they instigated one expedition after another to the dangerous rocks off

off Cape Reykjanes, which brought the same fate on the only flightless bird of the northern hemisphere. When we examine the historical facts, it is curious to find how often measures intended directly to destroy any particular animals have failed, unless aided by extraneous and mostly accidental circumstances. The enactments of the Tudor parliaments touching birds of the crow tribe, have left in England as many as ever of the species against which they were directed, just as in Scotland has been the result of similar legislation under the early Stuarts, and in Ireland during the rule of the House of Hanover. Even in the northern kingdom an association of landlords and tenants, between forty and fifty years ago, by setting a price on the heads of eagles, and other birds of rapine, succeeded in only temporarily reducing their number, since Sutherland, where the war was most actively waged, seems to be now as fully stocked with them as can be expected of any civilized country. Yet it is undeniable that several kinds of wild animals have within the last century been virtually exterminated from many parts of these islands, and still more have been so 'minished and brought low,' that their extermination seems only a matter of time. It is clearly to save these threatened races that legislation, if needed at all, is needed most. In some cases we can easily point to the means whereby their numbers have been reduced: the reclamation of waste grounds, drainage, enclosures, plantations, and improved methods of agriculture, will at once account for the change. Mr. Stevenson* has clearly shown how our indigenous bustards succumbed in Norfolk, their last English home, notwithstanding the protective efforts of the landed proprietors of the county, to the introduction of the horse-hoe; and that prize of British entomologists, the 'great copper' butterfly, was utterly lost when the centrifugal pump was brought to complete the work of draining the fens of the Bedford Level, which had defied the attempts of generations of engineers. Considerations like these should warn everyone that man, lord of creation though he be, knows not the ultimate consequences of his deeds, and that Acts of Parliament, touching his relations to Nature, in our present state of ignorance may produce effects that will disappoint their promoters—even though these be the best-informed naturalists; while the warning is doubly strong to those who are less acquainted with the subject in all its bearings.

That this recent 'movement' has its origin largely in sentiment is generally allowed; but that sentiment is of at least two

* 'Birds of Norfolk,' vol. ii. pp. 10-12.

kinds, the difference between which has not been so clearly recognised. A certain class, small but influential, of excellent persons entertains the strongest repugnance to the killing of any animal for sport in itself. This class is only reconciled to the practice of shooting by the fact that the victims are to a great extent available for human food. The delights of the true sportsman, on which it were needless here to dwell, are to this class utterly unknown, and therefore unappreciated. The mere act of putting to death a sentient fellow-creature, except a domestic animal bred and nurtured to be turned into meat, is to them abhorrent. To slay for pleasure is diabolical—to slay for profit defensible. Another class of persons admits the right of man to exercise dominion over the wild beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, but only contends for the proper use and not the abuse of the authority entrusted to him. We may kill for whatever purpose we choose, save only that the purpose be adequate; but we are bound not to exterminate or to extirpate, nor to kill so as to involve the single act of killing with further destruction—for that were cruelty. Difficult as is a definition of cruelty, it is obviously cruel and, therefore, we should say, unsportsmanlike, to slay the parent when the offspring is dependent upon it, for the death of the parent, under such conditions, inevitably causes the death of the offspring—the killing of which is purposeless. It is not only unsportsmanlike, but unwise, to slay the parent in or just before the breeding-season, for the death of the parent at that season means the diminution of the stock. Thus to the one class times and seasons are of no account; to the other class all depends on the period when slaughter may be made. The one class consists of mere sentimentalists, the other allows its sentiment to be governed by common-sense.

This distinction, so often overlooked, is not newly drawn. It was clearly pointed out two centuries and a half ago. Old Pierre Belon of Le Mans, one of the fathers of zoology, declared—

‘Les republicques bien constituees, veulent que la police ait esgard sur les oyseleurs de leurs cōtrees, laquelle ne sera hors de nostre observation, d’estre escrite auant finir ce premier liure. . . . Ces oyseleurs peuvent vendre toutes manieres d’oyseaux en toutes saisons, hors mis au prin-temps, lesquels encor qu’ils ayent lors congé de vendre les petits, toutesfois il leur est defendu, en ce temps là, de prendre les peres, sçachants qu’ils sont empeschez à couuer & esleuer leurs petits.’—*L’Histoire de la Nature des Oyseaux*. Fol. Paris, 1555, p. 77.

This was written in feudal days by the very humble servant, subject and scholar (as he terms himself) of the Most Christian
King

King Henry, second of that name; but we find nearly the same sentiments expressed by the revolutionary author of the 'Avertissement' prefixed to the 'Dictionnaire de toutes Espèces de Chasses,' forming a volume of the celebrated 'Encyclopédie Méthodique,' published in the third year of the French Republic, one and indivisible. This anonymous writer, furious as he is, in almost every paragraph, with kings, princes, and peers, yet says with apparent satisfaction:—

' Dans presque tous les pays policés de l'Europe, la chasse n'est pas ouverte dans toutes les saisons. Il est même défendu de chasser depuis le premier mars jusqu'au premier septembre, pour donner au gibier * de toute espèce le temps de faire paisiblement leurs petits, & de les élever pendant les mois d'été. On a aussi très sagement défendu les chasses meurtrières par lesquelles les seigneurs, pour satisfaire à un amusement brutal, massacroient le gibier sans distinction, & en détruisoient l'espèce.'

But to return to the telling of our story. Some fifteen years ago, or more, letters and paragraphs began to appear in English newspapers, especially in the 'Times,' recounting what seemed to the writers some atrocious deeds of destruction perpetrated on birds or other animals; and in the former case frequently under the heading of 'Bird-Murder.' These, it was evident, seldom or never proceeded from any one possessing a real knowledge of natural history, though some bore the name of a popular writer who still passes for a great authority in ornithology. We should, however, be doing injustice to him and others if we did not admit that these communications, foolish as they often were, were inspired by a righteous indignation, and effected good service in calling attention to a crying shame, while they prepared the ground for action that wiser heads were quite ready to initiate, so soon as action seemed likely to be successful. At the Dundee Meeting of the British Association in 1867, Canon Tristram took occasion to throw down the gauntlet, and, in a communication on the 'Zoological Aspects of the Grouse Disease,' boldly declared that disastrous infliction to be greatly aggravated, if not primarily caused, by the destruction of 'Nature's sanitary police'—the birds and beasts of prey.† A lively discussion followed, in which several leading zoologists joined; and, if they were not unanimous, it was clear that the supporters of the reverend gentleman had not the worst of the argument. The following year

* 'Gibier' is, with the writer and other Frenchmen, everything that can be shot.

† This view was not novel. It had been urged some years before by Mr. Freeman in his 'Falconry: its Claims and Practice;' but now, being proclaimed from a platform, it attracted greater public notice.

the subject was more fully brought before the Association at the Norwich Meeting, and the cruelties resulting from the indiscriminate slaughter of sea-fowl at the breeding-places on the coast was particularly dwelt upon. It was notorious that 'excursion-trains' ran to convey the so-called "sportsmen" of London and Lancashire to the Isle of Wight and Flamborough, where one of the inducements held out was the shooting of these harmless birds. But it was not only the bird shot that perished—that bird had its young on the cliffs waiting for the food it was bringing from the Dogger Bank or the Chops of the Channel. The "sportsman" took advantage of its most sacred instinct to waylay it, and in depriving the parent of life doomed its helpless offspring to die miserably of hunger. The modern fashion of ladies wearing plumes in their hats had also given impulse to the slaughter. The kittiwake gull at Flamborough was threatened with speedy extinction, Mr. Cordeaux, a well-known local ornithologist, stating that thousands had been shot there during the breeding-season to supply the "plume-trade." One man boasted that in a single year he had killed 4000, while another had an order from a London house for 10,000 of these birds—which would mean that at least as many more would be starved to death in their nests. Nor was the destruction limited to England; an order for 1000 gulls per week was given to and accepted by the lessee of Ailsa Crag in the Firth of Clyde. Though this paper was not written with any intention to produce what is called a sensation, it was no wonder that we read in the next 'Times' that a feeling of horror pervaded the audience, and especially the ladies who formed part of it, at the thought of the abominable cruelty and destruction of life to which they had unconsciously ministered.

A proposal that the British Association should appoint a Committee to consider 'the practicability of establishing a "close time," for the protection of indigenous animals,' was readily agreed to, and the result was the presentation, in 1869, of a report, the precursor of a most valuable series continued to the present year, which we have taken as the text of our article. Herein we find the questions involved treated not only from the sentimental point of view, but from the economical, the practical, and, naturally, the scientific. Meanwhile, a 'Sea-gull Preservation Act,' inflicting the severe penalty of 5*l.* for its infringement, passed the Legislature of the Isle of Man, where the utility of these birds to fishermen was well known; and an 'Association for the Protection of Sea Birds' had been formed in Yorkshire, through the exertions of the late Commander Knocker, R.N., the Rev. H. F. Barnes, then vicar of Bridlington, and
Mr.

Mr. Harland, an influential resident in that port. Thanks to those gentlemen, Mr. Christopher Sykes, M.P. for the East Riding, was induced to bring into the House of Commons, at the beginning of the Session of 1869, a 'Bill for the Preservation of Sea Birds,' which met with no obstruction, and was sent to the House of Lords soon after Easter. As might have been expected, seeing that it was the first attempt at legislation in Parliament on the subject, it contained several clauses (believed to have been framed by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which began to bestir itself in the matter) that were at once seen by the more practical Close-time Committee of the British Association to be likely to defeat its object. The Duke of Northumberland, who had charge of the Bill in the Upper House, wisely consented, after one division, to allow the merely sentimental provisions to be modified according to amendments proposed by the Duke of Richmond, at the instigation of the Close-time Committee, with the view of making it a workable measure. The Bill passed with no real opposition, and at once the barbarous practice it was intended to check came to an end; though we believe that not half-a-dozen prosecutions were commenced under the Act—so simple was its wording, and the mode of procedure under it.*

Encouraged by this success, the Close-time Committee, after giving due notice of its intention, in 1872 drafted a 'Bill for the Protection of Wild Fowl,' a group of birds 'forming a staple article of food and commerce,' which 'have of late years greatly decreased in number by reason of their being inconsiderately slaughtered during the time that they have eggs and young.' This Bill, *mutatis mutandis* the very counterpart of its predecessor, was brought in by Mr. Andrew Johnston, then M.P. for South Essex, and without difficulty obtained a second reading in the House of Commons. But by this time the mere sentimentalists were fully aroused, and, if on the former occasion Fortune had favoured the more practical supporters of the movement, she now with characteristic fickleness went over to the other side. The supposed woes of the 'dicky-birds' found an impassioned advocate in the Hon. Auberon Herbert, who set them far above the real wrongs of the wild fowl. The Bill was

* One clause of the Act allowed the Home Office to vary the close time on due representation from the local authorities. A curious instance of complying with its letter, while disregarding its spirit, was soon after shown by Lord Aberdare, then Mr. Bruce, and Secretary of State for the Home Department. The local authorities of Caithness and Sutherland applied for the variation of the close time in those counties from the breeding to the non-breeding season (1st Sept. to 31st Dec., instead of 1st April to 31st July), and this scandalous provision was sanctioned, though, fortunately, only for one year.

set down for Committee on the night of a State Ball (21st June, 1872). In a thin House, deserted by its steadiest members, Mr. Herbert, not having received the Lord Chamberlain's invitation to Buckingham Palace, was able to persuade a majority of the forty persons * who then (Mr. Speaker included) represented the Commons of the realm, to adopt an 'instruction' to the Committee to extend the provisions of the Bill 'to other wild birds,' instead of limiting its effects to the carefully-selected list of wild fowl recommended by its original promoters as especially deserving protection to save them from fast approaching doom.

Thereupon Mr. Herbert moved other amendments, of which he had given notice, and, these being accepted by the House, the Bill became one of indefinite scope in place of the moderate measure at first contemplated. Hitherto it had met with no serious opposition, but now its fate was naturally rendered very uncertain, and Colonel (now Sir William) Barttelot gave notice of a motion to throw it out. However, on the proposal of Mr. Johnston, whose efforts in behalf of common-sense should never be forgotten, it was referred to a Select Committee. Here it was again re-cast, the objections against Mr. Herbert's sweeping clauses being overcome by limiting its scope to a very heterogeneous list of birds named in a schedule, while the penalties for its infringement were reduced. In this form it went back to the House, and with a few immaterial alterations was sent to the Lords.

Though it was fathered by the Earl of Malmesbury, the peers disapproved of several of its clauses, the result being that it was again altered, and a person convicted under it was for the first offence subjected to a reprimand *besides payment of costs*, and to a fine of five shillings, *including costs*, for any subsequent offence. After all these transformations, the Bill ultimately became law under the title of the 'Wild Birds Protection Act, 1872.'

The Close-time Committee did not hesitate to declare their opinion of this Act. It appeared, they truly said, 'to attempt to do too much, and not to provide effectual means of doing it.' They pointed out at once that it would be 'a very inefficient check to the destruction of those birds which, from their yearly decreasing numbers, most require protection, its restraining power having been weakened for the sake of protecting a number of birds which do not require protection at all.' They added that they had 'never succeeded in obtaining any satis-

* The division list showed the votes to be : Ayes, 20; Noes, 15.

factory evidence, much less any convincing proof, that the numbers of small birds are generally decreasing in this country. On the contrary, they believe that from various causes many, if not most, species of small birds are actually on the increase.' The schedule was doubtless the weakest part of this weak Act. It contained the names of birds which were never persecuted and had no marketable value, as well as those of others which were invariably shot as soon as seen, and were any day worth four, five, nay ten times as much as the highest penalty that could be inflicted for killing them. Names seemed to have been inserted at random, just as the fancy of the sentimentalists, who had no practical knowledge of the facts at issue, suggested them. Birds like Robin Redbreast and Jenny Wren, which are protected by a far stronger feeling than a dozen Acts would afford, figure by the side of others which have only to show themselves to be followed to the death. The chiffchaff is there, while its congener the willow-warbler, which only an expert ornithologist can distinguish from it, is omitted. The swan, statutably protected for centuries, and the quail, to kill which, with immunity, one must be armed with a game-certificate, stand on the same level as the persecuted kingfisher and still more persecuted lapwing. A more absurd assemblage would have been hard to collect. Yet we readily admit that the measure has not been utterly useless. The British public does not read Acts of Parliament. People knew that wild birds, or some of them, were protected, but few knew which of them or to what extent, and most persons in their ignorance wisely abstained from running any risks. Moreover under this Act there has been one notable conviction. In 1877 a bird-dealer found that, though he could not be fined on being for the first time convicted of catching a nightingale, yet that the costs of the prosecution, which he had to pay, came to a pretty penny. Whether he ever repeated the offence we are not aware, but in that case he would have only been mulcted in the sum of five shillings, and could doubtless have got at least a sovereign for his captive. Still the Act, as a whole, was a complete failure. It pleased nobody. The sentimentalists found that chaffinches and linnets were still being netted, whether to the diminution of the stock they have never stated, while the condemnation with which practical men visited it was amply justified by the result. The fast-diminishing wild fowl were openly sold long after they had begun to breed, not merely duck and mallard, woodcock and snipe, but unhappy plovers appeared as heretofore by the hundred, on the dealers' shop-boards, alongside their eggs in the neat, mossy nests which
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the unlearned public suppose are the work of the birds themselves.

The state of things was so unsatisfactory that next Session Mr. Herbert moved for and obtained a Select Committee of the House of Commons 'to enquire into the advisability of extending the protection of a Close Season to certain wild birds,' not named in the Act of the preceding year. This Committee met eight times and examined thirty-eight witnesses—ornithologists, pseudo-ornithologists, farmers, gardeners, bird-catchers and others, including the Secretary of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Society, but, curiously enough, not Mr. Dresser, the Secretary of the Close-time Committee (who was especially known to have a thorough acquaintance with the laws and regulations on the subject existing in other countries), though three of its members appeared and answered the questions put to them. The evidence collected, with the Report and Appendix, fills a Blue Book of 250 pages, but contains hardly anything of importance. Yet no complaint can be justly made of this Select Committee, which seemed on the whole to be sincerely desirous of obtaining information on the subject, for it was no fault of the gentlemen composing it that they knew not what questions to ask, and were unable to discriminate between the knowledge and the show of knowledge possessed by the witnesses examined, several of whom, like the members of the Select Committee themselves, certainly failed to appreciate the points at issue. The object of Mr. Herbert, who was of course chairman, is perhaps best revealed by a question which, in one form or another, he put to most of the witnesses: Do you not think the bird-loving English public would prefer an Act which gave protection to many birds, a large number being their favourites—to an Act which fixed heavy penalties, and only gave protection to a few birds, many of which were unknown to them? The fact that the latter were birds which, from the persecution to which they were subjected, needed protection more than others which were not persecuted at all, seems not to have entered his mind, and he was obviously not awake to the other fact, that the crucial test of a species wanting protection is whether its numbers are decreasing or the contrary. To gratify the 'bird-loving public,' far more than to protect the birds effectually, was uppermost in his mind. On the other hand, Colonel Parker evidently regarded owners and occupiers of land as not only possessing an inherent right to do what they liked upon it, but as being the best judges of what they should do, so that no legislation on the subject was wanted. These two honourable members may therefore be taken to represent

represent the extreme views held on the matter, and it is to the credit of many of the witnesses, and especially those of the Close-time Committee, that they successfully rebutted the specious arguments implied by the questions put to them on these particular points, and, in their report immediately afterwards to the British Association, expressed strongly their disapproval of the recommendations finally adopted by Mr. Herbert's Committee, showing that four of its members were directly opposed to the more trustworthy and valuable parts of the evidence given before it.

In 1874 the Earl De la Warr introduced into the House of Lords a Bill, whose principal feature was the prohibition of birds'-nesting. It was withdrawn, but the Close-time Committee took the opportunity of declaring its belief that the practice 'is and has been so much followed in England that no Act of Parliament, except one of the most severe character, could stop it; while any enactment of that kind would, by filling the gaols with boys (often of a tender age), excite a strong and uniform feeling of hostility against all measures for the protection of indigenous animals, even among many of those who are at present favourably disposed to it.' The sympathy of the Committee with British birds was great, but that with British boys was greater. The Committee went on to declare its belief that 'the effect of birds'-nesting on such kinds of birds as are known to be diminishing in numbers is altogether inappreciable, while its effect on those whose numbers are not decreasing may be safely disregarded, and consequently that there is no need of any legislative interference with the practice.' It again expressed its unfavourable opinion of the Act of 1872, which it stated 'has done little if anything towards attaining the objects for which it was passed, and in various quarters still gives considerable discontent,' and once more pointed out the need of efficaciously protecting the much-persecuted and surely-diminishing wild fowl.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Close-time Committee, the Session of 1875 passed without its desired object being attained, but next year Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Rodwell brought in a Bill drafted by the Committee, which (after the compulsory acceptance of a somewhat detrimental amendment as to the close time, proposed by Viscount Newport) passed the House of Commons, and under the guidance of Lords Henniker and Walsingham ran easily through the House of Peers. This Bill, which thus became the 'Wild Fowl Preservation Act, 1876,' was essentially the same as that introduced by Mr. Johnston in 1872, when it suffered so much at the hands of Mr. Herbert and his sentimental friends. Touching as it did many varied interests,

interests, it was more closely criticized than any of its predecessors, and especially as regards the close time it enacted, which (as just stated) had been altered to meet Lord Newport's requirements. A considerable number of applications were immediately made, under its terms, by boards of Quarter Sessions and other local authorities to the Home Office to vary the prescribed close time, and in nearly every case, that which had been originally proposed, or something very like it, was asked for—showing that those who had drafted the Bill were better informed than was that noble lord as to the needs of the case and the wishes of sportsmen. In the next year, 1877, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals did good service to the cause by successfully appealing against the decision of a Metropolitan Police-Magistrate who, unlike some of his colleagues, had thought the Act did not apply to wild fowl imported from abroad. In 1878, the first indication of any opinion hostile to the principle of the three Acts, then passed and in force, was expressed by Mr. Buckland, Mr. Spencer Walpole, and Mr. Archibald Young, in a 'Report on the Herring Fisheries of Scotland,' which, among other things, recommended that the Sea Birds Act of 1869 'should be repealed in so far as it applies to Scotland.' This advice, and the grounds on which it was based, were forthwith challenged by the Close-time Committee, who proceeded to show conclusively that it rested on 'exaggerated or incorrect information'—and indeed it was obvious that those gentlemen had from their own figures miscalculated the alleged damage done by gannets to the Scottish fisheries by more than a third, while the evidence they had collected proved that damage there was none. This mischievous error was at once exposed by one of the members of the Committee in the 'Times' of April 23rd, 1878; but like other errors it has been hard to kill, and the calculations of the Commissioners have lately been brought to the front, as if they had contained no blunders and had never been refuted.* Moreover, these gentlemen contradicted themselves curiously. In one breath they declare that 'Legislation in past periods has had no appreciable effect' on the fisheries, and that 'Nothing that man has yet done, and nothing that man is likely to do, has diminished, or is likely to diminish, the general stock of herrings in the sea'—while in the next they aver that the 'Sea Birds Preservation Act, protecting gannets and other predaceous birds,† which cause a vast destruction of herrings, should be

* The 'Scotsman,' Sept. 24th, 1880.

† It should be remarked here that *cormorants* were purposely excluded from enjoying the benefit of the Act.

repealed in so far as it applies to Scotland.' It is of course possible that some explanation may be offered of these absolutely contradictory statements, but the Commissioners have not hitherto vouchsafed any, and it is probable that they would find it hard to present one that is satisfactory, since to be so it must account for the undeniable fact that in old days, when the fisheries are asserted to have been so much more productive than in later years, the numbers of sea-birds, and notoriously gannets, is known to have been enormously greater than at present.*

Fortunately no steps have been taken in the backward direction recommended by the Scottish Herring Fishery Commissioners: so far from it, indeed, that, when in the course of last Session, Mr. Dillwyn brought in a Bill to amend the Bird-Protection Laws, the provisions of the Sea Birds and Wild Fowl Acts of 1869 and 1876 were expressly continued, and those of the abortive Act of 1872 so extended, that the last should become a reality. This Bill, however, as at first drawn (it should be said without consulting the Close-time Committee), contained much that was to all manifestly inexpedient, and, through amendments (adopted, it is believed, on the advice of the Home Office), it was completely remodelled in Committee of the House of Commons on the 21st of June, 1880, so as to consolidate all the three existing Acts, and in the course of this process many of its most objectionable features disappeared. In this state it passed from the Lower to the Upper House, where Lord Aberdare took charge of it. Here it received very careful consideration. Several important amendments, proposed by him and by Lords Lilford and Walsingham, were adopted, and it finally received the Royal Assent as the 'Wild Birds Protection Act, 1880,' to come into operation on New Year's Day, 1881. In almost every particular the protection accorded by the Acts of 1869 and 1876 is continued, though they are by it repealed, while the Schedule not only includes the birds named in those Acts, but a considerable number of other kinds, chosen for the most part with discretion, though perhaps a few may have been

* Since this article was in type we have seen a letter from one of the oldest and ablest naturalists in Scotland, a gentleman living on the shores of the Firth of Tay, in which he says:—'On the 8th of last April (1880), the Sacramental Fast-day at Perth, being several weeks after "close-time," the whole river swarmed with guns from sunrise to sunset. As to the cry about the over-increase of our birds, it is simply ridiculous, and especially strikes me as such, for I am old enough to be able to testify that there is not, either on the Tay or on our coast-line, one bird now for every hundred there were fifty or sixty years ago, when salmon and other fish was abundant.' We much regret not being at liberty to name this gentleman, whose high character and practical knowledge as a salmon-fisher render his evidence on such matter unimpeachable.

unnecessarily inserted. For these there is absolute protection, while to all others protection is given subject to the will of the owner or occupier of land, so that the extreme sentimentalist has now no good cause of complaint. It will be in the power of any tenant of a house and garden to protect even his sparrows so long as they stay within his precincts, though if they transgress their bounds and invade his neighbour's territory that neighbour may work his will upon them.

Great as is this latest concession to the sentimentalist party, a disposition has already been shown in more than one quarter not to rest satisfied with this Act. First of all, a considerable number of persons who know birds rather from books than from life profess to be puzzled by the Schedule, since it gives a long list of names to which they cannot attach any definite meaning. This view found a supporter even on the Government bench of the House of Lords—the Duke of Argyll declaring with some warmth that the list could not have been drawn up by any one conversant with ornithology. Now it so happens that nearly all the ‘duplicate names’ complained of were inserted in the former Acts, and were repeated in the present Act at the instance of members of the Close-time Committee, which has always included several of the best British ornithologists. The reason is plain. Many a bird bears a different name in different parts of the country. If only one of these had been inserted, it is obvious that many an offender would escape by bringing witnesses to prove that his victim was unknown by the name of the bird which he was accused of illegally killing; while many of the names have a double or even a treble application—signifying in different districts birds of very different kinds. Thus fern-owl, goatsucker, night-hawk and night-jar are names for the most part locally given, according to the district, to one and the same sort of bird, and by one or the other of them that bird is alone known. But go into another part of England and night-hawk signifies an entirely different bird—the stone-curlew to wit, which itself has more than one peculiar name. Again, the kind of plover which lays the eggs that are so justly esteemed a delicacy is in few places known as a ‘plover.’ In some counties it is called, and called only, a lapwing, in others it is exclusively recognized as a pewit; while again, in other districts, the name pewit is applied solely to one of the smaller gulls. The advantage of simply arranging the various names of the protected birds alphabetically, without any attempt to make one the *alias* of another, must commend itself to any one who reflects on the subject, and the fact that the Acts of 1869 and 1876 were found in this respect to work without hindrance augurs well for

the new law. The difficulty of proving Thomas Castro to be Arthur Orton was not the least of the complications of the great Tichborne case, and there can scarcely be a doubt that were a single *alias* allowed in an Act of this description, it would often be a hard matter to get a conviction in spite of the clearest evidence to every non-legal mind. Legislation like this applies to everybody, not merely to naturalists or quasi-naturalists, and of course it is far better that the birds to be protected should be scheduled under the names by which they are popularly known than under those by which they are called by people (not necessarily experts) who write books about them—so that each gunner, gardener, farmer, fisherman, or birdcatcher, may at once be aware of the amount of protection they enjoy.

Here we stop, though very much more might be said on the question, which we have endeavoured to treat in the briefest historical method, only hinting at the general principles which should guide legislation on the subject, and leaving wholly untouched many important collateral considerations. To treat them ever so briefly would occupy many pages, and however interesting or even instructive the theme, the patience of our readers must be respected. But we cannot conclude without recording the sense of gratitude which should be felt by all true friends of bird-life towards Mr. Sykes, who gallantly brought the first Bill into Parliament, Mr. Andrew Johnston—though his well-meant attempt met with an untoward fate—and Mr. Chaplin; while in the Upper House the Duke of Richmond with Lords Henniker, Lilford, and Walsingham, deserve scarcely less commendation. Most praise of all, however, should rest upon the Close-time Committee of the British Association. Between the ultra-sentimentalist on the one side, and the all-destroying philistine on the other, while beset all round by persons whom we can scarcely refrain from terming quacks, that Committee has had no easy task; but the practical as well as scientific knowledge of its Secretary, Mr. Dresser, seems to have been equal to every emergency that arose. Thus, though not always victorious, that Committee has very effectually conducted to a reasonable state of things, with which all men may for the present be content. Those of our readers, we may add, who wish to know more about the birds which are especially protected by the latest Act, will find the handy little volume whose title is quoted second at the head of this article extremely useful, for, though the writer has fallen into some venial mistakes, it may as a whole be regarded as an accurate exposition of and commentary on the recent measure, and will dispel many misconceptions of its scope.

ART.

ART. V. — *Endymion*. By the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.
London, 1880.

IT is narrated by one of the biographers of Fox, that, after playing at Almack's for twenty-two hours without intermission, he rose from the table a loser to the tune of 11,000*l*. The fashionable gamblers of that negligent time were accustomed to find themselves occasionally on the side supposed to be agreeable to Cato; and to all of them in turn, as they staggered homewards in the dawn with empty pockets, might have been applied the line in the 'Fasti:'

'Inde domum redeunt, sub prima crepuscula mæsti.'

But the losses of Fox had been so enormous on this occasion, that his friends feared lest he should be prompted to some desperate act. Accordingly, they betook themselves to his house and, unseasonable as was the hour, brushed the servants aside, and insisted on forcing their way into his presence. They found him prone upon the hearth-rug, leaning upon his elbow, reading a chapter in Herodotus. An anecdote of a somewhat similar character is recorded of Rossini, on the night 'Il Barbiere' was first produced at the Teatro Apollo, in Rome. It was mercilessly *fischiato*, or, as we say in our ruder vernacular, damned. The artistes engaged in the performance, finding at its close that the composer did not make his appearance in the green-room, anticipated the worst, and talked of dragging the Tiber. Before doing so, however, they repaired to Rossini's apartments. He was in bed, and fast asleep.

In the spring of last year a Statesman, who was considered by most men of education and experience to have conducted the affairs of the British Empire with patriotism and wisdom, was suddenly hurled from power. Many doubtless fancied that the vanquished Minister must have experienced a sharp shock of chagrin; and though he retired in silence and betook himself to Hughenden as quietly as Cincinnatus to his Sabine Farm, they concluded that he was only acting upon the principle he once expounded in the House of Commons, 'I make it a point, never to complain,' and were utterly unable to persuade themselves that the dethroned Statesman was not nursing in solitude a secret wound. They are better informed now. He was writing 'Endymion.'

The active politician who in these capricious days has nothing better to fall back upon, in moments of personal discomfiture, than the fumes of envy or the pangs of regret, is deeply to be commiserated. A neighbouring nation, which,

precisely because the structure of its society is more democratic than our own, is visited by more frequent convulsions and sharper vicissitudes, drove Guizot from Paris, only to transport him afresh to the Elysian Fields of historical speculation. When a combination of popular discontent and royal displeasure drove Clarendon from power, the illustrious Chancellor found in the composition of his immortal History that peace which even gratified ambition cannot give, and a consolation, under the bitterest reverses, exceeding great.

Macaulay has observed that the man who is fitted to shine equally in the sphere of politics and of literature, and deliberately elects to dedicate his energies to politics, gives proof of insanity. The observation is just; and were ordinary ambition, and the common estimate of distinction, of finer fibre than they are, no one would dream of contesting its correctness. But when the contrast is drawn thus sharply between the politician and the man of letters, one feels inclined to ask, as Canning asked his doctor, when the latter assured him that by forty every man is either a physician or a fool, 'May not a man possibly be both?' In the days of Athenian greatness, a man who was only a thinker, or only a poet, would have been regarded with as much disdain as is lavished by Eton boys on a fellow who is only a 'sap.' 'If I live ten years longer,' wrote Byron, on the eve of setting out for Greece in 1823, 'you will see that it is not over with me. I don't mean in literature, for that is nothing.' The 'nothing' was, of course, a *façon de parler*; but it serves to show how inadequate that great spirit, as the author of 'Endymion' once termed him, regarded even the loftiest and profoundest meditation when unaccompanied by action. Both are indispensable to the completion and perfection of what Lamennais, with his usual delicate felicity, described as '*la belle vie*'* and all the greater minds have felt it. We cannot conceive Homer perpetually pottering over hexameters before a comfortable fire, or eternally concocting sonnets in a garden protected from every stormy wind. Æschylus fought at Marathon, at Salamis, at Plataea, and drank in upon the battlefield the elevated sentiments of patriotism that still breathe and burn in his pages. It would have been strange if Euripides, born on the very day that saw the annihilation of the Persian fleet, and who was trained with peculiar care in gymnastic exercises, had been contented with the production of tragedies, however

* Indeed, Lamennais was still more exacting; for here is the passage from which the above phrase is cited: 'Il manque toujours quelque chose à la belle vie, qui ne finit pas sur le champ de bataille, sur l'échafaud, ou en prison.'

superlative

superlative their merits. Some have asserted that Sophocles exhibited no taste for active life; but he held a command in the Samian War. Dante, so long as domestic faction left him liberty of choice, devoted himself with so much zeal to the political service of Florence, that, when it was suggested he should go on a certain embassy, he used the memorable words, 'If I go, who will stay? Yet if I stay, who will go?' Nor can there be any doubt that if a poet had been brought before Dante who, offered the chance of action, as every citizen is offered it that lives in a free community, had shrunk from it, he would have placed him in that contemptuous circle of Hell where he places Pietro Morone. Morone was a hermit, who, by reason of his reputed piety, was elected Pope under the title of Celestin the Fifth, and who preferred to return to his hermitage. In the 'Divina Commedia' he is thus scornfully alluded to:—

'Vidi l' ombra di colui
Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto.'

Even in the estimation of the spotless but sublime Dante, to prefer a hermitage to a throne was an act of vileness. The life of Chaucer was an unbroken series of public services. He was a soldier, an ambassador, and an official Servant of the Crown. He fought in the French Wars under Edward III., and the tradition runs that it was during his diplomatic mission to Genoa that he heard from the lips of Petrarch, himself the busiest of politicians and the most energetic of ambassadors, the touching story of the patient Griselda. Even the poets' poet, as he has been called, the gentle Spenser, the friend of Sidney and of Raleigh, combined with the composition of 'The Faery Queen' the duty of Secretary to the Queen's Deputy in Ireland; and his zeal as a public servant was rewarded with the grant of an estate of 3000 acres in the county of Cork. There he wrote his 'View of Ireland,' still as fresh and as true as on the day it was written, and there the lineal ancestors of the Land League 'boycotted' the poet by burning his house to the ground, and leaving his youngest child to perish in the flames. Lope de Vega, the chief ornament of the Spanish stage, was dedicated by his parents to the service of the Church, but he was evidently of opinion that Heaven might wait; for though later in life he donned the habit of Saint Francis, and at the age of seventy-three administered to himself so severe a scourging with the discipline that the walls of his cells were bespattered with his blood, he had previously served as a soldier against the Portuguese, and as a sailor against the English, in the expedition of the Invincible

cible Armada. He had lampooned several distinguished persons, and run one of them through the body by way of satisfaction, to say nothing of his having written at the highest computation 1800, and on the lowest, 1500 dramas. Calderon, who had already achieved considerable poetic distinction both at Salamanca and Madrid, at the age of twenty-four voluntarily entered the army, and conducted himself with valour both in Italy and the Netherlands. Camoens lost an eye in a naval engagement with the Moors in the Straits of Gibraltar; and his own life was almost as epic as his 'Lusiad.' Milton was not only the friend, but the adjutant of Cromwell; a violent and incessant politician: nor did he dedicate himself unreservedly to the composition of 'Paradise Lost,' until, having 'fallen on evil times,' he could no longer serve his country. Byron, as we have seen, was not content merely to write of Italy or to sing of Greece. He plotted for the one, and he perished for the other. Even the airy Shelley suspended his communing with the clouds to scatter seditious pamphlets in Ireland, and interrupted his dialogues with the Ausonian Sea to conspire with Carbonari and to promote the cause of Italian liberation. Clearly, none of these primary spirits kept perpetually muling and puking in the Muse's arms. They were men of action as well as men of thought and sensibility. They were *esprits fins*; but they were likewise *esprits forts*. To find poets who were only poets, we must search for examples in a less elevated sphere; the elegant Gray, the correct Pope, the blameless Wordsworth. Goethe is the one seeming exception; and he is the one exception that proves the rule. His indifference, more affected than real, to the political fortunes of his country during the period of its bitterest trial, is an eternal stigma upon his genius; and his attempt to erect his unworthy conduct into a law of life for men of letters, raises a strong suspicion that he was conscious of its perversity. In any case it is in vain that minor men of literary genius would shelter themselves behind a principle he failed to justify by his argument, or to ennoble by his conduct.

This then we may take as established, that the men of the most piercing imagination, and the most far-reaching utterance, the sweet, strong, sensitive singers themselves, whom a mawkish generation has conceived as segregated from their kind, wrapped up in cotton wool, and saved from conflict and contact with their kind, can neither silence their conscience nor satisfy their genius, until they have supplemented the versatility of their fancy by the vigour of their conduct, and, having delighted the world,

world, have in some degree controlled it too. That a man may be a writer, and nothing more, and yet establish a claim upon the remembrance of posterity, need not be denied. But the greatest writers of all have been as inevitably compelled to action by the constitution of their minds, as a bird that sings is also compelled to fly; and solid greatness is attained only by the thinker who has at least given some earnest that his will is as strong as his understanding.

But if it be true that for '*la belle vie*,' even a brilliant brain must press into its service, in some way and at some time or another, a prompt and intrepid hand, and that even a poet, who is only a poet, is only half a man, what shall we say of politicians who are politicians and nothing more? The Palace of Oblivion is crammed with the lumber of their exploits. They come like shadows, so depart. Who was Sir Robert Walpole? Who was Lord Shelburne? Who was Lord Liverpool? They are the damaged antiquities of the political curio, the obsolete materials of the Parliamentary Dryasdust. Canning is fading into infinite space, and is remembered mostly for the contrast between his modest origin and his brilliant end. Earl Russell—if we did not say *Earl Russell*, we might be supposed to be speaking of somebody else—is dead and buried, and Palmerston is dying. Peel survives in dumb show; in marble and inscriptions which even in our corroding climate are not being obliterated as fast as the dubious triumphs they record. In '*Endymion*' another Prime Minister, Lord Goderich—how many people of this generation know his name?—is described as an 'embarrassed phantom.' But of one and all of these illiterate rulers it may be said with equal truth, that they were embarrassed once, and they are phantoms now. They are phantoms, *quia carent vate sacro*. No one else would dream of chanting their achievements; and the only *vates sacri* who could have saved them from forgetfulness were themselves.

Mr. Disraeli was a man of letters before he was a politician; and Lord Beaconsfield has remained a man of letters after politics have given him all the honours they can confer. In the General Preface to his collected works he refers with candid and touching simplicity to the earliest invention of his boyhood. But though he deprecates the faults of his first-born, he has never disowned it, and the author of '*Endymion*' is but the maturer parent of '*Vivian Grey*.' To borrow a phrase of Schiller, Lord Beaconsfield has always held his youth in reverence. The child was, in his case, truly the father of the man; and his days have been 'linked each to each' by a chain of consistent continuity. He

He did not use his successes as an author as mere stepping-stones to political distinction, nor did he kick away the ladder of literature by which he had mounted. Rather he drew it up after him, so that it might serve to raise and again accompany him to fresh heights of honour and usefulness. Never was there any career which so thoroughly satisfied the Horatian requirement

‘*Servetur ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.*’

What he did at twenty-five, he is doing at seventy-five, only doing it better. Vivian Grey ‘panted for a Senate.’ The Prime Minister of England panted for a study. In the closing sentences of ‘*Coningsby*,’ the author tells us that ‘the youth of a nation are the trustees of Posterity.’ In his youth he accepted that trust, and worked at it with ardent will. So much of his youth yet remains to him, that he is working at it still. ‘Action,’ says the General in ‘*Lothair*,’ ‘may not always bring happiness; but there is no happiness without action.’ If we turn to ‘*Endymion*,’ we read on almost every page the wise inculcation of the same truth, yet blent with tenderness for ‘the heights of Meillerie.’ There never was so harmonious and homogeneous a career. From the very first this man ‘saw life steadily, and saw it whole.’ He started with the conviction (might we not almost call it the instinct?) that life—real, full, complete life—should be divided, though without antagonism, between thought and action, between imagination and practice, between letters and politics, between the illimitable realms of fancy and the definite boundaries of a Senate, between the serious recreation of the novelist and the fascinating responsibilities of the Statesman. What he saw he did. What he resolved he has accomplished. He sketched the outlines of a rounded and complete career; and then he proceeded to fill it in with himself—his own features, his own life, his own successes. It is given to few men to descry the Promised Land, and then to enter it.

The self-interested prejudices of the vulgar are not easily eradicated; and one of the commonplace tenets of mediocrity is that a man who has genius is not likely to be a practical person, and that the gift of imagination is incompatible with a clear understanding, and a dexterous management of life. Of this presumptuous theory we will only observe that it is one of the consolations of stupid people, and one, of which, by reason of their stupidity, they are never likely to be deprived. ‘Show me a fiddler, and I will show you a fool,’ is an observation that was
doubtless

doubtless made originally by some one who did not play the fiddle, but against whose folly we have no guarantee. That a man should have exceptional merits of his own and other people's as well, is an outrage upon human nature, which can be effectively remedied, and properly resented, only by a summary and commodious proverb.

Yet we should like to ask the persons that hold the 'fool-fiddler' theory,—How comes it that Lord Beaconsfield, who has for more than half a century diverted the world with the airiness of his invention, the shimmer of his wit, the originality of his ideas, and all the thousand and one resources of fresh and frolic genius, is transformed, when he approaches the business of life and the functions of government, into the most hard-headed statesman of his time; indeed, one so resolute in the cold clearness of his views, and so stubborn in the office of marking the just ends of action, and finding appropriate means for those ends, that he has been a thousand times reproached by his inconsequent critics with being too practical in his views, too deferential to facts, too devoid of what they are pleased to call sympathy, benevolence, and enthusiasm; in a word, with being all head, and no heart?

The answer to the question is eminently instructive. The author of 'Endymion' has, all through life, rendered to Fancy the things that are Fancy's, and to Fact the things that are Fact's. He is a genuine man of letters, and yet a genuine statesman. A notable man of action, he is equally a notable man of imagination. Mr. Leslie Stephen, who always writes with penetration, but who, like the rest of mankind, is perhaps not free from the subtle bias which springs from one's own idiosyncrasy, concludes a bright, pungent, and not inappreciative article upon Mr. Disraeli's novels, with the enquiry, 'May one not lament the degradation of a promising novelist into a Prime Minister?' As, at the commencement of his criticism, Mr. Stephen confesses that he would rather have written Gray's 'Elegy' than stormed the heights of Abram, would rather have been Voltaire than Frederick the Great, may we not ourselves ask a question, and enquire whether the lament and the sense of degradation in this instance do not proceed from a mere individual taste, which, however high, refined, or deserving of consideration, cannot be accepted as a universal standard of Nature? This particular individual taste is not uncommon, perhaps, among men of letters. We have heard a story told of a brilliant dinner at the house of the late Earl Stanhope, at which Dickens and Mr. Disraeli were present, and from which Dickens went away, saying sorrowfully to a friend,

friend, 'What a pity politics should have robbed literature of such a man!' The observation, as far as it contains a lament, has already been answered. But the joint testimony of Dickens and Mr. Leslie Stephen is valuable as showing that both of them, men of letters *par excellence*, and cultivating literature with a jealous exclusiveness, recognize Mr. Disraeli as 'un des nôtres.'

How strongly Mr. Stephen feels this, he shows again and again. 'Mr. Disraeli's talents for entertaining fiction,' writes Mr. Stephen, 'may not indeed have been altogether wasted in his official career; but he at least may pardon admirers of his writings, who regret that he should have squandered powers of imagination, capable of true creative work, upon that alternation of truckling and blustering which is called governing the country.' Without stopping to challenge this description of Representative Government, and contenting ourselves simply with the remark that the country must be governed somehow and by somebody, we may accept this tribute of literary praise from a most competent literary critic, who, in another place, thus expresses himself on the same subject: "'Coningsby'" wants little but a greater absence of purpose to be a first-rate novel. If Mr. Disraeli had confined himself to the merely artistic point of view, he might have drawn a picture of political society worthy of comparison with "Vanity Fair." Greater praise than this it would be difficult to bestow. If a hostile critic—as far as a critic can be spoken of as hostile who strives to be impartial and discriminating—and a critic whose authority is confessedly not slight, is deliberately of opinion that Mr. Disraeli only required more concentration of purpose, in other words, only needed to remain a mere novelist, and not become Prime Minister, to attain excellence in his art equal to that displayed by one of its greatest masters, the most zealous admirers of Lord Beaconsfield ought surely to be satisfied.

For our part, we agree with Mr. Leslie Stephen that 'Coningsby,' brilliant and original as it is, is not a work of art equal to 'Vanity Fair.' But then we must not lose sight of the fact that, while a critic so competent and so little indulgent is of opinion that the author might have made it so had he devoted himself exclusively to letters and written exclusively as an artist, and in no degree as a politician, the person, we presume, does not live who would suggest that Thackeray, even if he had never written a line, could have become Prime Minister. And surely even the most bookish of book-men will allow that it is a greater achievement to have written 'Contarini Fleming,' 'Coningsby,' and 'Sybil,'
and

and to have had an active career of the utmost distinction, than to have written 'Vanity Fair,' 'Pendennis,' and the 'Newcomes,' and to have had no active career at all. Men of letters, we fear, are prone to over-estimate the importance of literature, and to fall too readily into the 'nothing like leather' vein. There are some literary achievements, no doubt, of so high an order, that it is difficult to refuse them precedence over the most resounding actions; and when Mr. Leslie Stephen says that he would have rather written 'Hamlet' than defeated the Spanish Armada, or 'Paradise Lost' than turned out the Long Parliament, the inclination of most men will be to agree with him. But when we descend from 'Hamlet' to lower ground, and most of all when we confine our survey to the region of prose romance, then it is we feel the claims of the man of action over the man of the pen to grow in force. Novels have an ugly knack of becoming obsolete; and the story-teller who delights one generation bores the next. Novelists may well say to each other—

'Omnes eodem cogimur; serius, ocius,
Sors exitura.'

Oblivion steals upon them all at last. Other times, other tastes, other novels. A novel, to be successful, must be too particular, too suited to its own time, and therefore too little universal, to last. The difference, therefore, between the novelist of the highest sort and the novelist of the next highest sort, is only a difference of degree; and, far from being able to allow that it is a 'degradation' to be the author of 'Coningsby' and Prime Minister of England, as compared with being only the author of 'Vanity Fair,' we submit that the increase in distinction is immense. And this is why, labouring to be judicial and to assign equal rights to literature and to action, and looking round for the person who, during the last half-century, has united the two in the most remarkable degree, we think people would be driven to the conclusion that, on the whole, Lord Beaconsfield is the most considerable Englishman since Byron died.*

This necessary distinction once made and kept in mind, between men who only write and men who write and act also, it will of course be granted that, separating the novelist from the politician, the author of 'Endymion' from the author of Household Suffrage, a critic can confer upon Lord Beaconsfield no such eminence as that which has just been conceded him.

* Macanlay speaks of Byron as the most celebrated Englishman of the nineteenth century; and where the judges are men, and not mere bookworms, that decision is still thought to hold good.

There are living men of letters, and till recently there were living novelists, who must be held to take precedence of him. But his novels possess this conspicuous merit, that, though in the best of them pure artistic adequacy is sacrificed to political or social purpose, they are novels like no other novels, before or since. They are strikingly, and above all things, original, and they bear the impress of the author's idiosyncrasy. For it is not that the writer of them said to himself, 'How shall I write?' or 'What shall I write?' That was dictated to him by his own instinct, by his own nature, by the bent and determination of his own genius. Misleading as they are to a stupid or commonplace explorer, they throw a world of light upon the political career and conduct of the author. So readily do they lend themselves to this process, that they have afforded, and still afford, an inexhaustible store of material to the malignant and the dull, who, taking the imaginative for the actual, the playful for the serious, the satirical for the ethical, have a thousand times succeeded, no doubt to their own satisfaction, in showing the author, from his own pages, to be the most cynical and detestable of his kind. Another 'Dunciad' would have to be written, if justice were to be done to the lucubrations of these persons. Perhaps, however, it is unnecessary; for they have themselves amply demonstrated to what race they belong. The only valuable things in their criticisms are the quotations from the volumes whose author they would fain malign. So stupid are they, that they do not perceive they are pelting a rich mountain with its own nuggets.

The first demand everybody makes upon a novelist is that he should not be dull. He must amuse, or he has failed. The novels of Lord Beaconsfield are amusing. They amused when they first appeared, and they amuse still. No doubt, 'Vivian Grey' is longsome and occasionally tedious; 'Coningsby' must always be more or less caviare to the multitude; portions of 'Tancred' could be dispensed with, even by an intelligent reader; and the description of the tournament in 'Endymion,' though done with a light hand, rather too strongly recalls the padding of inferior writers. *Aliquando dormitat*; but, it must be added, the naps are few and short. 'Coningsby,' 'Sybil,' and 'Tancred' are all obviously written with a moral purpose; and for a novelist to write with a moral, and more especially with an ethico-political purpose, is to venture upon a very risky experiment. In each instance alike, Lord Beaconsfield ran the risk, and triumphed over it.

How did he manage this? We wonder the secret should have escaped the commonest observer. That it should have eluded

eluded the vigilance of critics who talk about art, is indeed surprising. For it was by dint of art, and very consummate art, that the novelist succeeded where want of art would have indeed been fatal. But the art was essentially his own, because the difficulty to be overcome was one of his own creating, was entirely new, and had not been grappled with before. A lady is reported to have said of 'Lothair,' 'I assure you it is not political; it is most amusing.' This naïve observation of a very ordinary person is worth volumes of criticism. If any one thinks it is easy to write a political novel that shall divert the whole world, the answer is, 'Let him try.' If he succeeds, his success will be considerable from more points of view than one. At the present moment there prevails among the general public the keenest interest in politics, and the passion for novel-reading is unabated. In this instance, indeed,

'Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.'

A good political novel means fame and emolument; but in acquiring them from this source, the author of 'Endymion' stands alone.

The fact will surprise no one who has properly considered the matter, and who has seriously and scrutinizingly asked what are the qualities indispensable to success. First of all, a man must have imagination, and imagination of no mean order. We believe the House of Commons contains some 652 gentlemen, the majority of them being men of excellent education, some of them men of great gifts, and nearly all of them men of wide experience. In one sense, they are supposed to be the pick of the nation. Among these 652 conspicuous individuals can a single one be named who could, with any regard for fact, be called a man of real imagination? Let us go up to the House of Lords and look for the same *rara avis* among its some 500 Peers. We find but three. Everybody can name them. They are Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Lytton, and Lord Houghton.

The fact will perhaps seem curious, but it is also eminently instructive, and to our present purpose peculiarly pertinent. Among upwards of eleven hundred legislators, we discover only three persons who possess the gift which is a *sine quâ non* for the writing of a political novel worth reading. But the search was more necessary than may at first sight appear. For it is scarcely more correct to say that the possession of imagination of no mean order is indispensable for the production of a capital political novel, than it is to add that a thorough and most intimate knowledge of English political life, at first hand, and by personal experience, is equally indispensable. Of the three men we have named as having the necessary

sary imagination, Lord Lytton is, by the circumstances of his career, destitute of the necessary experience, while Lord Houghton has never held any high political office. So that the conclusion we reach is almost, if not actually, this: not only that Lord Beaconsfield is the only person who has written satisfactory and successful political novels, but the only person who, by the very conditions of the case, could have written them. Imagination, as we have seen, such a writer must have. But he must likewise command personal political experience of an intimate sort, and stretching over a considerable period of time; and it is difficult to believe that this could be commanded by any one who had not been in Parliament for years, and traversed all the long and often tedious road that conducts from the position of a private member to that of Prime Minister, from the insecurity of a seat in the House of Commons to the stability of a Peerage.

It will thus appear plain to every one, that the novels of Lord Beaconsfield are an integral portion of himself, the most vivid and vital expression alike of the man of letters and of the politician, of the man of thought and the man of action, of the novelist who is also a most dexterous artist and the orator and administrator who, thanks to his own intellect, force of character, and indomitable will, became Prime Minister of England. They are not 'a thing apart' from him; and if they are not his 'whole existence,' they have reflected and embodied his whole existence. They are the productions of the man of imagination, and of the man of action and experience, who also happens—and upon this, too, much might be said, if space were not running short—to be a man of infinite wit, and experienced in all the ways of the society of his time.

But what of 'Endymion'? Towards the close of 'Childe Harold,' Byron asks—

'But where is he, the pilgrim of my song?'

And the answer is—

'Methinks he cometh late and tarries long.'

If the lowly critic may for a moment borrow his excuse from the majesty of verse, this too must be our apology; adding the lines that follow, surely of singular appropriateness:—

'His wanderings done, his visions ebbing fast,
And he himself as nothing:—if he was
Aught but a phantasy, and could be classed
With forms which live and suffer—let that pass.
His shadow fades away into destruction's mass.

* * * * *
'Till dawn's self is twilight.'

We

We certainly have no intention of securing ourselves a place in the 'Dunciad' of which we spoke, by asking, 'Who is Endymion?' 'Who is Myra?' 'Who is Lady Montfort?' Will-o'-the-wisps are things for fools to run after; and Lord Beaconsfield has written all his life with the profound conviction that no one writes for the wise alone. If there once was a sister who loved and believed in her brother, and who, though he misbeseemed not the promise of his Spring, lived not to see him burgeon into fame, would it not be a clumsy and a somewhat vulgar task, to disentangle reality from fancy, and say, 'Here was or is, where all is doubly night'? If perchance there once was a man, in the prime of life, in the vigour of splendid and varied power, and who found in the love of a woman whom he loved the perhaps indispensable aid to his complete success, shall we with prying hands tear aside the curtain, and give name, date, and place, to spoil the charm of a grateful romance? Is it not enough to quote such a passage as the following, and then be silent?

'Lady Montfort herself had no thought but her husband. His happiness, his enjoyment of existence, his success and power in life, entirely absorbed her. The anxiety which she felt that in everything he should be master, was touching. Once looked upon as the most imperious of women, she would not give a direction on any matter without his opinion or sanction. One would have supposed from what might be observed under their roof, that she was some beautiful but portionless maiden whom Endymion had raised to wealth and power.'

We should have thought this was autobiographical enough to satisfy the most curious, and touching enough to content the most sentimental. But there are some people to whom fine reserve means nothing.

For the rest, we will leave 'Endymion' alone. Everybody has read it, and so have we. We had dogseared it very extensively; but following a not unconsecrated tradition in these pages, 'Endymion' has served less for the text than the pretext of our theme. Perhaps, before parting with it, we may make one more short extract, and be pardoned its egotism. The father of Endymion is being spoken of.

'He had in his lofty days been the author of more than one essay, in the most celebrated publication of the Tories, which had commanded attention, and obtained celebrity. Many a public man of high rank and reputation, and even more than one Prime Minister, had contributed to its famous pages; but never without being paid. It was the organic law of this publication, that gratuitous publications should never be admitted. And in this principle there was as much wisdom

wisdom as pride. Celebrated statesmen would point with complacency to the snuff-box or the picture which had been purchased by their literary labour, and there was more than one bracelet on the arm of Mrs. Ferrars, and more than one jenet in her stable, which had been the reward of a profound or a slashing article by William.'

'Endymion' is the latest, we trust not the last, of Lord Beaconsfield's novels. It is different from the rest of them in many respects, but in many ways withal strikingly akin to them. It is very wise, and yet very young. Experience ripens, but imagination grows not old. One thing especially we have noted concerning 'Endymion.' People whom perhaps it would be unfair to describe as dull, but whom no one would think of calling brilliant, have found it dull. Interesting people have found it interesting.

ART. VI.—1. *The Manifold Witness for Christ*: the Boyle Lectures for 1877 and 1878. By Alfred Barry, D.D., D.C.L. London, 1880.

2. *The Foundations of Faith*: the Bampton Lectures for 1879. By Henry Wace, M.A. London, 1880.

IF we might measure the degree in which the great controversy between Faith and Unbelief occupies the public mind, by the number of publications and addresses on the subject that appeal to the present generation of readers and listeners, we should be quite safe in the inference that never before in the history of the world was the issue so broadly raised and so widely debated. On the negative side, scepticism, so far from having something of discredit attached to it, and courting retirement as if half-ashamed of itself, seems to be in the air wherever we turn, and may be said to have become a fashionable mode of thought. It plays around us in the light artillery of pamphlet and magazine-article, of tale and jest; it pervades scientific treatises, and inspires philosophical systems; it has an army of zealous propagandists, and organs of large circulation and uncompromising dogmatism; it presents itself not in one shape but in many, from an eviscerated Christianity emptied of mystery and miracle, down to a bold denial of God and the soul, and a curt reduction of all Being to mere matter and motion. On the other side, provoked by this open and unblushing outbreak of negation, for every defender of the Faith in former times a hundred now spring to arms and betake themselves to the field of warfare; societies are formed for the sole purpose

purpose of sustaining it; episcopal charges turn aside from their customary occupation of discussing diocesan administration or ecclesiastical politics, to tilt against the ranks of the infidel; pulpit and platform are alive with organized courses of evidential sermons, conferences, and lectures; from the Press issue defences of Theism and Christianity, replies to infidel objections, warnings against the demoralizing consequences of unbelief, in vast numbers and of every size and every degree of merit, from solid and well-reasoned treatises down to the petty fugitive tracts which may be sown broadcast among the masses. Such stir and activity, such attack and defence, around the venerable foundations of religious belief, are without parallel in any previous age, and seem to point to a more decisive crisis in the evolution of thought than any which has occurred on the same subject since the earliest dawn of civilization. No doubt, some abatement in the significance of this unexampled amount of conflict may be fairly made on the score of the extended area of literature in our days. So many more write and so many more read than in the time of our forefathers, that on any controverted subject the pens which are busy and the brains which think are likely to be more numerous than of old, apart from any absolute exacerbation of the controversy, or elevation of it into a primary object of interest to the world in general. But after every allowance has been made which can be due to the enlargement of the circles both of writers and readers, far too much, we are convinced, remains to be accounted for, except on the view that the issue between faith and unbelief has really come to the front, and is being fought out on a scale on which the battle has never before been waged. The more we look around and observe the currents of thought, both at home and abroad, the more this conclusion forces itself upon us. It is no common spectacle that meets our gaze. By men of mark and culture, of 'light and leading,' by historians and critics, by philosophers and metaphysicians and leaders in the learned and scientific world, all belief in the supernatural and spiritual is openly challenged to justify its existence, and is threatened with being tossed aside for systems of life and conduct which derive their whole inspiration and motive-force from the things of sight and sense. And the churches, feeling themselves attacked in the most vital part of their frame, by this menace to the faith which is the principle of their life and the cause of their existence, rise eagerly to the defence; and so the thunder of the conflict rolls ominously through the civilized world, and the air is thick with the missiles hurled at each other by the assailants and the partisans of the ancient creeds.

Among the apologetic works which have recently issued from the English Press, the two that we have named at the head of this article hold a prominent place, and will repay careful study. The authors of both are well-known as able and learned divines, and they write with a consciousness of knowledge and responsibility, which invests their productions with a grave and solid air. The reader will not encounter here any of those palpable defects of reasoning, those misstatements springing out of prejudice or imperfect apprehension, which we fear too often impair the force and usefulness of well-meant treatises on the same side, and afford an easy triumph to its opponents. In neither work will he find the modern sciences, whether critical or physical, lightly spoken of, or their achievements contemptuously dismissed as unworthy of being considered or even understood; nor will he be offended by stumbling on the common fallacy, that the refutation of some rival hypothesis of the sceptic establishes at once the truth of the Christian doctrine. Taking generally the positions assumed and the trains of argument by which they are maintained, we are struck by the candour and straightforwardness, as well as the force, of the authors' well-stored minds; and we can honestly award to their language the praise, not only of being free from the pretentious and uncouth terms by which some inferior writers on such topics seek to throw over their pages a factitious air of extraordinary profoundness and learning, but also of being marked by a considerable degree of elegance. Their styles indeed differ. Mr. Wace's is characterized by firmness and strength; Canon Barry's is more diffuse and ornate. To our taste, the former best suits the subject; every sentence seems to tell, and every word to carry weight. In reading Dr. Barry's volume we occasionally wish for a paring down of superfluous amplification, for a pruning out of rhetorical exuberance, for a little more of severity and concentration; at the same time, a compensation is to be found in the real eloquence to which his exposition sometimes attains. How each deals with his subject we shall endeavour to show by giving an outline of their respective trains of reasoning; but on the problem with which they have to grapple is one of extraordinary complexity, and seems to us to be often but imperfectly apprehended, we propose to clear the way by first elucidating its nature, and pointing out the chief difficulties which have to be surmounted in its solution.

The great question, Whether there is any sufficient basis on which religious belief can rest, may, we think, be most simply and intelligibly brought before the mind, by supposing the enquirer to begin with searching the universe of which he finds himself

himself a denizen, to ascertain whether it can yield him any information respecting its origin and cause. Aiding his senses by the most powerful instruments of observation that human ingenuity has invented, and linking his discoveries together by the processes of his thought, he will gradually arrive at a general conception of the vastness and complexity of the scene. Looking out into the boundless fields of space, his gaze will travel on from orb to orb, from galaxy to galaxy, through heights and depths of measureless expanse and unimaginable splendour, till, before the numbers and the distances thus disclosed, thought sinks faltering and overpowered, and the earth by comparison dwindles down into a mere atom, the solar system into a scarcely noticeable speck. Turning to our globe, he will find himself confronted by a world of Being, which, if it lacks the impressiveness of incomprehensible vastness, yet is no less amazing for its manifold varieties of life, both animal and vegetable, with their orderly progressions and mutual relations and adaptations. But he will not be able to rest satisfied with the contemplation of the universe as it lies outspread before his eyes; he will be irresistibly led on to speculate upon its history. For he cannot help seeing that all things are undergoing a change. As a future is growing out of the present, so the present must have grown out of a past. Watching, then, the sequences by which things change, and patiently inferring from them the rules or laws of development, he will be able to reason his way backwards, and to recede, step by step, towards earlier stages of existence. Pursuing this reconstruction of past epochs in his thought, he will grope his path back, not insecurely, to an almost incredible simplification of the condition of the universe. It will seem to him that the further he traces back the successive gradations of life upon the earth, the less complex and various become the organisms in which it was embodied, till at last an enormously remote beginning is reached in creatures destitute of organs, mere shapless monads or particles of animated matter. Moreover, as with the development of life, so he will see reason to infer that it must have been, in all probability, with the formation of planets, suns, and stars. They too will appear to have a history, a sequence of graduated changes, in slow condensation, cooling down, and becoming solid; and the conviction will grow upon him, that if he could track the universe back, through inconceivable stretches of duration, to its primeval and simplest form, there would be no pause till he had arrived at a uniform fiery vapour, of inexpressible tenuity, seething and whirling in the immensity of space, the raw material out of which every
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fixed, revolving, or wandering orb of the skies was by slow degrees compacted and shaped.

Such is the majestic procession of Being which would unfold itself before the mind of the scientific observer, revealing to him how, step by step, the existing Cosmos proceeded from the primordial chaos of vapour. But the enquiring mind even then will refuse to be satisfied. Not to seek further would be to be false to itself. So far it has been concerned with nothing but the phenomenal sequences of change and growth. To penetrate behind the phenomenal, to discover something beneath the order and stages of development, to reach the very causes and motive forces of the mighty evolution, must now present itself as an achievement worthy of the most earnest intellectual endeavour. As the youthful Epicurus, reading Hesiod's 'Theogony' with his tutor, when he had arrived at the starting of all things from chaos, was unable to refrain from asking, 'And whence chaos?'—so the inevitable question follows now, 'Whence the primordial vapour?' Things have always been changing, but why? What is the cause that originated, what the force which sustains and impels? Are there, behind Nature, an intellect which designs, a will which proposes and executes? Such questions will come to the front, and it is clear that the possibility of an intelligent religion depends on the answers that can be obtained to them. Were they unanswerable, and were all knowledge unattainable beyond that of the phenomenal facts of the universe, religion, in any real, practical sense, could have no existence. We might gaze with amazement and awe at the stupendous scene, and be oppressed with a sense of the impenetrable mystery which invests it; but for all that goes to the making up of the true idea of religion, for worship, reverence, trust, communion, gratitude, there could be no place, for these are emotions which require for their object the qualities that we sum up under the term Personality.

What we have, therefore, to ask is, whether our scientific observer can carry his investigation a step further, and advance from the effect to the originating cause, from the process to the energy which impels it. And a little consideration will show that, on the line of enquiry that he is following, to make this new step is impracticable. The moment he endeavours to push his researches beyond the actual order and arrangement of the contents of the universe, as from epoch to epoch they unfold themselves in successive forms, he will find himself stopped by an impassable barrier. What he has been hitherto doing is
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observing and classifying phenomena, tracing between them resemblances and differences, deducing laws of movement and succession, and endeavouring to discover such regularity amidst the apparent confusion, such method in the multiplicity of the sequences, as may serve for a key to the past and a guide to the future. In all this there is no question about the secret power which keeps the amazing scene in motion, no approach to a suggestion of the absolute origin, whether of organism or atom. As far as such an investigation can discover, the universe might be simply a moving panorama, going automatically through its ceaseless round of change. Even to gather up all modes of phenomenal succession under a single universal law, if such a supreme achievement were possible, would accomplish absolutely nothing towards revealing how the succession made its first start, or by what impulse it has been, age after age, maintained.

If it now be urged that the scientific intellect has still a function to perform, after ascertaining the phenomenal laws and sequences of the universe, and that it can go on to frame an hypothesis to account for them, the allegation is in itself true, but is not to the point. To frame hypotheses is easy, it only requires the exercise of imagination; the difficulty is to establish them as truths. Let us suppose that the terrible admixture of evil with good in the world was the phenomenon to be accounted for; there would be no difficulty in suggesting several different explanations, all equally sufficient in a merely logical sense. It might be ascribed to the limited extent of the wisdom and power of the Author of the universe, who, although benevolent and doing his best, had very partially succeeded; or to the caprice of a Creator who took a perverse delight in acting now on this principle, and now on the opposite; or to the antagonism of two Rulers of diametrically opposed characters, who waged perpetual war, and were everlastingly engaged in thwarting each other's purposes. Such hypotheses have been proposed, and each is logically sufficient for the object for which it has been framed; but as it is certain that at least two of them must be wrong, even if one be right, it is plain that in this case mere sufficiency is no evidence of truth. Or let us take the theory of gravitation, according to which every atom of matter behaves itself as if it were attracted by every other atom, with a force proportioned to the mass of the attracting atom, and varying inversely as the square of the distance between the atoms. How an atom in the body of the earth can behave itself as if it were affected by the pull upon it of another enormously remote atom,

atom, say in the planet Neptune, varying in intensity every instant, as the two bodies ceaselessly move, according to the fixed law of the inverse square, is a mystery which has hitherto baffled all attempts at solution. Yet to frame an adequate hypothesis to account for the phenomenon would be easy enough, if only an unfettered liberty were allowed of drawing on the imagination, without shrinking from any conjecture, however ridiculous or fantastic. One might suggest that every atom was guided by an attendant spirit of vast intelligence, who knew exactly where it ought to be at each moment, and directed its motion accordingly; or even that the atoms themselves were so many entities of supreme intelligence, which, as it is amusingly put by Sir Edmund Beckett in his trenchant little treatise on the 'Origin of the Laws of Nature,' 'by some mysterious universal suffrage conveyed through the infinity of space, or through the immeasurable sphere of the primeval nebula, agreed on that law and intensity of gravity, and have steadily kept to their agreement ever since.' To save such explanations from being dismissed with contemptuous laughter, it would not be enough to show that from a merely logical point of view they are adequate, and cover the phenomenon which awaits the suggestion of a cause. In like manner, if the scientific intellect were to avail itself of the imaginative faculty, and draw on it for materials to frame conceivable hypotheses to account for the origin and order of the universe, mere logical sufficiency would be no criterion by which to judge of their truth; whether with the Materialist they virtually made 'every atom its own God,' or, with the Pantheist invoked an *anima mundi*, or with the Theist ascribed all things to a single originating and ordering Mind. Of all such hypotheses the test must be found in considerations which lie outside the scope and the method of the experimental or positive sciences.

We take it then to be indubitable that the logical faculty, when exploring the order and story of the universe which the senses discern, and building up what is called science, or systematized knowledge, concerning it, necessarily leaves the whole question about its cause absolutely untouched. Such an investigation can never get beneath the phenomenal, can never reach down to the power which underlies the apparent movement and succession of things. In a word, science, in the common acceptation of the term, is incompetent as well to affirm as to deny in this matter of causation. Theism can neither be built upon it, nor refuted by it. This incompetency has been so well expressed by Bishop Goodwin in a recently published lecture

lecture on the 'Origin of the World,' that we gladly quote a few of his sentences, and the more so because of the weight which is added to them by his own scientific attainments:—

'There is' (says the Bishop of Carlisle) 'no origin of the world according to Science. Science, that is Natural or Physical Science, treats of the laws which govern matter; it studies and arranges and explains material phenomena; it traces back the history of the material universe in the past, and it calculates not a little of that which will be in the future: but it never gets to the actual origin of anything; it works upon that which it finds ready-made to its hands; it is cognisant of no time when matter did not exist, and when the laws of nature were other than they are now. Science means *knowledge*; and it may be safely asserted that the origin of things, lying as it does absolutely outside our experience, belongs to the region of the *unknowable*. . . . What Holy Scripture says of the world is that God made it; and the assertion is a very important one; but it is not an assertion of the same kind as those which can be made concerning the material universe upon the strength of scientific investigations: these investigations deal with what can be proved and known concerning the things which we see: they cannot by their very nature take any account of a Divine hand acting below the surface; the moment they do anything of this kind they cease to be scientific. And therefore a scientific man, so far as he is only a scientific man, may believe in God or not believe in Him; he may be a devout worshipper of Him who has revealed Himself to us in Jesus Christ, or he may be a blank atheist; but whatever may be his belief or unbelief, it does not properly come into contact with his scientific investigations.'

But now, over against the conclusion, that no basis of religious belief can be furnished by science, we have to place the remarkable fact that from the earliest dawn of history such belief, in some form and degree, has always been practically universal among mankind. It has indeed been affirmed that here and there, in newly explored lands, small tribes of men in the lowest depths of barbarism have been discovered, among whom no signs of religion or worship could be traced. The statement, however, has failed to stand the test of further investigation; and even were it correct, the exception would be too insignificant to impair the virtual universality of religious belief in some form or other. And this we may go on to say with certainty, that all tribes and nations, which have been advanced enough to possess and exhibit any distinctively human development and culture, have professed some kind of theistic belief. Rude the belief has undoubtedly been where civilization was but dawning amidst the dense gloom of barbarism, and in some of its various polytheistic and idolatrous shapes it might seem

seem scarcely entitled to claim even a remote kinship with the monotheism of the Hebrew race. Still, beneath all the incrustations and deformities caused by ignorance and barbarism, there lay the germ of belief in God; and with every upward step of intellectual and moral growth its advance in purity, clearness, and strength may be historically traced. So far from showing any signs of dying out, as an effete and exploded superstition, which could not live in the atmosphere of ripening knowledge and culture, theistic belief has ever been rooting itself more deeply in the mental constitution of the most progressive portions of the human family; the imperial races which lead the world; and among these it has not been limited to faith in an Almighty Ruler and Judge, but has acquired new elements of strength, by expanding into the Christian doctrine of a heavenly Father who has revealed Himself to His earthly children by His own incarnate Son. In this most highly developed form, religious belief has shown itself able to live through every political revolution and social transformation; it has allied itself with all that is purest and loveliest in human affection and aspiration; it has pervaded the world's life and moulded its growth, and been more fruitful of the heroisms of morality than any other belief which has ever prevailed among mankind.

Here then we come at last in sight of the question to which we are directing attention. What account can be given of this mighty tide of religious belief? We know with certainty that it was not derived from any scientific or experimental examination of the phenomena of the universe; from whence then did it spring, and on what does it rest? Is there beneath it any reality, of which satisfactory assurance can be obtained; or must it be assigned exclusively to the region of sentiment and emotion, and be accounted a merely subjective product of the imagination which forms ideals, or of the affections which invent supernatural objects to fill their embrace? Let us briefly see what can be said on both sides of the controversy.

What is urged on the negative side amounts to this,—that the only avenues to real knowledge are the senses, and that we have no right to believe in the objective existence of anything, unless its being can be established by an experimental verification, of which the senses are the ultimate instruments and judges. Everything in human thought and belief which cannot thus be verified must be consigned to a different category, the category of the subjective and unreal. It may be beautiful, or it may be useful; it may be playing an important part in the development of human culture, or throwing a tender grace over human life; but

but it must not be confounded with truth or knowledge, nor regarded as having any ascertained counterpart in the world of reality. Granting, then, that there has been among mankind an almost universal conviction that spiritual beings exist of whom the senses can give no information, and that the ideas of God, of the soul, and of immortality, have very largely influenced the course of human thought and conduct; still, as no scientific verification of these conceptions is possible, they have no just claim to be recognized as true, but must ever remain among the unpractical questions which lie outside the range of the human faculties. Such is the position assumed by modern Agnosticism, and it may be tersely expressed in Professor Huxley's statement, that 'in respect of the existence and attributes of the soul, as of those of the Deity, logic is powerless and reason silent.'

To establish against this position a justification of religious belief, it is plain that the only practicable course is to show that there is some other method of attaining reasonable and sufficient assurance, besides that of sensible, scientific verification. The apologist of faith must point to that religious experience of the race which we have very briefly sketched, and contend that this of itself supplies the required proof or verification. The fundamental conceptions of God, the soul, revelation, and immortality, have proved themselves, by their wide prevalence and magnificent effects, to be in harmony with all that is highest and best in human nature; they have found in its reason, its moral sense, its spiritual desires and aspirations, a soil in which they root themselves ineradicably, and become fruitful of the noblest virtues; and thus they attest themselves to be more than visionary speculations or subjective modes of thought, and establish their claim to be accepted as absolute realities, able to bear the strain of human life, and to adorn it with the crown of immortal hope. Such is the only line of defence which can foil the attack of the agnostic philosophy on the whole fabric of supernatural truth, for it is the only one which takes up the challenge to show, how any beliefs can be reasonably held of which no scientific verification is possible.

The validity, then, of this kind of evidence for the reality of the objects of religious belief appears to us to be the ultimate question on which the controversy between faith and unbelief must turn, and to handle it effectually in argument is obviously a task of considerable difficulty and delicacy. Before proceeding to show how our authors deal with it, we are desirous of laying before the reader two preliminary remarks, which we
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hope may assist him to appreciate the force of their arguments. We would urge, first, that the appeal on behalf of faith is addressed, not to the bare logical faculty on which the student of science relies for constructing his theory of the phenomenal universe, but to a very different part of human nature—to its moral intuitions, its faculties of faith and trust, its capacity for realizing the unseen and aspiring to the spiritual and eternal. If there were no such constituents in the nature of man, the appeal would be useless, for there would be nothing in him which it could touch. One might as hopefully sing to the deaf, or paint for the blind, as urge religious belief on a being whose mental constitution was limited to a capacity for constructing syllogisms, and classifying physical phenomena. Just, therefore, in proportion as those finer elements of the human constitution are stunted or depressed, whether through a disproportionate development of the scientific intellect, or through moral obliquity and vicious indulgence, so must the appeal on behalf of religion meet with indifference and be barren of fruit. The principle, that for the growth of faith a mere acuteness of the reasoning faculty is not sufficient, but a receptive condition of the heart is essential, is of especial importance at the present time, to enable us to form a just estimate of the significance of the unbelief which seems to haunt the halls and laboratories of physical science; and we are persuaded that Mr. Wace touches the right cause of this painful, but we hope temporary, alliance between scepticism and natural philosophy, when he says

‘There can be no doubt of the fact, that the habits fostered by scientific thought have of late been acquiring a predominance which is destructive, not so much of particular doctrines of the Christian creed, as of the essential principles of faith. . . . A general discredit is quietly and deliberately cast upon the whole fabric of our creed as something which, whatever may be said for it, has no adequate basis on which to rest. Much has of late years been heard of the conflict between faith and science; and, however that conflict may be appeased on particular points, there remains, it is to be feared, that cardinal opposition in point of principle to which the consideration now in view directs our attention.’

And again, in words well worthy of attention:—

‘Science, to use a familiar expression, “is in the air”—science in the special and limited sense in which the word is now chiefly understood; and there is a tendency to judge of all things on purely scientific grounds. It is positively asserted, or tacitly assumed, that Faith, as we have contemplated it in the general course of human history, is unjustifiable as a principle of action, and that the welfare
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of mankind is to be pursued by rigidly restricting our beliefs within the limits of that which can be sensibly verified. . . . Experience shows, in fact, that such a principle, in proportion as it is rigidly applied, tends not so much to produce a direct conflict with our Christian faith, as to undermine the grounds on which we adhere to it. So far as our creed is beyond the reach of verification, so far as it rests on the mere word and assertions of its founder, so far as it is a matter of trust, and not of sight, its hold upon men's minds is liable to be shaken by the undue predominance of these habits of scientific thought.'

Our other remark is, that the contrast drawn by the Agnostic between the logical firmness of the basis on which science rests, and the precariousness of the foundation which is claimed for religious belief, needs a great deal of qualification. It adroitly conceals the fact, that underneath the imposing temple of knowledge, raised by scientific methods, there lie certain assumptions of which no logical proof is forthcoming, but which are indispensable before a single stone of the towering structure can be laid. If we demand of the physical theorist how he becomes sure of the existence of the external universe which is the object of his researches, or of the law of causation and the uniformity of Nature on which his deductions depend, or even of the trustworthiness of his senses to report, and of his memory to register, the phenomena which are the materials of his theories; and if we pertinaciously insist on a definite answer, and refuse to be put off with vague and contradictory assertions; we shall discover that he is compelled at last to fall back for his ultimate foundation on the general intuitions and convictions of mankind. Even he has to begin with believing, with taking things on trust, before he can make a single step in formulating his proofs and building up his knowledge. On this topic, indeed, we have no room to expatiate. It was briefly touched upon at the end of a recent article in this Review on 'David Hume;' and any one who is curious to see how far it may be carried, and who is not afraid of a bit of tough reading, may satisfy himself by consulting Mr. Balfour's remarkable 'Defence of Philosophic Doubt.' But the inference is obvious, and may be expressed in the proverb which tells us, that those who live in glass houses should beware of throwing stones.

Coming now to the works of which we have to give an outline, we notice first of all, that they frankly accept the impossibility of finding an adequate basis for religious belief in the discoveries and conclusions of the scientific intellect. As Mr. Wace's earlier volume, his 'Boyle Lectures,' now deservedly popular, unfolded an argument for the divine authority of Christianity

Christianity from 'the correspondence of the Gospel with the moral nature of man,' so his 'Bampton Lectures' take up the challenge 'to state what justification we can have for believing in anything which cannot be verified by natural reason and ordinary experience,' and produce in reply the 'principle of faith.' The following extract from the Second Lecture well expresses the view which underlies his entire argument :—

'Man possesses in his reason and his heart, in the world without and in the world within, arguments enough to afford him a substantial knowledge of God, and to lead him to worship and to trust. But they are not demonstrative. They are not even mere arguments of probability. In other words, they are not simply intellectual. They put a strain upon the moral nature, and the manner in which that strain is borne determines the moral condition alike of individuals and of races. Once let men take the broader and easier road of moral supineness, and they at once lose their hold upon God, and are in imminent danger of falling into an abyss of corruption such as that described in this chapter [Rom. i.]. But let them choose the narrower and severer path, and God becomes more and more a vivid reality to them, and they advance from strength to strength.'

To the same effect, also, is Dr. Barry's admission, at the outset of the enquiry into the nature and grounds of Natural Theology, which occupied his first series of 'Boyle Lectures,' published three years ago, and was introductory to the volume now before us containing the 'Lectures' of the two subsequent years :—

'It cannot,' he then said, 'be too soon or too frankly acknowledged that, unless we start from the consciousness of our own personality—the consciousness of will, of purpose, of right, of love—no theology is possible. . . . That it is impossible for us to form a logical scheme for its reconciliation with the reign of Law, and with the unity of the whole creation, is perfectly true. . . . Those who sigh for the absolute demonstrative knowledge, which of any other being than ourselves is impossible, may turn from it [the teaching of revelation] in a proud despair, crying out, "God is unknown and unknowable."'

This amounts, of course, to a confession that the logical methods of science are insufficient for the establishment of faith, since to science those elements of consciousness of which Dr. Barry speaks are merely subjective psychological phenomena, on which nothing can be based but the knowledge of man himself. And this admission is implicitly repeated in the subsequent volume, in immediate connection with the grounds of belief in the doctrine of Christ. Having argued that 'the real foundation of our Christianity' is not reason, but faith, even a faith which 'claims to go far beyond the farthest point to which reason can hope to advance,' he adds—

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‘At this point it is obvious that Christianity stands out in antagonism to the exclusive and unbounded claims of science as the one sole guide to truth, even while it looks gladly and thankfully on its accumulation of knowledge along the various lines of thought. If science declares that it can find no proof of the universal Atonement and the universal Judgment, of the true nature of the Godhead and its relation to humanity in Jesus Christ, Christianity will feel neither surprise nor apprehension. For on these things it appeals to a power which every student of human nature will acknowledge to be one of the truest and greatest in the world—the power of faith. In the contemplation of the life of Jesus Christ it is content to find the grounds of an absolute faith in Him, crowning all the lesser developments of faith of which human history is full. When it surveys the actual effects which that faith has wrought, not for the few but for the many—teaching the mind to know what passes knowledge, inspiring the moral nature with a strength made perfect in weakness, raising the spirit to a communion with God which it feels to be a life eternal,—it is not ashamed of blazoning faith upon its banner, and doubts not to find in it “the victory which overcomes the world.”’

Having indicated the position from whence our authors make their start, we now take up Mr. Wace’s volume to trace from it an outline of his argument. What he desires to justify is ‘the Christian Creed, as confessed by the Reformed Church of England;’ and the idea of vindicating its truth by scientific verification having been admitted to be illusory, he rests his cause on the principle of faith. To show that this principle can bear the weight that he puts upon it thus becomes the object to be kept in view throughout the lectures; and the method by which he proposes to attain it is, as we learn from a brief preface, that of establishing the necessity and supremacy of this principle of our nature, by means of those great facts of life and history which form the chief realities of man’s spiritual experience. In this process there are manifestly two steps to be taken; first, the vindication of faith as a sufficient principle to be the basis of knowledge; and secondly, the proof that what faith legitimately leads to is Christianity according to the Anglican pattern. He begins accordingly with expounding the general office of faith in moulding human convictions and conduct, and determining the course of the world. All religions rest upon faith, and without it could never have existed for a moment. Of the spiritual life and national characteristics of Israel it was the animating principle; and by reason of it the invisible world was, to that wonderful nation, more real than any of the things around them, and the predicted future more certain than that sun and moon would fulfil their ordinary courses.

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With the Christian Church it has ever been the same ; the entire life of apostles, martyrs, saints, has been sustained by faith, and it is on trust in the word of a few witnesses that the whole fabric of Christendom has been reared. Every other religion, too, has the same principle at its root, and exhibits a similar supremacy of the faculty of faith. Mahometanism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Confucianism, with all their differences, have this in common, that they have grown out of the implicit confidence reposed on the word and authority of their founders and teachers, and show how the hopes and interests of countless generations have been hazarded on the promises of a single prophet or sage. Nor is it within the religious sphere alone, extensive as that is, that the mighty operation of faith is to be observed. Every civilization has been based upon the same principle, and in proportion as faith has been weakened every civilization has tottered to its fall. The conclusion thus reached we give in Mr. Wace's own words :—

‘ In a word, it has been by the invisible rather than by the visible, by the future rather than by the present, by authority rather than by reason, by faith rather than by sight, that, as a matter of fact, mankind, as a whole, has been governed, has been organized, and has advanced to its present condition. The part played by reason in this marvellous course of development has, indeed, been momentous, and has been second only to that of faith. But regarding history as a whole, the part of reason must be admitted to have been a secondary one. It is faith which has grasped whole nations and ages within its sway, and which has determined the main principles of their conduct and their destiny.’

In the course of this exhibition of the universal energy of faith, Mr. Wace alludes to the endeavours made in some quarters to effect a compromise with the scientific spirit, by *minimizing* the articles of the Christian faith ; that is, by throwing into the background everything that is mysterious and perplexing in it, and reducing within the smallest limits the supposed essentials of Christianity. While strongly censuring this attempt of ‘ the extreme rationalistic school,’ he is not content with pointing out that it must necessarily fail, because in accepting even the most elementary articles, without which the creed would vanish altogether, we cannot avoid going beyond scientific grounds of belief, and resting upon assurances which transcend the capacity of mere reason ; he carries the argument beyond this negative position, by showing that it is from the very doctrines that are furthest from the region of scientific thought, and give the greatest amount of offence, that Christian faith derives most of its healing and consoling power amidst
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the pressure and the perplexities of life. The warning is so pertinent to those who are tempted to relieve the labouring vessel of faith by throwing overboard what is most precious in its cargo, that we are glad to lend to it what emphasis we can, by quoting its most salient portion :—

‘It is precisely in the most mysterious doctrines of our creed, in those which make the strongest demands on faith, and are the most remote from any possibility of scientific verification, that Christian souls find their support and refuge under these burdens of the flesh and these torments of the spirit. The message that “God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life”—this is a message, simple as are its terms, which transcends all philosophy, all reason, all experience, nay, all capacity of comprehension; and yet it is in reliance on this message, and on other assurances of the same kind, that Christians are delivered from despair, and are enabled, under whatever distresses, to cling to their belief in the love of their Father in Heaven. . . . The message of the Cross, interpreted by the doctrine of the Incarnation, is thus, in moments of real trial, the support of the most elementary principle of faith. In fact, the minimizing theology now in question depends for its plausibility upon a simple evasion of the real problems of philosophy, and of the practical difficulties of life. The full and explicit faith of the creeds recognizes those difficulties, and looks them in the face. It owns that they are insuperable upon any grounds of mere natural wisdom, and it offers supernatural realities and supernatural assurances to overcome them.’

After exhibiting the office of faith in moulding human life at large, Mr. Wace next insists on its action in the special department of morality. For conscience, the universal monitor, depends upon faith for its power to influence the will and put a bridle on the passions. It is more than a recognition that some actions are right, and others wrong. It is more than a conviction that to do the right and to refuse the wrong is the duty and the highest honour of man. It includes the conviction that duty has a solemn sanction behind it, and that a wilful violation of it will surely be avenged. This is an assurance which passes beyond the bounds of experience, and the region of facts which admit of verification; it is essentially an act of faith. Thus it appears that what has been called ‘the categorical imperative’ of the conscience, that inward voice which is felt to be authoritative, and which furnishes the practical sanction to morality, really ‘amounts to an imperative requirement from us of the first great act of faith,—that of belief in a righteous and omnipotent God.’

From the implicit faith underlying the action of the conscience,

science, Mr. Wace advances to the next great step in the development of his animating principle, namely, 'the belief not merely that there is a God of all righteousness and power, with whom we have to do, but that He has given us a positive revelation.' The man who has apprehended God through the conscience cannot but crave for some actual communication from Him, for the confirmation of faith and the enlargement of knowledge. Amidst the pressure, the struggles, the disappointments of human life, he will strain the ear to catch some voice from God, the eye to behold some manifestation of His Person and Will. To this instinctive and irrepressible desire the answer is found in the declarations of prophets and apostles. They announce a message from God; they solemnly declare that they have received from Him specific revelations for the information and comfort of mankind. And the heart which is morally prepared, by habitual loyalty to conscience, finds their testimony sufficient for its needs. Not only is it convinced by their characters and their credentials that their word may be trusted; the word itself penetrates the heart with power, and awakes a response in it, strong and clear in proportion to its moral depth and insight. Trust and belief are the results in experience; and thus the faculty of faith, which lies at the root of all religions and all civilizations, and acts implicitly in the authority of conscience, still further manifests its power in the acceptance of revelation.

How faith, after grasping the two fundamental principles, that God is, and that He reveals Himself to mankind, has gone on to shape itself in successive ages, is the subject which occupies the rest of the Lectures. The faith of the Old Covenant is the first stage; next comes the faith demanded by our Lord for Himself; afterwards the faith of the early Christian Church; the line of evolution being closed by the faith of the Reformation in general, and in particular of the Church of England. Throughout the whole discussion the two features of faith on which the greatest stress is laid are, the energy with which it manifests itself to be an essential principle of human nature, and its intimate connection with morality in all its legitimate developments. Since the ultimate goal is the vindication of Anglican doctrine, as occupying a just position between the extremes of Rationalism and Romanism, some difficult questions have to be encountered by the way. There is, for instance, the expansion of the early simple belief in Christ into the theology of the Catholic creeds to be justified; again, it has to be shown why the additions gradually made, in the Middle Ages, to the belief of the Church of the Fathers are disentitled

disentitled to be accepted as sound results of the principle of faith; and when we at last come to the attitude of the Anglican Church towards Rome, satisfactory reason must be assigned for disallowing as illegitimate what according to Vatican teaching is the culminating act of faith, namely, the acceptance on trust of the Papal authority, as infallible, and entitled to our unconditional submission. Through the intricacies of these questions Mr. Wace guides his course by making conscience and reason the coadjutors of faith, acting with it as assessors of co-ordinate authority, to restrain it from impulsively wandering into the regions of credulity and superstition. From his vindication of the growth of apostolic belief into the formal creeds, we extract the following striking passage on the depth of the theology to be discerned even in the Sermon on the Mount, to which rationalists are wont to appeal with an air of triumph, as a proof that, with Jesus Himself, morality was everything, theology nothing:—

‘We here approach another point in which the Sermon on the Mount, considered as a typical instance of our Lord’s teaching, is at the present day most strangely and flagrantly misrepresented. It is the favourite contention of those who impugn the faith of the Church, that the teaching of that sermon is purely moral and independent of theology. “It is undeniable,” says the author of ‘Supernatural Religion,’ with characteristic strength of assertion, “that the earliest teaching of Jesus recorded in the Gospel which can be regarded as in any degree historical is pure morality almost, if not quite, free from theological dogmas. Morality was the essence of His system; theology was an after-thought.” Two pages afterwards this writer states with perfect correctness, but with complete unconsciousness of inconsistency, that Christ’s system “confined itself to two fundamental principles, love to God and love to man.” But is there no theology involved in teaching love to God? No theology in the belief that God is, and that He is the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him, and that, in spite of all the difficulties, perplexities, and cruelties of the world, He is worthy of the whole love and trust of our hearts! Why, this is the very theological problem which has racked the heart and brain of man from the dawn of religious thought to the present moment. On these two commandments—to which, in the curious phrase just quoted, Christ’s system is said to have “confined itself,” as though they were slight and simple—on these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets. They are the germ from which has sprung the whole theological thought of the Christian Church, and to which it returns: and no theologian can wish to do more than to deepen his own apprehension of them, and to strengthen their hold upon others.’

The earliest faith, then, implicitly contained the creeds which were subsequently elaborated; and the justification of these, as legitimate fruits of the principle of faith, is to be found in the

fact that they are not mere abstract statements about supernatural mysteries, but ‘embody the most moral, the most human, the most touching and affecting conceptions which can stir the depths of the heart.’ The whole of the Christian life, with its intense moral and spiritual illumination, constitutes their background, and bestows on them their vital force and reality. But this moral and spiritual basis, which can be truly claimed for the creeds of the purer age of the Church, can in no wise be alleged in favour of the accretions which incrustated them in later times ; nor can any support of the same kind be adduced on behalf of the demand of the Vatican for unconditional submission to its decrees. The source of these departures from the lines of belief sanctioned by reason and conscience is traced by Mr. Wace to the weakness of human nature, yielding to the tremendous temptation to consolidate the Church’s dominion by carnal means :—

‘When bishops, priests, and monks were unable to say to the tempter, “Get thee hence, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve,” they entered into possession of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, but they lost the kingdom of God. When power instead of truth became the object of the dominant hierarchy, faith had been falsified at its source. The vision of the God to whom they had thus been faithless became eclipsed, and a huge and portentous system of error and superstition developed, as by a natural law, from the first original untruth. The “ages of faith” became transformed into the ages of superstition.’

There is one more point which we must not omit to notice in the final winding-up of our lecturer’s argument. It is this ;—that when, in addition to our belief in the great Christian verities, revealed in the Gospel and expressed in the creeds, Rome insists on our acceptance of her infallibility, she is not merely asking us to follow the guidance of faith a single step further ; she is really shaking the validity of the whole process by which our religious belief has up to this point been constructed. Reason and conscience have hitherto accompanied us, and faith has taken its every step under their sanction and in accordance with their dictates. But if reason and conscience are no longer to be trusted, but must be thrown aside for an unreasoning submission to authority, the inference is unavoidable, that neither were they trustworthy before, and that in yielding ourselves to Christianity at their instance we have been only following blind guides. Hence the last pretension of Rome is really a suicidal one, because it discredits the entire basis on which even her own faith must ultimately repose. Nor is there any force in the assertion on which that pretension is founded,—

founded,—that we must have an infallible authority to preserve us from fatal errors both of belief and conduct :

‘The answer is, that though we cannot appeal to any visible and infallible Authority, we do possess an unerring Guidance; and that we possess it, moreover, not merely in the ambiguous, distant, and tardy utterances of a human oracle, but in the voice of a Divine Spirit ever present with us, and helping us in all our infirmities. . . . He works in the hearts of Christ’s people to purify their conscience and their will, and, in proportion as they yield to this influence, are they qualified to “know of the doctrine” and to become united in the truth.’

Such is the argument which our Bampton Lecturer has constructed, to show that ‘the lofty and comprehensive, but at the same time modest, creed’ of Anglican Christianity is a legitimate product of the three essential constituent principles of human nature, faith, conscience, and reason, working in the sphere of experience. Between this result, and the conclusion that the Christian doctrine is true in itself, there obviously lies a theoretical gap, which Mr. Wace has not thought it within his province to fill up.* Human nature and experience are such that certain convictions are their outcome,—that is a subjective fact of the consciousness; but the question still remains whether these convictions are entitled to rank as objectively true, on the ground that they are rooted in the mental constitution itself, and grow into shape under the stimulus and guidance of experience. Here the second of the remarks with which we prefaced our examination of the works before us becomes applicable. There is no branch of human knowledge, even of the most elementary kind, about which the same question does not arise. To establish against the Pyrrhonist the truth of the beliefs which lie at the very foundation of human life, and without which society and civilization would be impossible, we are compelled to appeal to the fact that they have their roots in the very structure of the human mind, and rest, not upon the reasoned conclusions of the logical intellect, but on those instinctive convictions which have been developed by experience. To answer the question in the negative would, therefore, be to discredit, not merely Christianity and religion in general, but every kind of human knowledge, and to substitute for it universal scepticism. Of a contention which leads to that result we may safely leave it to the common sense of mankind to make very short work.

We pass on now to Dr. Barry’s more comprehensive dis-

* We are glad to hear that Mr. Wace is preparing for Mr. Murray’s Students’ Series a Manual of the Evidences of Christianity, a work long wanted, which could not be placed in better hands.

cussion. Undertaking to exhibit an outline of the manifold witness for Christ in all its branches, he builds upon the foundation of Natural Theology laid, as we have already said, in his previous volume. Man, prior to revelation, surveying the universe in the light of his own personality, reason, and conscience, is led towards two truths,—the existence of a living God, and the spirituality of his own nature. For these the evidence would be all but irresistible, were it not for the disturbing force of the inexplicable ‘mystery of evil, whether in its slighter forms of waste, decay, suffering, or in its darker forms of sin and death the wages of sin.’ It is the office of the Gospel to relieve the perplexity and hesitation in which reason is thus left, by confirming with transcendent power the two great conclusions of Natural Theology, and furnishing a practically sufficient solution of the mystery of sin and death. Thus Christianity bears a definite relation to Natural Theology, partly complementary, and partly supplementary. ‘It confirms the known, and reveals the unknown.’ Hence also it is at once natural and supernatural, but not in any wise preternatural. It builds on nature, adding to it, but not contradicting it. It demands faith, but does no violence to reason. And the fact that it meets those needs of humanity, which Natural Theology indicates but is unable to satisfy, creates a strong presumption in its favour,—a presumption which experience strengthens into almost absolute assurance, by showing the power of the Gospel to guide men through the perplexities and contradictions of life, and nerve them both to dare and to endure all things.

By the line of thought thus indicated the course of the whole discussion is determined, and it falls into two parts. The former is ‘devoted to show that in Christianity we see the highest exemplification of the great law—supernatural, not preternatural’; the latter, ‘to consider its positive and direct evidences.’ The result which the author hopes to establish is eloquently foreshadowed in the peroration of the opening lecture, or rather chapter, for in rewriting his lectures for the press he has thought it best to drop the homiletic form:

‘It is as though, by various convergent paths, we had been brought to the threshold of the mystery of God. As we have moved along each towards that central mystery, there has been a light before us and a voice of solemn import in our ears. Now the everlasting doors of the shrine fly open, and One stands before us, claiming to be the manifestation of God. As we gaze on Him, we see that in His crown of light there shine, blended together in perfect harmony, all the various rays of light which have hitherto been our guides. As we listen to the music of His voice, we recognize the tones which have

so long been sounding dimly in our ears. But yet in His face there is a glory beyond what we have ever conceived, and the story which His voice tells unlocks to us mysteries beyond the highest thought. What can we do but fall down before Him and acknowledge that "God, who in sundry times and divers manners spake to men from the beginning by His servants, has at last spoken to us once for all in His Son?"

To make good the thesis, that Christianity builds upon Natural Theology, and is supernatural without being preternatural, Dr. Barry passes under review, through nine successive chapters, the development of revelation as recorded in the Bible. The 'conception of covenant between man and God, running through all the Scripture history,' is shown to correspond to the two great principles of Natural Theology, a personal God, and a spiritual nature in man, and to found on them a supernatural but appropriate relation. For it not only brings out vividly the true personality of God, and the true spirituality of man, but represents the Divine and human natures as endowed with the power of a real communion with each other. We open the book of Genesis, and at once find God in creation, framing man in His own image; and God in history, dealing with man as His own child, weak, indeed, and fallen, yet destined to redemption. Passing on to the subsequent books of the Pentateuch, we discover God in law, training His chosen people in obedience, and educating them through the sense of their own sinfulness, as contrasted with His righteousness, for a future manifestation of His grace. When we reach the age of prophetic teaching, we enter on a more advanced stage of the communion between the living God and His people, and hear Him speaking directly to the soul, and the soul making answer to His voice, now by the intellect, and now by the conscience and the spiritual faculty. But prophecy does not stop here; it looks onward to the future with an inspired hope, and glows with a prevision of salvation and glory to be realized in God's anointed King. The Messianic expectation, pervading in different degrees the whole of the Old Testament, draws the bond still closer between God and man, and sustains the anticipation of a union as yet unimaginable, but mysteriously foreshadowed in the name Immanuel, God with us. Then in the fulness of time Christ manifests Himself, the end of the law, the fulfilment of prophecy; yet 'infinitely greater, fuller of light and inspiration, than the Christ as painted even in the noblest prophetic utterances of the Old Testament.' We watch Him 'unfolding gradually, in the midst of His lonely lot and spirit, a unique power and dignity, a perfect sinlessness, a superiority

riority to all material influences, to which no other child of man has ever shown even an approach,' until the Passion is crowned by His Resurrection, which with irrefragable proof seals Him as the Son of God. Then the Gospel of the resurrection goes forth with matchless energy, conquering and to conquer; for it is a gospel of mediation, assuring to man fellowship with God in spite of the mystery of sin; and it completes that manifestation of the Divine in and through man, for which the intellect, conscience, and spiritual aspiration of mankind had been yearning with inarticulate desire. And hence, as Dr. Barry remarks in summing up this review of the progressive revelation of God, the gospel is final; for

'In relation to Christian doctrine, Christian morality, Christian spiritual life, the cycle is completed in the proclamation of the eternal "Word of God." The contemplation of this ultimate truth is full of instruction, as throwing light at once on the unity and finality of the Scriptural revelation. However we may account for it, it is certainly true, that up to this, in fundamental unity and continuous development, all previous teaching had led, from the *Protevangelium* of Genesis, through all the various stages of the ancient knowledge of God, in history and law, in psalm and prophecy, and even through the earlier phases of the revelation of Christ Himself. At no previous stage could we vaguely stop; for nowhere else could we find any adequate completion of the great pervading ideas of covenant with God. But beyond this we cannot go. For it has to do, not with earth, but with heaven; not with time, but with eternity.'

The second half of the volume is occupied with the positive evidences for Christianity. It opens with an interesting discussion of the proper function of evidences, and the part which they actually play in the growth of a reasonable Christianity in the world at large. If an ordinary believer were asked why he is a Christian, he would probably reply, 'Because, having inherited Christianity, and having been taught to be a Christian, I have tried the truth and the grace of Christ for myself, and I have found in them the words of eternal life.' Even if he were to enter in some degree on theological study, his object in most cases would be to make a survey of the beauty and variety of the domain which God has given us, rather than to scrutinize the title-deeds by which we possess it. And till the security of the possessor is invaded by the challenge of an enemy, this position is as sufficient as it is common. But when the challenge sounds sharp and shrill in the believer's ear, as it is sounding now with greater insistence than ever before, another kind of answer is needed. Christians, who would bear the assault without flinching or damage, must be able to say:—

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‘We are Christians, because having been challenged to give a defence for the faith in us, we have looked into all the rich variety and complexity of that witness which leads men to Christ; we have convinced ourselves that it stands still, as it stood of old, unshaken by speculative or moral difficulty. Whatever points may still be dark, waiting for fuller light, still what we can see is sufficient, and more than sufficient, to teach us that “He is the Christ, the Son of the living God.”’

To examine the variety and convergent force of Christian evidences thus becomes a necessity for those, whether teachers or private believers, whose path in life brings them into contact with the aggressive scepticism of the age.

In marshalling the several lines of the witness for the truth of Christianity, Dr. Barry attaches considerable importance to the order in which they are brought before the mind. His conviction, as stated in his preface, is that ‘when once the right method is understood, the work of examination is more than half done. The revelation of Christ, if only it be contemplated in its natural order, will prove itself victorious, as of old, over all difficulties, whether of mind or of heart.’ He refuses to follow the original historic order of proof, or to proceed on the assumption that the chief evidences, by which Christianity won acceptance at first, must also be its chief evidences to later generations. Following out this idea, he agrees with the modern critical view, that miracles and the fulfilments of prophecy ought no longer to be put forward in the forefront of our plea for Christianity, but should be subordinated to the exhibition of the actual power of Christianity in the intellectual, moral, and spiritual spheres of our being. In the place of prophecy we have history—the history of eighteen centuries, during which the power of Christ’s light and grace has been seen in actual operation, subduing to Him the human soul and human society, and thus evincing its unique and supernatural character. Instead of the miracles of the Gospel, we have in present reality what may fairly be called a moral and spiritual miracle, in the transcendent influence which Christ, at this moment, is exercising over the world. We stand face to face with an actual Christianity, which is unquestionably the most marvellous spiritual phenomenon in the world’s history; and it cannot be right for us to endeavour to learn Christ by proceeding as if we could obliterate eighteen centuries, and forget that there is such a thing as a living Christianity.

The order, then, adopted by Dr. Barry, is first to set forth the power and grandeur of actual Christianity as an intellectual system to satisfy the reason, a moral force to control the conduct, and

and a spiritual life to enable the soul to hold communion with God and to walk in His light. It is only when existing Christianity has been carefully surveyed, and 'its actual present power' been displayed in its visible working and effects, that Dr. Barry takes us back to its origin, and places us in view of the personal life and works of Christ upon earth, as manifested both to the world around, and to His disciples in more intimate fellowship. Here at length we are brought into the presence of the miracles which were wrought by His hands, and the prophecies which were fulfilled in His story, and see the seal put on His mission by the crowning wonder of His resurrection from the dead. Yet even then a step remains to be taken, which is beyond the reach of strict induction, and can be accomplished by nothing but faith. The characteristic doctrines of Christianity have their foundation in the word of Christ. The evidences bring us to His feet with the confession, 'Thou hast the words of eternal life,' and it is His word that must do the rest. As Dr. Barry puts it in his concluding chapter:—

'Christian evidence, of whatever kind it be, does not profess to demonstrate the doctrines of the Gospel. Its work is done, if it produces on our mind the conviction that Jesus Christ is one in whose word and grace we may place an absolute confidence. . . . The function of Christian evidence is discharged when it has led us, with the Apostles, to confess that He has the "words of eternal life," not only in the "earthly things" which we can understand and test, but in the "heavenly things"—the mysterious realities—which no man can know.'

To enter into any detailed examination of the steps of the argument, which we have briefly summarized, would carry us beyond our limits, and is scarcely necessary to arrive at an appreciation of its force as a whole. It is 'for the method itself, rather than for the exhibition of it,' that Dr. Barry himself desires to claim attention. We might perhaps take exception to a statement here and there, but in so wide and complex an argument there must always be room for minor differences of opinion. We hesitate, for instance, to assent, when we read that 'the rare power of what we call "genius," which, in various forms of originative power, belongs to all the leaders of mankind . . . may fairly be called supernatural.' So again, we doubt whether such a distinction can be drawn between the phrases, 'the Catholic religion' and 'the Christian verity,' in the Athanasian Creed, as to warrant us in assigning to the former the belief in one only God, as being the true religion of all times and places, and to the latter the profounder doctrine of the Trinity, as peculiar to Christianity. But our general agreement with
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Dr. Barry's method and process is too complete to allow us to lay any stress on such incidental particulars as these. He carries us thoroughly with him when he points out the progressive character of revelation, and contrasts the 'inherent limitations' of its earlier stages, when by reason of the medium through which it had to pass, it was of necessity 'comparatively rough and imperfect,' with the glory of its consummate maturity in Christ. In dealing with Hebrew prophecy he shows his candour, and his loyalty to the best established canons of critical exegesis, when he admits that 'to modern study the broad general lines of the Messianic idea may be more certain and impressive than the detailed fulfilments of prophecy on which earlier ages delighted to dwell;' and still more, when in noticing the magnificent Messianic strains of Isaiah liii. and Psalm xxii. he has the courage to allow that some lower and more immediate application of them may also be possible, and that 'in this or that prophet or psalmist—a David or a Jeremiah—they might have some imperfect fulfilment.' And throughout the whole discussion we feel the presence of a candid and liberal tone of thought, which towards the close finds explicit and emphatic expression. While justly protesting against 'the negative and disintegrating criticism,' by which a host of rationalistic scholars and commentators have done their best to reduce the Old Testament to a state of chaos during the last half-century, Dr. Barry does not run into the opposite extreme, or manifest any of that unwise jealousy of the critical and physical sciences, which thinks to do service to Christianity by banning all the intellectual gains which of late have marked the progress of human thought. To rest immovably on the Past, as if in divine things a finality of apprehension had been reached by the Church, and henceforth theology must remain fixed and petrified in unchangeable forms, incapable of advance in purity and simplicity, or of elevation to a nearer view of Him in whom we live and move and have our being, is a way of dealing with the great religious problems of the time which receives no support from this volume. Dr. Barry is too farseeing and enlightened an advocate of Christian doctrine, not to know well that he must have reason and science as his allies and not as his foes, if the world is to be won for Christ, and faith is to find its permanent home in the great throbbing heart of humanity. We could wish that all who contend for the same sacred cause would carefully weigh his manly confession of the value of all knowledge, and of the ability of the everlasting Gospel to stand ever in the van of human progress, and to welcome and turn to profit those larger views of the divine works and ways which modern researches, not

not without the guidance of God's providence, are opening out before the eyes of mankind. We subjoin a few of the sentences to which we especially refer:—

'The Gospel' (writes Dr. Barry) 'leaves the freest possible scope to human reason and energy in all the three great spheres of thought and experience. In nature it bids the reason go on boldly, studying all forms of law, learning to discern the nature and correlation of all physical forces, tracing out the evolutions in a wonderful order of all forms of being, striving to go back from the organized *Kosmos* to the first original condition, without form and void—now gazing on the vastness of the universe, now peering into the infinite minuteness of perfection in each separate thing. . . . In the contemplation of humanity it encourages the reason to study in each human being the secret of the bodily and spiritual life, to discern the subtle laws which rule the little world within, to mark the links of connection between man and other animate beings, to note the strange action and reaction ever going on between individual freedom and universal law, and between the bodily and the spiritual natures. Nor does it leave the reason less free for wide historical survey, going back by direct or indirect study to the dim ages of antiquity, tracing out from first beginnings the civilization, material, intellectual, moral, spiritual, which is the privilege of the present time, and watching here also the power of universal laws and forces, underlying the rich and turbulent play of individual energies. . . . So, also, in the search after God Himself, Christianity encourages the confident hope that, as the ages roll on, we may know more and more of Him as the Creator of all things and the Father of all men—outgrowing some superstitions, putting aside some forms of thought which satisfied earlier ages—perhaps learning, here as elsewhere, that lesson of greater simplicity which belongs to the more advanced stages of knowledge, and better distinguishing what we know from what we can only approach in speculation and hope.'

Having thus brought to a conclusion our endeavour to show, in a small compass, how the authors of the volumes before us deal with the most pressing religious question of our day,—the discovery of an adequate basis on which the faith of the Christian Church can securely repose, undisturbed by the assaults of the critical or scientific intellect, we will only add a single consideration, which may perhaps yield something of consolation and hope, especially to those who view with a dismay, approaching to panic, that wave of sceptical thought which of late years has been sweeping over Christendom, and augur ill from it for the prospects of Christianity. . It is suggested by Dr. Barry's introductory remark, that 'Christianity is the central force of Theism,' and may be considered as 'the ultimate expression of all those fundamental beliefs which underlie even the vaguer faiths of those

those who, casting off all attachment to definite religious systems, nevertheless hold firmly to the consciousness of spirituality in man, and to the acceptance of an eternal and living God.' We cannot think that a naked and degrading materialism will ever be able to establish a lasting hold on the minds of any large number of mankind, as an adequate theory of being. Human nature instinctively protests against it, and asserts its own claim to a higher origin and a nobler rank, with an emphasis which may indeed be overborne here and there for a time, but can never be permanently or widely silenced. An empty heaven and a soulless human organism are ideas too irreconcilable with the ineradicable consciousness of personality, and the universal instinct of dependence and worship, to have ever found acceptance in the past, and are no more likely to prevail in the future. Neither can we ascribe to pantheism a vitality sufficient to make it in the long run a formidable rival of Christianity. A universe without individuality, in which all apparent existences are but phenomenal modifications of one eternal self-existent substance, is nothing more than the dream of an imagination, half philosophical and half poetical, to which science yields no support and experience opposes an unceasing contradiction. But if materialism and pantheism carry in their bosom the seeds of decay, the only real choice that will be left will lie between Theism, and that resignation of both intellect and heart to blank ignorance, which goes by the name of Agnosticism. Which of these, then, is likely to establish itself as the creed of the future? Is it to be expected that the human family will ever give up asking whence it arose, what it is, and whither it is going, and will rest contentedly under the opprobrium of utter incompetency to arrive at any solution of the enigma of its being? Can it possibly be satisfied with the conclusion, that the question, whether there be an eternal God and Father supreme over all things, is merely an idle and foolish one, because no effort can solve it, and practical life has no concern with it? We think not. Man with his restless intellect and aspiring heart has not, assuredly, the making in him of a contented Agnostic. But if not, then Theism must ultimately be left in possession. And, following Dr. Barry's thought to which we have referred, we venture to say that although a bare Theism is a very imperfect creed, yet as soon as the heart, however vaguely, realizes its own spiritual prerogative, and its relation to an eternal righteousness above it, the battle of faith is half won. We are bold to claim all sincere Theists as the real, if unacknowledged, allies of Christianity in its struggle with unbelief, the moment that they get beyond the conception of a merely mechanical

mechanical first cause or impersonal intelligence, and bow before a God who bears to man a personal relation of justice and mercy. It is this that gives us good hope of the future. Let a reasonable Christianity, a Christianity that does not flout the intellectual convictions or the moral sense, be maintained and defended on the reasonable lines followed in the treatises which we have passed under review; let Christians by their lives practically evince the regenerating and purifying power of their creed, and show that in following Christ the true reconciliation of the intellect and the heart, the genuine sweetness and light, can be nobly attained; and we have a confident anticipation that, as the hollow and barren theories of unbelief yield to the Theistic conception of the universe, so will Theism itself go on to perceive more and more clearly the manifestation in Christ of all that is divinest and of the most everlasting significance, until it is constrained to prostrate itself before Him with the cry, My Lord and my God!

ART. VII.—*A History of our own Times, from the Accession of Victoria to the General Election of 1880.* By Justin McCarthy, M.P. London, 4 vols. Vols. I. II., Third Edition, 1879; Vols. III., IV., 1880.

IT is not surprising that a history of our own times should find a numerous audience. Each of us feels a natural interest in the narrative of that which has passed within the range of his own experience, almost before his own eyes. To realize its truth makes no demands upon the imagination of the reader, and implies no painful process of thinking himself into surroundings different from his own. The art of a leader-writer in the daily press has been well described as that of telling people in clear language what they fancy they must have known before. As in Johnson's definition of wit, 'each man that hath not found it, wonders how he missed.' We are pleased to find that our common opinions are capable of being expressed in language so telling, and that they are worthy of literary reproduction. So it is with History—if it deserves the name—that deals in the spirit of the book before us with contemporary events. It flatters our self-complacency to find that the information gathered by nothing more troublesome than newspaper reading is after all capable, when reduced to some sort of arrangement and dressed in appropriate language, of taking its place alongside of the events of history. Names that are familiar

familiar in our everyday-life become actors on a greater stage. The catchwords of to-day are made to look as if they were of the importance of events that have floated on the surface of centuries. The Tichborne mania becomes an illustration of the manners and the men of an epoch ; a trades' procession, that may have hustled us in the streets only the other day, becomes a constituent factor in the progress of humanity.

We do not in the least grudge the success that has attended Mr. McCarthy's book, nor do we wish to deny the merit that has helped him to achieve it. There runs through the whole book what we may, for want of a better word, call a blitheness of style that is irresistible. Mr. McCarthy may fairly claim to have accomplished that at which he aimed. ' 'Tis not,' he may say with Mercutio, 'as broad as a church door or as deep as a well ; but 'tis enough : 'twill serve.' But when we consider all that is involved in the work which he has undertaken, what is the importance of the period which he has not hesitated to gauge with so 'light a heart,' and how subtle and manysided are its phases, we are compelled to say that his success has been achieved in great measure by writing down to his audience. How far the writing of contemporary history is possible remains a vexed question in literature. A few notable exceptions prove that it is not an art altogether denied. So long as the chief masterpiece of history for all time—the *κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί*—continues to be the contemporary record of the Peloponnesian War, it would be rash to say that contemporary history must fail. And although none, in our lesser age, may rival Thucydides, although we need not hope to 'revive the just designs of Greece,' yet we need not despair, even in these later days, with the example of Clarendon before us. But it is not rash to say that contemporary history is possible only with the very strictest limitations and with the most narrow aims. Within such limitations, however, we may attempt it, and the attempt may be made in either of two ways. One of these is perhaps the most difficult, the other the most easy, and possibly the most worthless, of all literary composition. We may endeavour to gauge the tendencies of our own time, to weigh its events and select in due proportion its most salient features ; to piece together a consecutive narrative in which each detail, each occurrence, each prominent movement, however trivial the superficial observer may judge it to be, has its due importance assigned to it. In short, we may aim at making contemporary history philosophical, but we do so with the imminent risk of being dull. Much charm of style, much insight into character, much combined imaginative and analytic power are required to induce men to follow any guide
over

over a path so likely to lead into a quicksand. For such history may not only be dull, it may also be misleading. Withdraw one link in the supposed chain of cause and consequence, misjudge the tendency of one event, elevate one interest into undue importance, and the whole fabric, which is so painfully constructed, may be found to stand upon a foundation as unsolid as air. To essay the judgment of moral perspective when no proper point of view can be gained, is a bold if not a reckless attempt. On the other hand, contemporary history, or something which claims the name, may be little but a connected series of newspaper articles. In this kind the experiments are not a few, and their character is almost always the same. Some salient occurrences are described with much minuteness of detail. A few leading men are delineated in more or less theatrical attitudes. Events that have struck the popular fancy are elevated into an importance altogether beyond their due. The partisanship inherent in the comments of political journalism is never absent. History of this sort is not without its charm. At first the rattling sound of an epigram, however hollow it may be, has something attractive. The false flicker is easily mistaken for an enduring brilliance. We are carried along rapidly with the running comments of a guide who never deviates into bypaths, and who sustains the continuity of his narrative by a judicious selection of events that seem easily to lead one to another. But when the momentary flicker is gone, when the epigram has grown stale, when we calmly ask ourselves what is the meaning of the story, we find that the well-strung narrative falls to pieces, that the obstinacy of facts upsets its theories, that the strong lights and shadows have been as false as the tinsel decorations of the stage, which looked so well in the glare of the footlights, but which are so tawdry to the cold eye of day.

We are compelled to say that the book now before us, extravagantly as it has been praised, and gravely as it has been treated as a piece of serious history, belongs to the latter class of works. Its different parts are, indeed, unequal. The further Mr. M^cCarthy is removed from the events of to-day, the better is his guidance. His judgment on the doings of the last generation are generally unwarped by prejudice. His sense of the proportion of events that happened forty years ago is often just, and the heated diction of sensational articles is not the medium he has there chosen for his narrative. But when we come nearer to the events of to-day, the perverse tendency grows upon him. The narrative clings more closely to the floor of the House of Commons, to the episodes of the London streets, to the

the sensations of the law-courts, to the excited utterances of popular meetings. It need cause us no surprise that dealing with such material, and forcing it to wear the guise of solid history, Mr. McCarthy is unable to avoid partisanship. It is absolutely necessary to his plan: the strong lights and shadows of the events, which make their course and character apparently so clear and accentuated, must be reflected in the judgment passed upon the agents in these events.

In his manner of doing this we are bound to acknowledge much ability; for, well or ill, he keeps a sustained hold upon our interest and attention. Were it not for the unthinking verdict of his critics, who have proclaimed the book as a contribution to serious history, we should not be compelled to find fault with Mr. McCarthy for the *défauts de ses qualités*. There is no reason why the comments of the journalist, however partisan, should not be reproduced in a connected form, should this be the desire of other partisans. Mr. McCarthy doubtless embodies the political creed of not a few Englishmen, whose verdict on public events is likely to stay in its own groove, undisturbed by any inconvenient doubt or hesitation. He gives a narrative which must be entirely satisfactory to them; and so long as it pleases them, and does not claim too high a place for itself, it might be well to leave the progress of events to correct and modify the dogmatism of partisan opinion. But there are others who as yet know little of the events; there are younger men who may a few years hence desire such knowledge, and who may accept these volumes, if not contradicted, as a trustworthy and fair narrative of the present reign. They would be encouraged to do so by the extravagant and unthinking praise of the critics; and it is in view of such a possibility that we feel compelled to point out the defects which, to our mind, outweigh even the merits of the book.

To begin with, Mr. McCarthy troubles himself little about chronological arrangement. His history advances by leaps and bounds. We are carried on, not in the tedious order or with the troublesome detail of actual events, but with a quick and easy transition from one point of sensational interest to another. From the formation of Lord John Russell's Ministry in the summer of 1846, we have absolutely nothing of English history till the Chartist outbreak of 1848. From thence to the Exhibition of 1851, we have only the Don Pacifico difficulties and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. Little more than a glance at the rise of the Second Empire, and some striking sketches of English statesmen then advancing into prominence, bring us to the outbreak of the Crimean war; that war carries us down to
1856.

1856. At times, no doubt, Mr. M^cCarthy retraces his steps to take up the narrative of some particular series of incidents; but when he comes back to the main highway of his history, we find that he has conveniently passed over a year or two with some rapid reference to a Parliamentary debate, to a change in the *personnel* of politics, or, if everything else fail, to some sensational episode in the Courts of Law. So with the account given of some of the most prominent movements of our time. It is often a series of effective sketches, leaving us still without the facts and details upon which we can criticize Mr. M^cCarthy's judgment. Budgets are described, not with careful reference to their financial provisions, but with at most a glance at their more striking characteristics, and a lively description of the debates to which they gave rise. Here and there, as we shall endeavour to show, these sketches are guilty of more than mere flimsiness; but the defects of the partisan we reserve for more detailed reference.

That such a treatment of history affords easy and pleasant reading, requires no demonstration. But the question arises, Is it really history at all? Are Mr. M^cCarthy's numerous readers not deceived by a name, and while they fancy that they are learning the meaning of our time, are they looking upon anything more than a fanciful picture of that time, scarcely more real than the fiction in which Mr. M^cCarthy excels? Striking popular movements; actions which appear to be critical; the force of personal traits of character; the direction of individual bias—all these will have to be studied, weighed, and assigned to their proper place by the future historian of our time. In Mr. M^cCarthy's pages, that historian will find not a few picturesque incidents and some well-selected and characteristic touches to aid him in his work; but he will have to exercise great care in their selection. Mr. M^cCarthy has given a striking picture of contemporary history as it is conceived by the middle-class Liberal partisan; but he has done no more, and if he claims for this, or if his laudatory critics claim in his stead, that it is an adequate historical account of the time, we must, with all respect, demur to the claim. Throughout the whole of the book we feel the presence of this essential fault. It is fragmentary, and it helps to conceal this by stringing its facts together on one thread of theory. Mr. M^cCarthy adopts a current fallacy which pervades books of more pretension than his own. Liberalism flatters its self-complacency by representing the history of our political progress as an unceasing struggle between the powers of evil and of good. The Liberal party acts in this unceasing struggle the part of Una and the lion, striving

striving ever against the restless virulence of ill. Constitutional history is transformed into a moral tale, where the good is ever working towards new conquests, and crushing the head of a new dragon under foot. This, no doubt, makes of history an undeniably efficient ethical instrument, and it may be that our recent educational activity has something to do with the prevalence of the habit which views history in such a light. It no doubt adapts itself admirably to the moral dogmatism of our Liberal masters, and to didactic purposes. But its only defect is, that it is not scientific ; in plain words, that it is not true.

‘The Conservative party,’ Lord Hartington averred in one of his speeches delivered some two or three years ago, ‘governs for classes ; the Liberals govern for the nation.’ The apothegm is a specious one, and it would be harsh to criticize too severely the utterances of one who was endeavouring almost in despair to find some common principle on which to unite the straggling fragments of the Liberal party. The final resolve had not yet been taken to rest the fortunes of that party, not on principle, but on the preponderance of one name and one personality. Lord Hartington only uttered an accepted maxim of the Liberal press, and it is well, therefore, to see on what foundation that maxim rests. Of what, we might ask, is the nation made up except of ‘Classes’ ? Is Government to aim at satisfying some abstraction, altogether independent of the units of which the nation consists ? If men find that pedantic and theoretic legislation cripples their free agencies, attacks one profession after another, interferes with all the relations of life, and vexes by an officious meddling, are they bound to submit to, nay to admire such legislation, as soon as they are told that what it sacrifices are the interests of classes, and that its aim is the higher interest of the nation ? Is it surprising that in the exercise of ordinary prudence they should ask who are benefited, and should at least demand to know where the compensation is to be found for the undeniable evils that ensue ? The question is certain to arise, and, even at the risk of being guilty of being charged with self-interest, men will demand a severe account of national prosperity frittered away in the supposed interests of the nation.

The maxim, in truth, is nothing more than a convenient and specious way of advancing the prosperity of one class at the expense of others. No doubt the self-interest of each or every class must at times thwart and hinder the advance of Reform. Men cannot be taught all at once to surrender privilege, to submit to loss, to descend from a position of vantage. But such opposition is one of the forces with which a statesman must reckon. It must be dealt with on certain fixed and stable

principles. To assail it rashly, to deride its defences, to rail at its selfishness, is to attack, not it only, but all other classes as well. It is to breed insecurity, to encourage disturbance, to cripple the instrument of national prosperity, without which there would be neither interests nor privileges for any class to gain or lose. The rashness that deals thus with classes is the very negation of statesmanship; and to treat the just penalty which is paid for the certain failure of such an attempt as if it were a martyrdom for preferring the nation to a class is the most flimsy of deceptions ever invented to cloak defeat.

Mr. M^cCarthy adopts this maxim, only using a name different from that employed by Lord Hartington. What are 'classes' with Lord Hartington are with Mr. M^cCarthy 'interests':—

'The House of Commons,' he says, in accounting for the slow progress of some measure, 'is a good deal governed, directly or indirectly, by interests. It is influenced by them directly, as when the railway interest, the mining interest, the brewing interest, or the landed interest, boldly stands up through its acknowledged representatives in Parliament, to fight for its own hand. It is also much interested indirectly. Every powerful interest in the House can contrive to enlist the sympathies and get the support of men who have no direct concern one way or another in some proposed measure, who know nothing about it, and do not want to be troubled with any knowledge, and who are therefore easily led to see that the side on which some of their friends are arrayed must be the right side.'

Put in another way, this simply means that men who have a stake in the prosperity of the country desire to see their way clearly before sanctioning a sweeping change, whether it affect their own interests or those of others. Does Mr. M^cCarthy think this is an astonishing phenomenon? Would he prefer that the members of the House of Commons were men detached from any solid interest—a congress of philosophers, or a mass meeting of the proletariat? Does he fancy that he would thus be secured against narrowness of aim, against selfishness of motive, and that under such an order of things the abstract prosperity of the country, detached from that of any particular class, would have free sway? Either the maxim, which he elevates from a partisan catchword into the dignity of an historical formula, means no more than that statesmanship of any party and of any creed must reckon with certain permanent forces in the nation, in which case it is a truism; or else he attributes the fact to the selfishness of some particular class and interest, and desires to point out the incompatibility of such a class or interest with strict justice; in which case his maxim is both pernicious and unfair.

So much for the powers of evil and of selfishness that work against Mr. M^cCarthy and his party. It is amusing also to look to the influences by which he believes changes to be wrought. Some of these are, to say the least of it, curious. The first instance we shall select occurs in the account which Mr. M^cCarthy gives of the incidents which followed Mr. Salomons's claim to take his seat in 1851. Instead of following the example of Baron Rothschild, Mr. Salomons chose to have recourse to a scene in Parliament, which ended in a delusory display of force. The scene did not, indeed, equal some of those to which we have recently become accustomed, but it was sufficiently dangerous to the dignity of Parliament. That it affected the ultimate decision on the question we do not for a moment believe. That question was one on which the public mind was distracted as to the means, but not doubtful as to the end. It involved a legal opinion, which it was essential should be obtained before legislative machinery was set in motion. Most men were only too ready to have it settled, if only the best process for doing so could be discovered. But this is Mr. M^cCarthy's judgment on the scene enacted by Mr. Salomons:—

‘Mr. Salomons did well to press his rights in that practical way upon the notice of the House. It is one of the blots upon our parliamentary system that a great question, like that of the removal of Jewish disabilities, is seldom settled upon its merits. Parliament rarely bends to the mere claims of reason and justice. Some pressure has almost always to be put on it to induce it to see the right. Its tendency is always to act exactly as Mr. Salomons himself formally did in this case; to yield only when sufficient pressure has been put on it to signify coercion. Catholic Emancipation was carried by such a pressure. The promoters of the Sunday Trading Bill yield to a riot in Hyde Park. A Tory Government turn Reformers in obedience to a crowd who pull down the railing of the same enclosure. A Chancellor of the Exchequer modifies his budget in deference to a demonstration of match-selling boys and girls. In all these instances it was right to make the concession; but the concession was not made because it was right. The Irish Home Rulers, or some of them at least, are convinced that they will carry Home Rule in the end by the mere force of a pressure brought to bear on Parliament; and their expectation is justified by all previous experience. They have been told often enough that they must not expect to carry it by argument. If Parliamentary institutions do really come to be discredited in this country, as many people love to predict, one especial reason will be this very experience on the part of the public, that Parliament has invariably conceded to pressure the reforms which it persistently denied to justice. A reform is first refused without reason, to be at last conceded without grace.’—Vol. iii. p. 179.

It is instructive to notice the practical application of this strangest of all doctrines which Mr. McCarthy gives. We can only trust that he may, as to one point at least, be speedily undeceived. But as to the effects of Mr. Salomons's behaviour, what are the facts? The incident occurred in 1851. The legal question was decided in 1852. The change in the law did not come till 1858: and the first to benefit by the change was Baron Rothschild, and not Mr. Salomons. It would be interesting to observe how many of Mr. McCarthy's most trim theories crumble into dust as completely as this one, upon the foundation of which he has attempted to build a maxim of parliamentary conduct not merely dangerous, but absolutely ruinous to parliamentary authority.

Mr. McCarthy is fond of drawing such lessons from history. When he has described with much sense of humour the burlesque of riot which was enacted under the auspices of the Reform League, he is in haste to assure the motley crowd who thus travestied rebellion, of the potent instrument they wield. It is curious to watch, in passing, the varying attitude of Mr. McCarthy's party to a London crowd. At one time it is a mass of music-hall youths, besotted with beer, and shrieking warlike cries by night which are forgotten when the muddlement is gone with the morning. At another time, when the London crowd is in accord with principles which the exigencies of the Liberal party induce them to adopt, they are described as the people in their strength. The bemuddled brains became the cradle of revolution; the horseplay is an engine of force before which Constitutions crumble and Ministers stand aghast. Mr. McCarthy's humorous description does not prevent his ascribing to the reckless crowd that stoned the police and broke some crazy railings very portentous consequences:—

‘Nothing can well be more certain than the fact that the Hyde Park Riot, as it was called, convinced Her Majesty's Ministers of the necessity of an immediate adoption of the Reform principle.’—Vol. iv. p. 83.

Mr. McCarthy forgets that, however it may contribute to the fancied interest of his volumes, such arbitrary connection of cause and effect tells two ways. If revolution is caused by crazy railings, then society may defy revolution when the railings are twelve inches deeper in the ground. Had Hyde Park been protected in 1866 by bars as strong as those which fence it now, the Reform Bill might, according to Mr. McCarthy, have still been in the limbo of the future. We decline either theory; and again we must ask, what are the facts? When Lord Russell's Government fell by an almost accidental coalition

tion of the Adullamites with the Conservatives, few men who had any political foresight deemed that the question was indefinitely postponed. The death of Lord Palmerston had, indeed, removed the last stop-gap in its way. Some, indeed, were honestly and absolutely opposed to any touching of the question, and were ready to help in any action which might postpone it, even till to-morrow from to-day. Others were convinced that the scheme which had been proposed by the Liberals was not a good one, and exercised the proper critical function of Parliament in postponing its consideration. Others again thought, and we believe with good reason, that the most satisfactory solution of the question was to be reached only by a compromise between the great parties in the State. How that compromise was to be reached was still doubtful; but it was clear that the Conservatives alone could attempt it with any prospect of success. It was certain that Reform, dealt with by the hands of the Liberals, would have been followed by other and more dangerous changes. The management of the concession, if it was determined to make it, was safer in the hands of the Conservatives themselves.

All these considerations must have been in the mind of the Conservative leaders when they entered upon office. They are clearly reflected in the speech which Lord Derby made on the 9th of July, 1866, when he had formed his Ministry. He was careful to show that to Reform in itself he was by no means opposed, either from personal feeling or from association. The difficulty which faced him was the terms on which it was to be made, and the process by which a common basis of settlement might be reached. He would not pledge himself to Reform until he saw what prospect there was of its success. With no such prospect, he refused, and rightly refused, to run the risk of further waste of time, of endless complications of party, of long debates barren of results. The riots took place before the Session closed; and yet no indication of change of front was made by the Government. With the opening of the new Session things were still in the same position. Riot had not precipitated a decision. The Queen's Speech left the way open to the Government. The question was not announced in the definite way in which the items of the legislative programme are usually laid before Parliament. Measures, it was hoped, might be arranged 'by mutual forbearance;' and the phrase in itself indicated that without such forbearance these measures would have to be abandoned. It was a plain and fair offer of help to remove out of the political arena a question which had long enough cumbered the ground, and of which very weariness pressed men to desire
a settlement.

a settlement. Having come, with whatever prudence, to the resolution that the question must be reopened, the only point that remained for the Conservative party to consider was the terms of the surrender. The Ministry never concealed their opinion that it was 'a leap in the dark.' But once the leap was undertaken, it might fairly be judged, even by prudent heads, that it was no time to draw bridle. Years had led up to the brink. If the Conservatives had turned aside, years more might have been wasted in fruitless wrangling. The impulse might have become too strong for resistance, and the Conservative party might have seen the question carried in their teeth. It is not for us to defend the decision. We are only concerned to show that, far from being the sudden product of a popular tumult in the London streets, the decision of the Ministers was the product of a long course of events, which had left to them no alternative but a dangerous surrender, or a perhaps still more dangerous defence.

It would be well if Mr. M^cCarthy were paradoxical only in the origin which he assigns to grave political events. It is an adage of our school-days that no cause is too small for far-reaching results. The maxim is a useful one from the moral point of view, and it gives much opportunity in literature for the exercise of fancy in the association of cause and effect. But, as we have seen, it may be carried too far. We cannot always ascribe either the safety or the destruction of citadels to the cackling of geese. So far, however, Mr. M^cCarthy is mistaken only, and unscientific. But there are other peculiarities in his views of history, in regard to which we trust he will find little sympathy amongst thinking men. We naturally turn with some curiosity to his utterances on Ireland, and not least to his opinions in regard to Coercion, which nine-tenths of the English people, outraged by a mockery of administration, judge at present to be rendered necessary by the operations of that very Land League to which Mr. M^cCarthy has thought right publicly to declare his adherence. In dealing with Mr. M^cCarthy's book we would readily make as slight reference as possible to his political position, but the latter is so marked, and claims to historical impartiality have been at the same time so lavishly made on his behalf, that we are forced, however reluctantly, to consider and interpret his literary by his political opinions. Speaking of the proposal for the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act in 1866, a proposal so universally approved that it passed through all its stages and received the Royal Assent within less than twelve hours, Mr. M^cCarthy avoids all discussion of its real necessity. He judges

judges coercion merely on abstract principles. If coercion is necessary, he argues, English rule must be bad; therefore coercion is to be avoided. Even granting Mr. McCarthy's premisses, we utterly fail to see the logic of his inference. Let English rule in the past be as bad as the worst of her enemies would assert it to be, yet surely this can be no reason for neglecting precautions, even should this misrule have indirectly contributed to make precaution necessary. Our great-grandfathers, let us admit, governed Ireland so ruthlessly, that all our efforts after reform cannot work things right. But if rebellion arises, or threatens to arise, is it our duty, now that we have renounced the policy of our great-grandfathers, to see rebellion and anarchy grow, because we have formed a certain idea as to the misrule of the past? We put the case even on the basis of the admission which Mr. McCarthy assumes. We do not think that English misrule, undeniable as it has often been, is responsible for one-half of the Irish distress that neglect of ordinary economic laws have caused. But we wish only to point out that, even on Mr. McCarthy's own assumption, coercion would not be one whit less the duty of England in the present, on account of the errors of England in the past.

Even where remedial legislation has been operative in regard to Ireland, Mr. McCarthy is inclined to allow but little credit for it to any English sense of justice. His perverse ingenuity in tracing connection between cause and effect, leads him to ascribe to it an origin which we had hoped to be allowed to forget. In the excitement of an electioneering campaign of unexampled vehemence, Mr. Gladstone gave utterance to a statement so dangerous, that even his most trustful adherents were startled by it, while it spread a not unnatural alarm over all the country. Mr. Gladstone asserted that those outrages, not only upon law, but upon common humanity, which have earned for themselves an unpleasant notoriety—the murder of an unarmed constable, and the diabolical blowing up of the Clerkenwell Prison—had roused his attention to the need of reform in Ireland. It was felt, and felt with justice, that such a statement might well have disastrous results were Mr. Gladstone, by the vacillation of political fortune, to return to power. The vacillation did occur. Mr. Gladstone returned to a position in which new outrages might move him to new resolves. The alarm has been justified by the fulfilment of its prognostications to the letter. It would be unfair to believe that Mr. Gladstone does not repent the rashness of his utterance; and our sense of its danger is such that we are unwilling to dwell too long upon it for the sake of a triumph over a political

tical adversary. But what are we to say to the plagiarism by Mr. M^cCarthy of the same assertion, and its enunciation, not in the heat of an electioneering speech, but in the deliberately-penned pages of a history whose admirers claim for it impartiality and judgment? Not once only, but three times, Mr. M^cCarthy repeats the catchword which his political associates are so ready to adopt. 'Mr. Gladstone came to the conclusion,' he avers, 'that the Fenian outbreak, the Manchester rescue, and the Clerkenwell explosion, furnished a proper opportunity for a new system of legislation in Ireland.' It would have been hard to believe that a sentence could have been penned containing in so few words so much that is pernicious, and insinuating so much that is untrue. Mark the specious names with which Mr. M^cCarthy provides the crimes which he devotes himself to excuse. A rebellion becomes 'an outbreak:' a murder, a 'rescue;' and the deliberate attempt to blow down the wall of a prison in the centre of a great population, a deed of cold-blooded and inhuman cruelty, by which nearly one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, were maimed or done to death, is 'an explosion!' In them, says Mr. M^cCarthy, Mr. Gladstone found, not merely an occasion, but 'a *proper* opportunity' for his designs. And Mr. Gladstone ushers in, not merely an innovation in the relations of Church and State, not merely an Act of Parliament to sweep away the Irish Church, but 'a new system of legislation!' To the assertions thus made Mr. M^cCarthy returns. 'The Clerkenwell explosion,' he says, 'was but one illustration of a common condition of things. We seldom have any political reform without a previous explosion.'* 'We know,' he says again, 'that even the worst excesses of the moment impressed the mind of Mr. Gladstone with a conviction that the hour was appropriate for doing something to remove the causes of discontent that made Ireland restless.'† The reiteration of such a theory shows how its lessons have been taken to heart, by others than the perpetrators of the outrages, that are now making the administration of Ireland a scandal to all Europe.

The perversion of ordinary ideas of morality, to which partisanship may give rise, is seen with unpleasant clearness in some of Mr. M^cCarthy's judgments on political crimes. He has more than one reference to the murder of Sergeant Brett, while in the discharge of his duty, at Manchester. He is particularly indignant with Lord Derby for declaring that the deed which claimed the specious name of a political offence, was 'simply a murder, commonplace in all but its peculiar atrocity;' and that the act

* Vol. iv. p. 239.

† Vol. iv. p. 151.

of the men who suffered for it was 'dastardly.' In condemnation of these words, which most men will judge rather to under-rate the cowardly baseness of the deed, Mr. M^cCarthy indulges in some utterly irrelevant argument, in which he claims for the murderers the heroic self-sacrifice of generous patriots. He compares the case with a supposed rescue by a few Garibaldians of two of their companions from the hands of the Papal guard. 'Does any one,' asks Mr. M^cCarthy triumphantly, 'suppose that Lord Derby would have stigmatized the conduct of the rescuing Garibaldians as dastardly?' To this we can only answer, that we believe Lord Derby would have stigmatized such conduct by any word that it appeared to deserve; and that if it had approached, in brutal cowardice, the act of the Manchester murderers, he would certainly have used the word dastardly, or worse. But, bad as such an act might have been, it could hardly have had even a remote likeness to the murder of Brett. The Papal gendarmes were armed; their whole force was on the alert, and could not but have expected an attack. An arrest of two members of a force actually in arms against their master would have suggested to the guards due precautions. Had the companions of the supposed Garibaldians been kept in arrest, they might, in all probability, have been subjected to trial by an inimical and unjust court. The rescuers would have attempted what was clearly a hazardous feat, against precautions which were certain to be taken, and they would have done so on adequate grounds. Mark the contrast. The murderers of Brett were absolutely secure from immediate danger. Their plans were laid with the prudence of cold-blooded cowardice. Forty armed men fired suddenly upon an ordinary police-van, with an escort of eleven unarmed policemen. It would not be an act of boldness for one man, armed with a good revolver, to attack such a force even in a crowded street, and kill one or two men, and then to defy capture and get clear of the crowd. The forty dastards who fired upon a civilian escort, who deliberately, and by no such accident as Mr. M^cCarthy would have us believe, blew out the brains of an unarmed man who stood in their way, and who threatened even women in their 'misguided but heroic' onslaught, were absolutely secure from immediate danger. Even the risk of capture was slight. The van was not attacked in a main thoroughfare, but in a comparatively empty road. Had it not been for that want of presence of mind which, fortunately, often accompanies cruel cowardice, their ultimate escape was almost certain. The rescued prisoners did actually escape; and, out of a company of forty men, every one of whom was indisputably guilty of this most cowardly murder, only three paid

paid the penalty. And for despicable miscreants like these Mr. M^cCarthy has so much sympathy, that he invents for them delusive parallels, perverts morality to screen them, and rails at an English statesman who stigmatizes their cold-blooded and cowardly murder by the name it so richly deserves. When we find a literary man, long accustomed to look at affairs in the light of English habit, if not of English feeling, able to invent fine names for murder, and to drape cowardice with sentiment, what wonder is it that hot-headed politicians should proclaim their assumption of patriotic names and patriotic motives, and provoke thereby a mingled feeling of ridicule and indignation at the travesty?

When Mr. M^cCarthy comes to discuss the question of the Irish Church, his views on it are as little likely to command assent on being examined, as those to which we have referred above. At almost each stage of his account of the agitation and its results he makes some statements to which it is impossible to assent, advances some theory which is either superficial or flagrantly at variance with facts. He ascribes to that Church the ill-will of the Irish people to the English Government; in so far he is contradicted by all evidence. He believes the only defence of a State Church to consist in the adherence of the majority; therein he is superficial. He dismisses any other means of dealing with the question than that of disestablishment and disendowment; and therein he shows his blindness to one of the most liberal and thoughtful of the solutions that were proposed. It may be well to glance at his manner of varying error through each of these degrees.

'It is certain' (says Mr. M^cCarthy) 'that if there had been no persecution and no State Church the feelings of the Irish people towards England would have been very different from what they actually are even at this day. There would have been no rebellion in 1798. There would have been no hatred of Protestant to Catholic, Catholic to Protestant. All this is obvious: every one says as much now.'

When proof fails, the method of assuming universal agreement is a very simple one. We can assure Mr. M^cCarthy, however, that every one does not say so; that very many to whom the facts of history appear to be of some importance, say the very opposite. Nothing is more certain than that through a great part of last century the persecution of the Roman Catholics was little else than a name. The oppression under which the Irish groaned extended to Protestant as well as Roman Catholic; and not a few of the warmest asserters of Ireland's rights came from the ranks of the Irish Protestant Church. When the Roman Catholics began to make their special grievances felt, these

these went far deeper than discontent with the status of the Established Church. Year by year the Irish farmer felt more indifferent to its existence; and when it did fall his leaders were shrewd enough to see that it had fallen at the behests of the English political dissenter and the ultra-Presbyterian radicalism of Scotland, rather than at their own; and they neither felt nor affected to feel any gratitude for the surrender. It was a sop thrust to the hungry Cerberus of Irish discontent, which no more availed to satisfy its cravings than the sacrifice of a bantling would appease the ravings of a tiger. The appetite was only whetted by the morsel. It was indeed but a new Tale of a Tub.

But Mr. M^cCarthy, as we have said, assumes the most superficial of all arguments in favour of a State Church as its only possible defence. He thinks an Established Church rests entirely upon its doctrines being accepted by the majority—or at least this is the only possible foundation for its existence to which he thinks it proper to allude. On such a theory it requires no magic of inference to prove the expediency of Irish disestablishment. The question is simply begged. It is notorious that this is a theory recently much favoured by the leaders of the party to which Mr. M^cCarthy belongs. It reduces one of the problems of English politics to a ready-made solution, relieves our guides of undue responsibility for the formation of public opinion, and places quietly upon the shelf for the present a question which may be taken down in time when its use as an electioneering cry is perceived. It is not too much to say that a Church resting only on the assent of the majority to its doctrines (which is a very different thing from their acquiescence in its status) ought not to exist for a single day. If State recognition of religion does not mean something more, if it is not based upon considerations of public utility independent of religious creed, then there is no more ground for its continuance than for the maintenance of a State provision for amusement or recreation. On what theory does Mr. M^cCarthy suppose that the Church of Usher and Bedell, of Berkeley and of Whately, was defended, if no other can occur to him as conceivable than that an Established Church must be the Church of a majority? Other theories may be fanciful or mistaken; but to pass them over in silence is as absurd as it would be to accept no other principle in allotting the franchise than that which may provide for bringing the largest number into the pale of responsible citizenship, and to assume that when this is discovered the question is settled once and for all.

Mr. M^cCarthy, in dealing with the Irish Church question, is
misleading

misleading in one particular and superficial in another. In a third respect we have said that he was blind ; and it is because he fails to notice any other method of solution than that of disestablishment. He mentions, but only to meet it with a cursory sneer, the proposal for concurrent endowment. It was a proposal as old as the days of George I. It had occurred to many of those who, though alive to the anomalies of the Establishment, yet dreaded the surrender of that citadel of Protestantism and guarantee for moderation which the Establishment afforded. That it did not appear more prominently in the debates of 1868 reflects but little credit for prudence on the spirit with which these debates were conducted. But that even if not feasible, it yet offered a fair prospect of a satisfactory solution of the question, is a conclusion which few impartial men who now consider the results of a merely destructive legislation in Ireland are likely to doubt.

We have endeavoured to show some of the serious defects which pervade these volumes, and which render it no matter of congratulation that so large an audience have been found to follow the guidance of unthinking critics, and accept as sound history that which rarely rises above the level of an amusing sketch. We have shown how cursory are Mr. M^cCarthy's glances at prominent events ; how fictitious is the thread of connection by which he holds together the fragments of narrative in which he advances by leaps and bounds. We have examined the foundation of some of his political theories, and tested their worth. These defects pervade the whole work. But in the two final volumes Mr. M^cCarthy lays himself open to much more serious criticism. So far from being impartial, they carry partisanship to the confines of absurdity. In these the contest between the powers of good and evil comes to a head ; the victorious heroes of Liberalism are crushing in the last defences of immoral, selfish, craven Conservatism. Mr. M^cCarthy's history has all the simplicity of the well-regulated child's story, which concludes by giving cakes and sweetmeats to the good boys, and gets ready the birch-rod for the truants and the rogues. The moral altitude of the Liberals attains to new eminence. When English feeling agrees with them, it is rising in its nobility and might ; when it disagrees, it is the product of the besotted denizens of London music-halls. When the Liberals gain a Parliamentary victory, it is due to their 'eloquence and the strength of the Government' ; when the Conservatives gain, it is due to a mechanical majority. When the Conservatives take part in foreign politics, they are bent on filibustering abroad.

abroad. When they turn from foreign politics to internal Reform, they are 'rolling a tub,' as indifferent to the fate of mankind as Diogenes was amid the warlike stir of Athens. When the Liberals interfere in foreign affairs, their words are all words of wisdom; when they make an abortive effort at internal reform, they are 'attempting great things,' and even in failure gain new laurels. When Conservative schemes of legislation fail, they fail because of bungling, and dishonesty, and chicane. When Liberals commit a fiasco so monstrous as the Irish University Bill of 1873, their failure is still condoned on account of the heroism that prompted the attempt.

Partiality carried to such a burlesque as this might perhaps appear to lose its sting. But so many have read Mr. McCarthy's book without apparently any suspicion of its bias, that it would be dangerous to trust to exaggeration working its own cure. It may be well, therefore, to show some instances in which Mr. McCarthy has sunk his ambition to be an historian in his habit of being a partisan.

It is hardly possible to avoid noticing the strong bias in favour of dissent, which Mr. McCarthy shows. It is a bias which, when once shown, is more apt than any other to carry a man towards the very extreme of injustice, along the narrowest of grooves. Once its influence is admitted, the 'dissidence of political dissent' soon enthrals the judgment, banishes impartiality, and makes injustice a habit. The tone of mind which it engenders has notoriously infected a far wider circle than that which is informed by the dogmatic energy of the sects. It has cemented strange political alliances, it has found its mouth-pieces in the press, and it has inspired more than its votaries with its own spirit. That it is waning in power we do not for a moment assert; but that it runs contrary to the current of all that is best in our national life, we most unhesitatingly maintain. Those who recollect its displays during the Education debates of 1870 may best judge of the narrowness, the lack of generosity, the ignoring of history which characterize it. Much of this is visible in Mr. McCarthy's volume. 'Naturally,' he says,* in speaking of the earliest grants in aid of education, 'naturally the rich and powerful Church of England secured the greater part of the grant for herself.' What is the obvious meaning of these words? Surely that the Church of England perverted the grant made for the purpose of National Education into a means of enriching herself; that the grant was so manipulated that it became, in short, a new endowment to the

* Vol. i. p. 185.

Church. Mr. M^cCarthy and those who have used phrases of the same import before, know perfectly well that this is what they intend to be the accepted meaning of their words. But what is the real basis of fact on which they rest? Simply this, that the Church of England, having borne, we do not say the giant's share, but all except a trifle of the burden of national education, found that her burden was now infinitesimally lightened by the share of that Parliamentary grant which was allotted in proportion to local effort. It is idle for Mr. M^cCarthy to plead that his words are capable of this interpretation. Such a plea only makes the quibble worse. On any honest reading of the sentence, he is convicted of describing as a selfish appropriation what was the unavoidable consequence of centuries of ungrudged charity and ungrudged labour. Even those who pleaded—in error it may be—for the restriction of State recognition to the Church schools, would gladly have accepted the settlement that such monopoly should be one of burden and unaided voluntary effort. Their exclusiveness, however mistaken, was not at least sordid in its aim.

We turn to the close of the gradual process by which our national system of education was built up, thirty years later. Mr. M^cCarthy has then to estimate the value of previous efforts, which the State had now to supplement: of the lion's share of the Church we now hear nothing; the burden of the work might, for all Mr. M^cCarthy says, have been borne equally by Nonconformist, Roman Catholic, or Secularist. The story of educational wants is told; but the chapter on the efforts of the Church is conveniently omitted. Such is a fair specimen of the gratitude dealt to the Church for having assumed for long the burden of a thankless and ungrateful task. Mr. M^cCarthy is sometimes skilful enough as a partisan not to be too fulsome in his praises. He, indeed, uses some mild expostulation in speaking of the irreconcilable attitude of the Dissenters; but their error is mildly dealt with. After the gentle stroke of Mr. M^cCarthy's rod, they might well say, 'Let the righteous smite me friendly, and reprove me.' He mildly reproves their undue earnestness; but, after all, their error, according to Mr. M^cCarthy, was chiefly this, that they forced a Liberal Government to soil its hands with the accursed thing of Conservative support!

But strong as is his bias in ecclesiastical matters, against the National Church, Mr. M^cCarthy shows the onesidedness of his view chiefly in his estimate of the two great parties in the State. We do not hesitate to say that a casual reader, approaching Mr. M^cCarthy's book without previous knowledge of the history of
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of the last forty years, would come to the conclusion that all the salutary legislation of the period had been the work solely of one party in the State. So far as the mere statement of facts goes, Mr. M^cCarthy might be able to defend himself against such a stricture; but the defence would still leave the charge true in the spirit, if not in the letter. Liberal Ministries and Liberal measures bulk out of all due proportion in the book. Where the Liberals inscribe an enactment on our statute book, its origin, its development, its culmination, are described with the minutest detail. The heroism of the struggle which the children of light maintain against the sons of darkness, is painted in thrilling colours. Finally, they are seen to step to victory over their opponents, trampled in the dust. It is forgotten that all the main lines of legislation have been the result of a certain compromise; and that, even where a vigorous protest appeared necessary, it was made without a surrender of principle, and was followed by no lack of loyalty to the law as modified. But the contributions made by the Conservatives to our statute book, even where Mr. M^cCarthy admits them to be good, are either slurred over as trifling episodes, or ascribed to the disinterested guidance of the Liberal party. Thus the Conservative Ministry, which took office in June 1866, virtually had but two Sessions of Parliament under its guidance. Even of these one Session was broken in two, by the resignation of Lord Derby, the re-formation of the Ministry, and, to some extent, the re-consideration of policy. During that time, it had to deal with an armed rebellion in Ireland, of long growth and subtle contrivance. It had to compose the alarm caused by trades-union outrages, which were rapidly paralysing trade. It had to arrange a scheme for organizing the British Provinces of North America. It had to plan, provide for, and carry to completion an African war, of the kind which puts the resources of army organization to the most trying tests. Its measure of accomplishment in all these spheres is hardly noticed by Mr. M^cCarthy. But, in addition to all this, the Conservative Ministry passed a Reform Bill, over the wisdom of which men may wrangle, while they are forced to acknowledge the demands its successful conduct made upon Ministerial resources and management. The story of that management is told as if the Liberals, instead of being the spectators of success, where *they* had achieved only failure, had been the masters of the situation, dealing out their orders to their henchmen on the Treasury bench. But this is not all. As a further addition to their tale of accomplished work, the Conservatives passed a measure abolishing the scandal of public executions; another transferring

stated to be rigidly impartial. We can understand such an opinion to be formed in the mind of a school-girl, who finds in the picture of Lord Beaconsfield, as drawn by Mr. McCarthy, the model of a stage-struck fancy. Trivial as the insults may be to their object, we must protest against such an estimate of any public man, much more of one who has so long occupied the foremost place, not in a great party only, but in the State. No long buried scandal is forgotten, no odd episode of biography, which lends itself to caricature, is omitted. Here and there we find a studied impartiality assumed towards the object of Mr. McCarthy's attack, only that the sarcastic touches may be improved by contrast. And the culmination of these insults is reached, when Mr. McCarthy allows himself to compare Lord Beaconsfield with the character in all Scott's novels most despicable and loathsome,—with Gilbert Glossin, the vile and murderous pettifogger in 'Guy Mannering.' Mr. McCarthy's is fortunately not the first nor the most serious of such attacks that Lord Beaconsfield has been able to despise—attacks which render only the more applicable to him the words of Martial's greeting:—

'Et sis, invidia favente, felix!'

Naturally, the chief instances of Mr. McCarthy's partisanship are to be found in the pages where he glances at the eventful years during which the late Government held office. His utterances bear so much resemblance to those which we have so often combatted, that it would be useless reiteration to meet them in detail by argument. But we had hoped that responsibility would have tamed down excited virulence, and that the harangues on foreign policy which made so light of national interest, having done their work, might have been allowed to repose in peace. Mr. McCarthy gravely revives the worn-out topics, and adapts the style of a platform oration to the gravity of would-be history. Again we are told the old story of the Berlin Memorandum. All its difficulties are ignored, and the efficacy of its proposals is asserted with the same confidence as of old. Recent events have not made the sound of European concert ring more hollow in Mr. McCarthy's ears. Unabashed by the farce which was enacting as he wrote, he gravely records it as the historic remedy of Liberal devising. Again we have the Afghan question recounted, and again the English Government is the reckless invader of the territories of the unoffending and even friendly Ameer. The woeful mismanagement that replaced Lord Mayo's genial tact is utterly ignored; and it is convenient, as it has so often been, to forget that the Ameer was

our pensioner and yet our secret foe. The African policy is again reopened, and once more we read of Cetewayo as if he had been the beneficent ruler, whose Arcadian simplicity was shattered by ruthless and unprovoked assault. His susceptibilities are aroused by suspicions of England, and against his will he is compelled to have recourse to the 'military ability' and the 'political intelligence' that were the adjuncts of his barbarian simplicity. Of his loathsome and foul cruelty, of his inveterate treachery, of the danger which his unchastened insolence boded, we have not one word. Mr. McCarthy epitomizes his views, but does not excel himself, when he finally sees in the verdict which ascribed to the late Ministry the responsibility for bad seasons, 'a sound general logic.' And throughout all these discussions, we find the same uniform ascription of political morality to the Liberals; and of a monopoly not only in error, but in wickedness, to their opponents. We almost despair of explaining to minds of the cast of Mr. McCarthy's, the fatal and fundamental misconception on which all this rests; but once more it may be well to state our position.

Prove to any great party in our State what really is political morality, and we have no fear that they will openly sin against it for a single day or in a single act. But do not assume that political morality is the same thing as individual morality. In nine-tenths of the cases that arise, the dictates of both may be the same. But their sanctions are different; the line of demarcation between what is generous and what is just is not the same for nations as for individuals: the agents in national action do not hold the same relation to the results of their public and of their private action. The analogy is at most a singularly imperfect one, and to press such an analogy too far is to shake the foundations of both systems. But if national morality is not the same as individual morality, still less does it consist in strict conformity to what this or that individual thinks the State should do. If it were so, the days of honourable dealing between nations would be numbered, and the conduct of a state would be varied by every breath of popular caprice.

One, and that a simple, test is necessary to refute Mr. McCarthy's contention; and it is found in a long series of facts which Mr. McCarthy ignores, but which the nation is not likely to forget. If the Liberal party were the chosen representatives of national morality, it is impossible to suppose that they would think of temporizing with the line of conduct that disobeyed its dictates. But how, then, came it that again and again the majorities of the Ministers were swelled by Liberal defections, that again and again the leaders of the Opposition refrained
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from uttering in Parliament the wild denunciations that they poured forth in the provinces, and that on at least one occasion they retreated at the sound themselves had made, and, when they had proposed resolutions, ignominiously abandoned them, and beat a retreat? How came it that discipline was notoriously at an end, that the leaders wrangled, the followers mutinied, and the most bold and independent cried shame on their own party? How came it that all but a few were loud in their repudiations of the excited harangues of one statesman, and both privately and publicly sought to protest that his influence was gone, until in the hour of final struggle they placed their necks beneath his foot and submitted to his yoke? How came all this, if this great and righteous party were united against an immoral and degraded Ministry, on the platform of a common principle of morality?

We have left ourselves but little space to deal with Mr. McCarthy's very rapid summary of the literary results of the time with which he concludes his second and fourth volumes. It is impossible to say that the summary is in any way adequate; and we regret this all the more because Mr. McCarthy shows so much genuine power of literary insight, and so much happiness in a certain form of literary criticism. His estimates of authors are cursory, and present at the most but a few of the salient characteristics of these authors. But they have in each case a certain convincing force, and they are free from the narrowness which often hedges literary cliques. Yet in some respects we feel that we lose even more as regards the quality of Mr. McCarthy's literary criticism than as regards his political estimate, from the complacency which he has shown to a popular audience. The literature of an age, as no one, we are sure, would be more ready to admit than Mr. McCarthy himself, does not consist in a series of short sketches of the works of this or that prominent literary man. Even when these are as lively as Mr. McCarthy makes them, we ask for something more. To the popular audience which Mr. McCarthy strives to please, such a catalogue of epigrammatic criticism probably very comfortably supplies the place of any wide personal acquaintance with the works that are enumerated. But this is not the end of literary history, and Mr. McCarthy knows it. More than once he shows a disposition to break away from his audience, to shake off the conventionalities of that popular criticism which consists chiefly of exposition, and to go a little more deeply into his subject. That he is well fitted to do so, Mr. McCarthy has already sufficiently proved. He knows perfectly well that the literary historian has other things to do than to perform the

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function of literary showman, calling up each literary man in turn, describing the character of his work, and dismissing him with the docket of a rapid estimate. We want to know why the literature of the day assumed this or that form; how it was affected by this or that current of thought; how it reflected this or that in the genius of the time. Mr. M^cCarthy gives a long list—as it seems to us much too long—of those who occupy places in the lower grades of current fiction. Would it not have been better to tell us what were the chief characteristics of our fiction, to gauge its tendencies, to point out how it is related to other forms of intellectual activity, or to peculiarities in our social organization? The same degeneracy is seen in the literary criticism of the latter portion of the book, which we have traced in its political narrative. Mr. M^cCarthy is much less able to shake off narrowness of view when he is dealing with strictly contemporary literature than when he speaks of the literature even of twenty years ago. In his estimate of Carlyle and Mill, or Tennyson and Browning, he is adequate and full. But in his last pages the literary survey becomes little more than a scramble; names are tossed in with but a word or two of epithet, and the mind of the reader is fairly bewildered with the rush of figures that cover the stage, and are left struggling for recognition, just as the curtain falls. In the course of his literary criticisms, Mr. M^cCarthy utters some opinions which he would have done well to have taken to heart. He speaks once of—

‘A method of history which has little regard for the “dry light” which Bacon approved. It works under the varying glare of coloured lights. Its purpose is to express scorn of one set of ideas and men, and admiration of another. Given the man we admire, then all his doings and ways must be admirable: and the historian proceeds to work this principle out.’

As we read these words it is impossible that they should not suggest to us the inevitable criticism on the pages we have passed through. Mr. M^cCarthy has great descriptive powers, which, guided by a fastidious and scrupulous historic conscience, might have done good work. But such powers might well captivate a larger though less worthy audience than that which would have given recognition and admiration to a just and impartial estimate of the generation that is closing. The temptation, we must admit, was a strong one. Mr. M^cCarthy yielded to it: he made his choice, and he has reaped a distinguished success in the field which he has chosen. But he must not object if we demur to his reaping also the honour of having written a calm, well-weighed,

weighed, and maturely-considered history. We have shown how cursory his book is throughout ; how superficial it is always ; how often grossly unfair. Beyond and beneath all those accidents of party to which Mr. M^cCarthy devotes so much attention, is there no more permanent movement of history to which our time has contributed its quota ? Is there no tradition which we have inherited, and which, willing or unwilling, we must obey ? Are the great questions which present to each generation only one facet of their many-sided difficulty—the question of the relation of the East and the West, the question of military armaments, the question of order as against impulses to anarchy, the question of religion and its relation to the political state—are all these finished when we have observed the passing agitation, the momentary humour, the dramatic incident to which they chance to give rise ? Mr. M^cCarthy has not chosen to go below the surface. Was it because he thought that the surface was all, or because he deemed—and we fear deemed rightly—that if he went deeper he would produce a book less likely to be widely read ?

ART. VIII.—1. *Private reports from Official Sources on the Employment of Women under Government in Switzerland, Austria, Italy, Russia, The Netherlands, Belgium, France, England.*

2. *Die Frauenfrage. Vortrag gehalten zu Basel am 15 Februar 1870. Von Dr. Gustav Schönberg. Basel, 1872.*

3. *Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie. Von Dr. Lorenz von Stein. Stuttgart, 1875.*

4. *L'Emancipation des Femmes. Par G. Valbert. 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' Novembre 1880.*

5. *Les Femmes qui tuent et les Femmes qui votent. Par Alexandre Dumas fils. Eighteenth edition. Paris, 1880.*

6. *Original Report of the Royal School of Art-Needlework, now at South Kensington.*

IN a country under the sway of a Sovereign who, while fulfilling the duties of Ruler of her empire with conscientious and continuous solicitude, has also exercised the Sovereignty of true and tender womanhood over Her family and Her dependants, it is natural that special interest should be felt in the important question, 'To how great an extent are women of various classes qualified to undertake the responsibilities attached to offices under Government ?' For a satisfactory answer would furnish one solution of a social problem, involving

involving the welfare of the many women who have to earn their own livelihood.

This question may be best answered after a consideration of facts bearing on the subject gathered from different countries where the services of women have been employed by the State.

In Switzerland the Administration employs women in the Postal and in the Telegraph departments. In fact, there are no greater difficulties for women to encounter in obtaining appointments in that republic than for men. Preliminary enquiries are made as to character and health; those who have replied satisfactorily to these enquiries then pass an educational examination. In Switzerland it would be considered quite becoming were the daughter of a Director-General or of a Minister to take office as a clerk. The distinctions of class are maintained. Experience has proved that, in cases where the staff is composed partly of women, of men, and of boys, the influence of women has a beneficial effect on their associates in official work. The women may marry, but if absent from their duties they have to pay for the services of a suitable substitute. The Swiss Administration has had cause to congratulate the country on the satisfactory manner in which the women it employs have performed their duties.

The Austrian Government formerly permitted the widows of Postmasters to succeed their husbands. About ten years since it was enacted that men named by the Postal authorities should take the active management of these offices, while the widow provided means of transport. At that time horses were used to carry the mail-bags. When the authorities availed themselves of the facilities offered by railroads, a fixed sum was given to the widows, on consideration of their using the railways for the conveyance of letters.

Since 1873, ladies have been employed in Austria in minor functions, such as the sale of stamps, registration of letters, and so forth. Eighty ladies are employed at Post-offices in Vienna in services of this character. In the rural districts of Lower Austria, where there are, say, 700 Post-offices, about 150 of these are entrusted to ladies, who carry out the service independently and with promptitude. Nominations are given by the Directors of the Post-offices, of whom there are eleven in Austria, in the principal towns of each country of the empire. Persons of influence frequently endeavour to obtain these places for ladies in whom they are interested. They are not open to public competition. Enquiries are made as to the antecedents and manner of life of the candidates through the medium of the police; nevertheless it sometimes happens that the persons nominated

nominated come under the classification of females rather than of ladies. Speaking generally, the employment of women in Austria, particularly in the country, may be considered satisfactory; they are, for the most part, remarkable for attention and application to their duties.

In order to obtain these appointments, candidates must pass an examination of moderate difficulty. They receive one florin Austrian money (1s. 11d.) a day. Those who obtain places as Post-mistresses or assistant agents have to take an oath, like any other functionary of the State. They must not be under eighteen, and while holding such appointments they cannot marry. Their position in society is not affected by their occupying posts under Government. Ladies are also employed in the telegraphic departments, and they can marry.

In Italy, ladies work in the telegraph galleries; they are expected to pass an educational test. They mix in society, and their social status is not compromised by the character of their occupation. Occasionally, indeed, these ladies belong to patrician houses, but this is rarely the case. They are not allowed to marry.

The Government of Russia employs ladies; but, as in Italy, only in the telegraph galleries. These ladies are usually related to officials in the service of the State. They must be acquainted with four languages. They are well received in society. Sometimes nominations are given by influential persons.

In Germany the employment of women has not met with the success which has attended efforts in that direction in other countries. The cause of this may perhaps be found, when we recollect that German women are essentially good housewives, much of their attention being usually bestowed on what we may call the domestic science of cooking, plying the busy needle, and ministering themselves to the comforts of home. In fact, they study domestic economy in the most practical manner.

In the Netherlands ladies are now employed as clerks in the Post Office, and also in the capacity of assistants. The system of open competition has been introduced; but we have no data by which to judge of the results.

The Belgian Government has shown a disposition to try the experiment of giving official occupation to women. Many women of the bourgeoisie class, not ladies, are employed in small post-offices and as telegraphists. At Namur an attempt has been made to employ women as clerks. They are nominated by influential persons. It is too early to speak with confidence as to the result.

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The French Government employs women in various departments of the State. The financial ministry avails itself of their services in the 'Bureau de Tabac.' These posts are given by nomination to the widows and daughters of military men, magistrates, and officials. The Bank of France employs women in the branches of classification and control. In the Educational Department they act as teachers, and as superintendents of infant schools. Women are employed by the Post Office as receivers; in the central administration as accountants, in the registration, and in minor occupations. Candidates go up for an educational examination. They have to be provided with testimonials as to character by the mayors of their respective places of residence, or by a police superintendent. Women employed by the French Government may marry, but if they do so while filling official positions they must notify their intentions to the Government. Enquiries are instituted as to the character and circumstances of the intended husband, and the requisite authorization is only granted if the information proves satisfactory. The position in the social world of women thus employed depends on their family, their education, and a variety of other circumstances; but, generally speaking, those occupying the higher posts in official life meet with consideration in society.

The English Government has employed women as telegraphists since January 1870. Nominations to compete are given by the Postmaster-General, the limits of age are 'not under fourteen, or over eighteen.' They receive eight shillings a week to begin with, the highest scale of pay being thirty shillings a week; and they work eight hours a day between the hours of 8 A.M. and 8 P.M. They formerly worked in separate galleries, but it was found desirable to place them in the same galleries as the men and boys, and their society and mutual influence has been productive of beneficial results. The female telegraphists belong to the class from which assistants behind the counters of shops are recruited: these posts, however, are open to women of all grades. Great accuracy, general intelligence and quickness are required for the work, which is, as a rule, satisfactorily accomplished. It is deemed inexpedient to employ females in night work. At the present time 968 female telegraphists are employed by Government in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. A large number of women of the same class are employed as counter-women and returners of undelivered letters. These situations are all most eagerly sought for. Years sometimes pass before candidates obtain appointments.

In the year 1875 the thought occurred to Sir John Tilley,
K.C.B.,

K.C.B., then Secretary, that the clerkships in the Post-Office Savings-bank might be filled by gentlewomen of limited means, daughters of officers in the Army and Navy, of civil officers of the Crown, of those engaged in the clerical, legal, and medical professions, of literary men and artists.

Nominations to compete were given by the late Postmaster-General, Lord John Manners, who took great interest in the plan. The ladies who received nominations had to pass a competitive examination by the Civil Service Commission for the limited number of appointments to be filled up. The nominations were given, as far as possible, to gentlewomen of the class for whom they were intended, it being felt that, in the existing constitution of society, ladies are practically excluded from many occupations which women of the middle class and of lower social station enter as a matter of course. Candidates under seventeen or above twenty years of age are ineligible. The numerous applications for nomination prove how the opportunity is valued. The appointments, made (as we have said) by competitive examination among the nominated candidates, are only confirmed after a six months' satisfactory probation. The ladies first appointed entered on this footing, and had to learn their duties from experienced officers of the staff, who had thus the opportunity of testing their abilities. It was solely on the ground of proved merit, as testified by these gentlemen, that the branch was organized, in 1876, into two classes, with two or three principal clerks, and a Lady Superintendent, who holds the position of a staff officer. Since then, also, all promotions have been made by merit. Those best qualified to judge pronounce the experiment to have been a decided success; a success, in fact, beyond the most sanguine anticipations. The public has been well served by ladies, to whom the work has furnished an honourable independence—at least in part, a qualification which we will presently explain. The evidence of success rests on no mere rumour or opinion, nor even on the testimony which has been emphatically given in the Postmaster-General's Reports. Had the ladies proved unequal to their duties, or had the experiment worked badly in other ways, the female staff would before now have been broken up or left to await gradual extinction. Nothing but a well-proved practical success could explain or justify the steady annual increase of the staff from the original little band of thirty to the present number of 130.

But the result of the experiment cannot be fairly judged till it is tried by another test,—the nature of the work performed. Perhaps it is merely mechanical, such as could be equally well done

done by 'writers' or 'boy-clerks,' and the ladies are in the unenviable position of being supplied with work rather for their necessities than for any worthy service they can render. The fact is directly opposite, and furnishes another argument against the mental inferiority of women. The work which they perform in the Savings-bank department is of the same character as that of the male staff; and they have performed it in such a manner, that duties of greater importance have been from time to time entrusted to them. It would be out of place here, even if we had the necessary information, to attempt to describe these duties; but we believe we are quite safe in this broad comparison—that the work performed by the principal clerks and by the first and second classes of the ladies' branch is at least equal—in character and quantity, in promptness and accuracy of performance—to that of the first, second, and third classes of the male staff respectively.

The remuneration for this work has been fixed as follows:—for the second class, 40*l.* per annum, rising to a *maximum* of 75*l.*; for the first class, 80*l.* to 100*l.*; for the principal clerks, 100*l.* to 150*l.* It is therefore evident that, whatever benefit the system confers on the ladies themselves, the public reap a large economical advantage; seeing that the very same work, which formerly occupied clerks at salaries from 80*l.* to 240*l.*, is now equally well done by female clerks at salaries from 40*l.* to 75*l.*, and so in proportion with the other classes. The reasons which justify some part of this disparity are too obvious to need discussion; but, after all, the difference is so great as to suggest that some increase to the present salaries might be made, and still leave a large balance of economy in the employment of ladies. It seems but reasonable, first, that the remuneration should furnish an independent livelihood to those willing to devote themselves to the work; and further, that it should bear something like a just proportion to the importance of the duties; thus at once securing and rewarding the zealous service of an experienced permanent staff, content to live on the fruit of their labour, and not merely eking out the subsistence they may have at home, or hanging on till released by more attractive ties. We must lay emphasis on the fact, that their labour is *mental*, and not merely mechanical, and much of it is really exhausting mental labour: and from this point of view we might find another standard of comparison in the salaries now obtained by the teachers in ladies' schools and colleges. Nor must the consideration be overlooked that, in the development of the system due to the ability which these ladies have shown, they are now performing a higher class of duties

duties than was contemplated when the salaries were fixed, and the character of the work entrusted to them is continually rising.

We regret to learn that, when the existing list of nominations is exhausted, it is proposed that candidates shall be admitted to compete without any restrictions as to their social position, a change which will tend to place the clerks of the Post-Office Savings-bank on the same footing as the telegraphists and counter-women. The daughter of a butler may be quite as excellent as the daughter of a bishop; but we believe there would be a slight awkwardness, according to the ideas at present prevailing as to social order, if they associated and worked at the same desk. The working-woman, whether she toils in the City or the hamlet, in the factory or in the field, in the work-room or behind the counter, in the higher or lower grades of domestic service, if she respects herself, has claims on the respect of every one. We fear, however, that, until public opinion in England has undergone a complete revulsion, friends of young gentlewomen will shrink from allowing them to work in offices that will practically be open to women of all classes.

We cannot but feel an apprehension that the result of the proposed change will be merely to add one more sphere of occupation to those, already so numerous, open to the lower middle and lower classes, while the daughters of gentlemen will be practically excluded. Fathers in a good social position are usually most anxious that their sons should associate with gentlemen; we believe they have the same feeling with regard to their daughters mixing with gentlewomen.

While Sir John Tilley, with the cordial co-operation of Lord John Manners, was introducing the system of lady clerkships in the Post Office, he was informed by Mr. Harbern, late of the Prudential Life Insurance Office, that he had introduced into that office a similar system, after a visit he paid to the Treasury in Washington in 1870, where he saw ladies officiating as clerks. These ladies were the widows and daughters of officers who had died in the service of their country, or had filled high offices in the Civil Service. They were received by the President at the White House, and were welcomed in the best society. The American Republic, and the Republic of Switzerland, have thus provided employment for ladies in the manner essayed by monarchical England; and from consideration of the facts bearing on the employment of women by Government in various countries, it would appear that success has attended efforts of the kind in nearly every instance.

For women of the lower and lower middle classes there are
almost

almost countless occupations open. It is a matter of course for girls of those classes to receive a *training* that will enable them to gain their bread usefully and creditably. Girls who enter service young receive payment, while in reality they are being trained by experienced servants. Domestic service offers a large field for meritorious young women who make up their minds to begin on the lower rung of the ladder. It has been truly said that it should be impressed on the mind of every girl who goes to her 'first place' in a large family, that it is in her power, by studying her duties and by *obedience*, to attain, sooner or later, the post of head of a household. There is also employment in shops, to attain which is a great object of ambition for girls of the lower and middle classes. Much preliminary labour is necessary for those who aspire to enter one of those brilliant and busy establishments frequented by the rich. Still, by perseverance, these coveted posts can be won at last by humble beginners, after they have passed through successive stages, gaining experience in each. Girls, for instance, trained in small shops at the East-end of London, may rise to be saleswomen of large establishments at the West-end. If only the standing could be done away with, the situations would be most desirable. We need only indicate the occupations by which articles of commerce are fabricated, as affording employment, more or less remunerative, to girls and women.

The telegraphic branches of the English Post Office are, as we have seen, largely recruited from the ranks of the lower middle class. The Post-offices in London districts are usually attended to by women, satisfactorily enough as regards the course of business; and it may be hoped that in time the somewhat brusque manner occasionally observed in some of these damsels may become more like that of their foreign sisters, and that they will learn that gentle courtesy is not inconsistent with self-respect.

While these occupations are open to the classes referred to, it is hardly possible to over-rate the advantages presented to the higher class of ladies by the possibility of entering the service of Government. For the daughters of men of eminence in literature, in art, in the civil service, for daughters of officers of the navy and army, of physicians, of clergymen, and lawyers, such a career seems peculiarly appropriate. A paralysing weight would be lifted from the mind of many a public servant could he feel that such a career of honourable usefulness was open to his daughters, without involving loss of social position. Hitherto the unwritten law of society has practically excluded ladies of the class to whom we refer from almost all the occupations

tions open to their sisters of the lower and the lower middle class. Even assuming that ladies possessed the requisite training to enter domestic service, it would require much courage, much tact, and much delicate diplomacy, both in the employers and employed, for such arrangements to work smoothly.

In the present day the distinction of classes among men is to a certain extent merged in the distinction of intellect. But it behoves us to remember that boys and girls are trained in a totally different manner. Young ladies belonging to the class of which we are now writing would not enter the public service with the same views as to their future that novices entering a convent would entertain. Their friends must recollect that young ladies between 17 and 20 do not look forward to being left to *coiffer sainte Catherine*. Their friends have to consider that by entering the public service their future prospects shall not be compromised, nor their social position affected.

Experience proves that in foreign countries the system of candidates obtaining appointments by public competition is beset with difficulties, though means of enquiry as to character are adopted on the Continent that would not be tolerated in England, 'investigations made through the medium of the police.' The system introduced at the Post-Office Savings-bank of giving nominations to ladies who have subsequently to pass a competitive examination, seems eminently suitable for its object; and while this system is still on trial, its great success thus far strongly enforces the old Greek proverb—'Do not disturb Camarina, for it is better undisturbed.'

The success of this experience suggests and justifies wider hopes. It is greatly to be desired that Government would take into consideration the possibility of opening *more* paths of usefulness to ladies. The number of applications for each post is saddening to contemplate. In France the subject is receiving much attention. M. Valbert, in the Essay referred to at the beginning of this article, gives us much interesting information bearing on this point. He says:—

'The greater proportion of women, scarcely contented yet reasonable, envy not the fate of Queen Victoria, they dream not of reigning as Empresses over the Indies, they content themselves with exhorting society to grant some increase to the measure of liberty enjoyed by them—they ask for aid in the development of their intelligence, they ask that certain careers may be thrown open to them.'

M. Valbert informs us—

'that in France, a large number of women occupy positions of greater or less importance, in the management of postal affairs, the Telegraph, and the Railways: thoughts are no longer entertained of disputing

disputing their conquest over these fields of occupation. In this respect France may be said to be less under the influence of red tape than other nations. Of all places Paris is the city where young girls enjoy the least freedom, and where women take the largest share in the occupations and in the affairs usually reserved for themselves by men. How many accurate, expeditious, diligent accountants does not the weaker sex supply for Parisian commerce, whether its operations are on a large or a small scale.'

It may fairly be assumed that the women of Great Britain possess powers of organization equal to those of the French. We call to mind, first, the name of Florence Nightingale: and that revered name suggests those of other ladies, whose exertions in behalf of men of the Army and Navy will be remembered by thousands of grateful hearts.

Miss Weston has organized a system, by which she sends every month four thousand copies of a letter she writes, containing 'good words' to sailors in the Navy. Two thousand copies of a special letter are also sent to boys in training-ships: the account of this undertaking may be read in a small work, 'Our Blue Jackets.' Miss Weston also manages 'The Seaman's half-pay and remittance Bank,' besides 'Sailor's Rests,' which are homes for sailors.

Miss Robinson, frequently known as 'the Soldiers' Friend,' has established Soldiers' Institutes at Portsmouth and in other places, which are managed by herself, and the results of which prove what may be accomplished by a woman's energy if well directed. Lady Hope (late Miss Cotton) of Carriden, has done a great work in counteracting, by her writings and influence, the evils induced by over-indulgence in drink. In Scotland, whisky is as desolating in its effects as the fiery lava-stream of Vesuvius. Lady Hope has, however, in many places, established rooms where men can obtain rest, relaxation and refreshment, without being expected to drink spirits. The late Miss Catherine Sinclair's successful efforts to provide nutritious and economical food for working men, in Glasgow and other great cities, will ever be recollected in her native country—Scotland.

Miss Marsh labours in England with the happiest results, both by writing and in active work, to benefit all classes.

The manner in which the Duchess of Marlborough organized the Relief Committee in Ireland last autumn proved that she possessed rare powers for arduous work. The 'Life of Sister Dora,' written by Miss Lonsdale, presents a marvellous picture of mental and bodily energy, devoted to the service of the sick and suffering, in a rare spirit of joyous self-sacrifice.

Mrs.

Mrs. Gladstone's convalescent home has done much good, and she has devoted great energy to it. The Society of Parochial Mission Women numbers, among the lady superintendents who direct the workers (women of the humbler class), many ladies of great energy, and powers of discrimination in giving wisely. One of them, Miss Alderson, sister of Lady Salisbury, has proved herself the truest friend to the Cinderellas of London. These poor women literally pick up a living from the dust-heaps. They occasionally, among all kinds of debris, find a morsel of finery, which they wear with as much pleasure as a professional beauty experiences when she wears the last Paris trinket, the little pig or lizard, that has now been succeeded by the gold viper.

Mrs. Lowther during the last two summers conferred a boon not only on the Society of Parochial Mission Women, but on all lovers of art, by gathering together beautiful pictures, carvings, embroideries, hangings of all kinds, china-paintings, screens on which graceful foliage twined over a glowing golden ground, which found an appropriate temporary home in Lowther Lodge, where they were exhibited for three days, the proceeds being given to the fund. The genius and application shown in these works proved that in the present day amateurs keep in mind the precept, 'If a thing is worth doing at all, it is worth doing well.'

At the ecclesiastical exhibition during the Church Congress at Leicester, even men might be seen studying with wondering admiration the marvellous Church embroideries sent by our English Sisterhoods; the brilliancy of colour, the delicacy of detail, recalled to mind, though executed in different material, those rare missals painted by monks, who must have been great artists as well as devout men.

We have only mentioned a few of the most successful out of a very large number of women who have given evidence of talent for business details, as well as a spirit of active benevolence. We believe that Miss Emily Faithfull has done much by her Victoria Press to promote the employment of women. She also actively assists poor and suffering gentlewomen. Miss Rye's emigration scheme must also be remembered.

If some of our great merchants or bankers would give ladies an opportunity of proving that Englishwomen are not inferior in business capacity to Frenchwomen, we believe the boon would be gratefully appreciated by women of culture and position, including those nearly connected with these great mercantile firms. It occasionally happens that from unforeseen circumstances a merchant prince is reduced to poverty.
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The question then arises, 'What occupation can the poor daughters seek?' Too often none can be found. We know that the careers of literature, of music, of art, are crowded to overflowing; even those gifted with great talents find it hardly possible to distinguish themselves, while for mediocrity the struggle is hopeless. We must all recollect, with a shudder, works of various grades of gruesome quality, we have been asked to buy 'out of kindness;' musical compositions, in which every chord is a discord; books, principally poems, or rather rhymes of the sort found in crackers at festive seasons; yards of jagged, ragged-looking material, called crochet; crewel-work, which ought to be written 'cruel,' considering the feelings experienced by those who look at it; needlework atrocities, intended to hang on arm-chairs, which stick like burrs to men's coats. We have all bought these, and similar productions, as an excuse for giving a sovereign to some 'Pauvre Honteuse.' In 'Ladies' Work,'—a charming book published by Messrs. Hatchards—there are hints that may lead to the substitution of useful and pretty objects for the useless and ugly ones that we now buy, in order to send from bazaar to bazaar. Still those who are compelled to resort to these means of eking out a living, find that all their efforts only just preserve them from starving, or rather, only defer the event. The occasional sovereign is soon spent, the kindest friends weary at length, and the poor gentlewoman finds it easier to bear cold and hunger than to wander from door to door with her little wares; at last she just lets herself starve.

In a book of much interest, recently published under the title of 'Journals and Journalism,' we read that 'Thackeray resigned the editorship of the "Cornhill," his pet magazine, set on foot at a time when monthlies of its class were few,' on account of the pain he endured from the inevitable necessity of rejecting appeals made by aspiring contributors, often women and girls whose need was great and their talent small. The late Mr. John Blackwood, who conducted the Magazine that bore his name with conspicuous ability, and who delighted in encouraging literary talent in its early efforts, often lamented the impossibility of finding room for a large number of really meritorious productions sent to him. In an interesting notice of his life, we read that he was almost the first to discover the wonderful powers of 'George Eliot.' At the very outset of her career, he wrote to Thackeray 'that he had just read a manuscript by an unknown author, who bade fair to prove a formidable rival to contemporary novelists.' Mrs. Oliphant also wrote much for the Magazine. Mrs. Browning's earliest and best poems

poems appeared in it. Still, the late Mr. Blackwood felt (and we believe most editors take the same view), that unless women are exceptionally gifted, they cannot look to literature as a career likely to prove successful in a financial point of view. Failures, as a rule, must precede success. For women who need not 'take thought for the morrow,' who are well-to-do, the pursuit of letters affords indeed unmixed delight—if not to their friends, certainly to themselves.

The Sovereign herself has found a solace in literature. Works from her pen are treasured and cherished in the homes of her subjects, whether the home be castle or cottage.

Not many ladies, however, have written a work like 'The History of Battle Abbey,' in which the authoress has given us the results of deep historical research, and has blended grave and gay in an enchanting manner. That lady, to whom as a child Macaulay addressed the 'Lines written in an Album' commencing, 'Stanhope's daughter,'* is equally happy with the pen, the pencil and the needle; but very few ladies can hope to excel in more than one art.

In the musical world there is a countless host of women possessing claims to the favour of the public, both as composers and exponents of the compositions of others; but they wait in vain for the opportunity of distinguishing themselves. It may be said of the lyric singer, 'Poeta nascitur, non fit,' but the singer who aims at charming with the voice must not attempt to warble 'native wood notes wild.' A long course of training is essential, and even when that has been undergone, the great difficulty of obtaining even occasional employment is known to all interested in music. Arthur Sullivan, Claribel, Virginia Gabriel, Benedict, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, Augusta Ames, in short, all English composers of our time have deplored the impossibility of assisting so much as a third of the anxious artists who applied to them, in many instances asking only 'to be heard.'

The competition for distinction in the sister arts of painting and sculpture is equally keen. The late President of the Royal Academy, Sir Francis Grant, used to say that he regarded with positive dread the approach of the time for pictures to be sent in for exhibition. The most heartrending entreaties for his influence used to be made to him by ladies; and his assurances, that (happily for his own peace) it did not rest with him to accept or reject the productions sent to him, failed to convince or console the importunate applicants.

* Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope, now Duchess of Cleveland.

There are of course cases of exceptional talent which of themselves command attention. But, alas! too many artists find that works on which their best hours have been spent win but little appreciation or substantial marks of approbation. The number of works submitted yearly to royalty, many of them intended to be representations of the royal personages, and then sent to be exhibited, would alarm the stoutest heart. In sculpture, especially, it is difficult to find patrons. We cannot, however, omit to notice the fact that the beautiful reredos in the new Cathedral at Edinburgh is the work of a lady, Miss Grant, niece of the late Sir Francis. It is to be hoped there are not many instances like one we remember. An enormous case, in appearance like a coffin, was sent to one of a nobleman's country places. It proved to contain a statue, finished with one important exception, the head was untouched. A note accompanied the statue, with a request that the nobleman would buy it, and the sculptor offered to mould the features of the head according to his taste.

Such a rare combination of personal gifts, of mental powers, and of fortunate circumstances, are essential for a woman to make her mark on the stage, in representing characters worthy of delineation, that it can hardly be regarded as offering a profession to the young girl of average acquirements. A 'succès de beauté' is of course easily obtained at seventeen, but it is hardly one to be coveted. Henri Greville, in 'La Jeunesse de Fanny Kemble,' dwells on the drawbacks that even a girl of genius, descended from a family of great dramatic artists, encountered. How many more difficulties would girls have to surmount, who do not possess the exceptional advantages enjoyed by the daughter of Charles Kemble?

The reflection must sometimes occur, whether a very high standard of academical education for ladies will be eventually of service to them. While agreeing with the trite observation of the present Postmaster-General—Mr. Fawcett—that knowledge should be sought and valued for its own sake, we must not overlook the unfortunate fact that the body requires food as well as the mind. It would be well, unless in exceptional cases, that the knowledge acquired should be of a kind that will aid the possessor to obtain a position of comparative independence. Miss Mary Lyon, who opened the first ladies' college in America, says with truth, 'Ladies never can be independent, and those best educated most feel their dependence.' But there is a way of being helpfully dependent.

We would deprecate the examination to be passed by lady candidates for employment by the State being of too comprehensive

hensive and severe a character. The woman, to whatever class she belongs, who becomes a Government servant, must not be regarded *solely* as an official. No man, whatever his position may be, is ever supposed to trouble himself about any details in the daily routine of domestic life, but every woman, whether she is a princess or a peasant, must give care and thought to household details, if her home is to be worthy of the name.

Many women greatly prefer the study of the problems of Euclid to solving the mysterious problems that are weekly presented to them in those peculiarly puzzling volumes known to householders as 'The Books.' Poetry has more charms for most female minds than cookery; the composition of a valse is more engrossing than that of a *vol-au-vent*; while the delicate tracery, the blending of rich mellow hues in art-needlework, are more interesting than the monotonous stitching by which articles, indispensable though invisible, are made for apparel.

Ladies of limited means must make a virtue and, we hope, a pleasure of necessity, and in the intervals from earning the wherewithal to provide the requisites of existence, must turn them to the best account. Time must also be allowed for exercise in the open air, or eyes will grow dim and cheeks pale. It is to be feared that, if the examinations to be passed by ladies were rendered of a more severe character, candidates would scarcely find time to devote to domestic duties or to the necessary preparation for the discharge of such duties. Fathers of good social position, but of moderate fortune, willingly make sacrifices to obtain the benefits of University education for their sons; and this education is usually regarded as affording to young men facilities for acquiring knowledge which will enable them to enter a profession. But in the case of daughters, fathers cannot feel the same degree of assurance that treasures of knowledge, acquired by sacrifices of much time and money, will prove investments that will bring profitable returns to their fortunate possessor.

It should, moreover, be remembered, as we have before intimated, that young ladies do not devote themselves irrevocably to the public service as if they were entering a convent. In fact, the public life of many of them is concluded by the presentation, not of the red or blue riband and of one of those stars which, according to the author of 'Endymion,' are 'the poetry of dress,' as is occasionally the case with retiring male officials, but with the gift of a plain gold ring. Other most important duties succeed their reception of this gift, and it is to be hoped that they will be prepared to undertake these private responsibilities efficiently and conscientiously. To rule a household intelli-

gently, to enforce the law of kindness with judicious firmness, the mistress must have gone through some preliminary training.

In the present day, however, to quote from the work of Alexandre Dumas, the title of which is prefixed to this article:

‘ Women no longer look to marriage as their one aim ;
Love has ceased to be their one ideal.’

The same writer also says :

‘ Women who devote themselves to the pursuit of arts, of sciences, of the liberal professions, are women to whom marriage does not present itself, either because they do not possess the compensating dowry to bring to man, or because they feel no attraction towards that union. From the moment that they work, that they are able to enter into official life and aspire to the talents of men, it is in order, like them, to conquer fortune or liberty, either one or the other.’

We have, however, to deal with facts as they are, and it is a matter of difficulty for ladies to practise professions. The nineteenth century cannot yet boast of its Portia, though the healing art is practised by several of the sex, who in this new calling make good the well-known words of the Wizard of the North,

‘ When pain and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel thou !’

In the Church again, though there are deaconesses, yet if sermons are delivered by ladies, public opinion at present expects them to be preached in private.

In Roman Catholic countries the daughters of noble houses frequently enter convents, and there devote themselves either to the contemplative or the active religious life. It is an everyday occurrence for a young lady, provided with but a small dowry, to take the veil. It often happens that a daughter, endowed not only with heavenly graces, but also with the riches of this world, feels a vocation ; but it is more usual for the destiny of the future ‘ Bride of Heaven ’ to be settled early in her life by the heads of her family. The arrangement is generally acquiesced in, as a matter of course, by the intended novice.

In Austria, daughters of patrician houses sometimes become chanoinesses. This rank gives them matronly dignity and privileges ; they can travel and mix in society without the chaperon, inevitable and sometimes expensive to motherless girls. Naturally, to become a chanoinesse is an object of ambition to many Austrian ladies. These posts are often bestowed on maids-of-honour. If they marry, they cease to be chanoinesses.

Although

Although convents exist in England, and daughters of our oldest Roman Catholic families frequently take the veil in orders more or less severe, and though there are sisterhoods in the Established Church of this country, conventual life does not offer the same career for ladies that it has done on the Continent for centuries past. To enter religious life in a convent cannot here be regarded in the same light as entering a profession, nor do we here consider a cloister as a haven of rest for a lifetime to those who, from various causes, do not seem destined to share the cares and joys of marriage, or the duties and pleasures of active members of a domestic circle.

In an address delivered by Dr. Gustav Schönberg at Basle, in 1870, after dwelling at great length on the exertions made in the cause of women in England, America, and Germany, he mentions societies established to promote their welfare in Vienna, Darmstadt, Leipzig, Hamburg, Bremen, Cassel, Hanover, Breslau, Königsberg, Lissa, and Danzig. Similar efforts have been made in Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and France. Dr. Schönberg justly remarks that those who are striving to solve this great problem, affecting so deeply the welfare of the weaker sex, have shown that—

‘It is imperative and inevitable that women should be permitted the possibility of finding lifelong happiness in other states of life besides marriage and their domestic circle. The possibility of independent, self-sufficing, self-supporting industry must be accorded them.’

The question that society has to solve concerning women is one of great weight. True reform in this direction can only be gradually accomplished. The progress of nations in culture must be gradual. But victory will be gained by principles of industry and modesty. We would also call attention to another German writer on the social condition of women, Dr. Stein, who remarks that in the present day women are learning that they can take their share in work; they begin to essay their powers; they have the courage to undertake responsibilities; they desire to be freed from the gloomy power of advancing years that steal leaf by leaf from the roses we cherish. They desire to bear a share of the labours of life on this earth, which has been called ‘the star of work.’

Various schemes have been set on foot, from time to time, by philanthropic persons impressed with the belief that ‘Prevention is better than cure,’ with a view of providing professions for ladies, and trades or handicrafts for women. Each attempt was praiseworthy, and practical good, no doubt, results from every earnest effort to provide occupation for those willing to work.

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It is, however, impossible here to enumerate the various plans proposed, and, as we cannot pronounce any of them to have been pre-eminently successful, it is better not to enter into details. One undertaking, however, must be briefly noticed, as it offers a profession especially suitable to gentlewomen.

About eleven years ago the Honble. Lady Welby conceived the happy thought, that employment might be afforded for gentlewomen in distressed circumstances by reviving the curious and beautiful forms of Art-needlework as practised by our ancestresses, and applying the art to decorative purposes on a large scale. Her Royal Highness the Princess Christian gave much time and thought to the scheme; and it was in great measure owing to her unselfish personal exertions that the undertaking was carried on. Her Majesty evinced her gracious favour to the plan from the first. Heartrending cases came to light of gentlewomen, in the true sense of the word, reduced to utter destitution. Obstacles of every sort had to be surmounted:—the difficulty of training, in steady and accurate habits of work, ladies accustomed to easy leisure rather than to professional labours; the difficulty of admitting all, without distinction of creed; the difficulty of organizing a staff among the ladies themselves, who were ignorant of business matters, and had no one to direct them but an amateur, herself a stranger to commercial affairs. Lady Welby, however, with zeal, courage, and perseverance worthy of the cause, devoted to it all her energies; and the late Anastasia Dolby, a past mistress of the art, gave invaluable aid in teaching candidates. From the humble room over a bonnet-shop in Sloane Street, where the school of Art-needlework may be said to have originated, it has gradually risen till in its quarters at South Kensington it has become recognized as one of the most valuable centres for the cultivation of artistic skill and taste, as well as for the systematic employment of ladies.

Ancient needlework of the rarest and most precious description can there be restored to its original beauty. A few fragments to serve as a guide appear sufficient for the reconstruction of one of those marvellous works of art which were embroidered by ladies of the olden times. Some of these gorgeous works still exist, the brilliancy of the colours scarcely dimmed by time, the gold untarnished. In the library attached to Durham Cathedral is a variety of relics, preserved under glass by the care of the Dean. There are to be seen manciples presented by a Northumbrian Princess to St. Cuthbert, copes offered by Charles I. and Charles II., all bearing testimony to the excellence attained by our ancestresses in their art. It is agreeable

to feel that the Royal School of Art-needlework has revived and preserved the traditions of the Past. Lady Marian Alford, who has ever taken a deep interest in the work, is now giving lectures at the School in South Kensington, embracing a history of needlework from its earliest date. The works produced by the School are in great request in Great Britain, on the Continent, and in America. Specimens may be seen in Windsor Castle, Alnwick, Hatfield House, and other stately homes of England.

An attempt has been recently made by a lady to afford employment to gentlewomen as law copyists. The 'Times,' with its usual liberality, gave publicity to the effort, which it may be hoped will prosper.

Lady Constance Stanley last year opened an institution in Conduit Street, for the exhibition and sale of works of art by ladies, really deserving to be called artistic.

We have thus dwelt at some length on the difficulties besetting ladies who desire to help themselves and their families, with the view of showing the great advantages such ladies would derive if admitted to the service of Government. In the present day much is urged in favour of the rights of women to vote; but we would only ask for them to be granted the permission to work in a more extended sphere. A lady can work in a Government office, organized as the Post-Office Savings-bank now is, without losing any of those feminine graces of dignity, of delicacy, of reserve, which are the essential characteristics of an English gentlewoman.

The employment of women in the Civil Service must also be considered as advantageous to the State, according to the principles of political economy. In cases where a family has been bereft of the father, the husband, or the brother, whose exertions earned the means of support,—if the daughter, the widow, the sister, though not endowed with rare artistic gifts, can enter a career that will help to support herself and those dependent on her, a whole family may be preserved from becoming burdensome to the country; and women, engaged in official life during the hours of work, may cheer and support by their presence relations or friends dependent on them at their home, in the evenings.

The time has come when persons occupying high and responsible positions in Church and State, in Her Majesty's army and navy, in the republic of letters, in the legal and medical professions, in the artistic and musical world, are impressed with the importance of this comprehensive subject; and feel a strong desire that the employment of women under Govern-
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ment should be taken into full consideration by our rulers. We trust that it will be found practicable to extend the sphere in which women work officially ; and, in carrying out this most worthy object, we confidently hope that due consideration may be shown in allotting a fair share of employment to a class for which hitherto little has been done—women of gentle birth, of gentle breeding, but of small financial resources.

We write in no ignoble or unchristian spirit of exclusiveness ; we cannot, however, close our eyes to the existing rules of society in our country, indeed in most countries. We agree with the sentiments expressed by the leading organ of public opinion on Christmas Day, the day of the year when we ought all specially to cultivate such feelings. ‘A time may come, we trust not too late, when classes now living in sad isolation, estrangement, and ignorance of one another, may honestly endeavour to make up for lost time, and prove there can be friendship, society, and mutual good, between people cast wide apart by birth, education, and circumstances. The end all must admit to be good ; the way to it is the great question.’ Much may be done by every one, in every degree, to bring about a result fraught with blessings to all, by cultivating the spirit of mutual consideration and conciliation. We must, however, remember that great changes in the system of society, like the mighty but almost imperceptible movements in the world of nature, must proceed slowly, if they are to be safely accomplished. It has been observed by Lord Salisbury : ‘No healthy and lasting change ever comes in with a rush. The reformation that comes of rushes is, more than three-quarters, a mere following of the fashion.’ England has for centuries been free from the calamities produced by a disregard of the laws of social order. It is impossible not to feel that any changes must be introduced in that gradual manner which is most likely to establish new institutions on a sure and safe foundation. If every one in these isles, from the highest to the lowest, would endeavour to practise the maxim embodied in the motto of the Prince of Wales, ‘Ich dien,’ ‘I serve,’ the difficulties of life would by degrees be smoothed, and its discord be changed to harmony.

ART. IX.—1. *Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council*. Edited by the Hon. G. C. Brodrick and the Rev. W. H. Freemantle. London, 1865.

2. *The Law Reports*.

3. *How shall we conform to the Liturgy?* By the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, Canon of Canterbury. London, 1869. 3rd Edition.

4. *An Historical Inquiry into the true Interpretation of the Rubrics respecting the Sermon and Communion Service*. By the Rev. Benjamin Harrison, M.A. (now Archdeacon of Maidstone). London, 1845.

5. *Before the Table*. By the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, Dean of Chester. London, 1875.

6. *Letters and Articles in the 'Times' and other papers in November and December 1880*.

7. *The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874*.

IN 1868 and 1869 we had two Articles on what is understood as 'Ritualism' by everybody except those who for obvious reasons profess not to understand it; and they have been reprinted in an appendix to Canon Robertson's book above mentioned. We now propose to try and make the legal position of the question between the Ritualists and the Church of England clearer than it is to most people, or can be without an examination of the Law Reports with the aid of some experience in them, and a sufficiently popular exposition of the results. Even such a simple question as that of the claims of the Martyrs of Penzance (as they may be called just now) to be reckoned in the noble army of martyrs is misunderstood by nine persons out of ten to a ludicrous degree. The question whether the ministers or servants of any particular body of Christians with a defined code should be allowed to break it and keep possession of their salaries and churches, and defy everybody, is one of policy and opinion, which it is necessary therefore to discuss, though the mere statement of such a question in plain words, without rhetorical confusion and extraneous additions, ought to be enough to answer it. But we shall discuss it on the assumption that we are only dealing with those who *bonâ fide* hold the doctrines of the Church of England, including her rites and ceremonies as now doubly established by law, viz. first by the Act of Uniformity and all that it includes, and secondly by legal decisions more than at any former time. We have no more agreement with the anti-Sacramentarians than the ultra-Sacramentarians,

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as the latter have been sometimes called ; and the former may well be designated by the corresponding name ; for the extreme low-churchmen or ' Evangelicals ' (as they call themselves with the same peculiar modesty as ' Liberals ') make as little of the Sacraments as they can consistently with acknowledging them at all as more than mere ceremonies : which is unquestionably not the doctrine of the Prayer-book.

We are also ready to admit that (in the sense we are going to explain) the law has been occasionally stretched by the supreme ecclesiastical court, and that in both directions ; though Mr. Voysey and Mr. Heath in modern times, and other clergymen before, have shown that there are limits to that elasticity. And for that matter, Mr. Bennett too ; who, it is less known than it should be, only escaped condemnation by a very material alteration of his words between the edition of his book which was first presented and that on which he just escaped, as we shall explain more fully. The case of the two prosecuted ' Essays and Reviews ' may be considered an extension in another direction. But it has no relation to the matters now in question, and the court said it could not express any opinion on the general tendency of those Essays, ' from the meagre and disjointed extracts that were presented to it,' through a miscarriage not worth going into now. The sense in which we admit that the law has been occasionally stretched both ways is, that if the makers of the Act of Uniformity and the Prayer-book could be evoked and asked whether they meant to allow all the doctrines and practices which the Privy Council has allowed in the Gorham judgment and the Bennett one, and parts of the Ridsdale one, we have no doubt they would answer, ' No ; nor some other things too, including some practices of the very low-church party which nobody has meddled with.'

But the Prayer-book, like other legal instruments, has to be construed at law by what it actually says, with the additional light of the surrounding circumstances when it was enacted, and the '*contemporanea expositio*' of usage from the beginning, on points on which the language is ambiguous ; but not by the subsequent opinions of men ever so learned. And therefore the court has decided, in conformity with established rules of law, that what the written code of the Church has left open, is open ; but that anything plainly repugnant to it or inconsistent with it is prohibited. Ceremonies and dresses can be defined, with the aid of historical information as to what certain technical words meant at the time. Surplices, chasubles, copes, and all words of that kind might mean, etymologically, dresses of all shapes and colours ; but it is well known from history what they

they did mean. And the court has always held that where a vestment or a ceremony of ascertained meaning has been prescribed, that must be used and no other; and has repudiated the ingenious theory of a minimum of requirement and a maximum of permission. But doctrine necessarily has wider limits; for language is unlimited, and it has to be ascertained by criticism in every case, whether the doctrine preached or published is repugnant to or inconsistent with that propounded in the Prayer-book. Therefore there is nothing in the complaints of each party in its turn, that it is very hard that some of their doctrines or practices should be condemned while something else on their own side, which they say involves the thing prohibited, or some other thing on the other side much more wrong in their opinion, is allowed. We shall also have to consider how far the common assertion is true, that the supreme court in these matters has varied its own decisions from time to time, and what is the value of the calculation that by defying the law often enough the Ritualists may persuade the court to alter it again for them.

We are unable to find fault, as it is the fashion to do, with the existence—a very different thing from the behaviour—of either of the two voluntary Societies that undertake the legal fighting of these questions, which cost thousands of pounds to try, and which the Ritualists make cost as much as possible by resorting to every kind of technicality which has nothing at all to do with the merits, and to the very courts which they profess to abhor most—the civil ones. These are not like the trial of a single clergyman for immorality, but of equal importance to all churchmen who care about them either way. There is no Union yet to defend the right of clergymen to commit forgery on the ground that ‘the Church has never accepted’ the Acts of Parliament against it. Therefore, although it was a good stroke of wit to call one of them a ‘Joint Stock Persecution Society,’ it is not very easy to see how otherwise the Church of England is to be defended against a kind of Trades’ Union for keeping hold of the pulpits and wages of the English Church while doing the work of the Roman one, against which certain bulwarks were erected at the Reformation which the Ritualists boldly avow that they hate and mean to destroy if they can—saving always this: that they have not the least notion of restoring the ‘Pope, or submitting themselves to him, which they know would have to be a real submission, not a sham one, such as they are always professing to episcopal authority so long as it does not attempt to act, and always defying when it does. Rome makes short work of priests who urge pleas of conscience

conscience against the orders of the Pope, who is infallible at last. But our ritualistic parsons (as was said in a letter in the 'Times' last November) have another pope, judge and legislature, whom alone they obey, behind all their professions of obeying the Church, the Convocation, and the Bishops, and that is the pope whom, according to the old saying, (was it not Luther's?) each of them 'carries in his belly.' Their party began with denouncing 'private judgment' as the bane of religion; it has already reached the point of acknowledging nothing else. So one absurdity generally runs into another.

We do not forget by any means that all kinds of church authority, rubrics and canons and bishops, used to receive quite as little obedience, and less profession of it, forty or fifty years ago, from the 'Low Church' or 'Evangelical' or anti-Sacramental party as from the Ritualists now. We cannot have better authority for their habitual disregard of the code of the Church, whenever it stood in their way, than the letter of an eminent member of their own party which was quoted at the end of the article in this 'Review' on 'The Ultra-Ritualists' in 1869. The late Dr. Miller, Vicar of Greenwich and Canon of Worcester, there said that 'the conviction had for some time been deepening in his mind, that the Evangelical clergy must be prepared, not only as a matter of policy' (i.e. to meet the Ritualists on the ground they at first took so strongly, that they were the only clergy who obeyed the law); 'nor only for the sake of order and peace, but as a matter of conscience and duty, to adhere closely to the rubrics;' with much more to the same effect. They used to be ready at a moment's notice, and in a style of oratory savouring more of the cant of the meeting-house and the education of 'classical and commercial seminaries' than of the Church and the Universities, to revile any bishop who would not yield to them. But they never achieved that full-bodied ferocity of denunciation which is indulged in by the Church Unionists against bishops, judges, and legislators, for 'gross ignorance,' 'twisting the law to do injustice,' 'forgery of dates' to bolster up a judgment (of which more hereafter), besides epithets which seem to have been picked up (as Sydney Smith said) 'in the apostolic occupation of trafficking in fish,' as we have all seen in reports of various meetings of Church Unions and Dr. Littledale's and some other letters to newspapers, since Mr. Dale and Mr. Enraght went to prison rather than promise not to trespass in pulpits which are no longer theirs, until they submit to the law of the Church.

We have not to deal, however, with the past defiers of authority, but with the present. The anti-Sacramentarians or Calvinists

Calvinists are an almost 'extinct volcano' in the Church. They linger here and there as the preachers of sermons which sound like a forty minutes' slice cut anywhere out of an endless rope of absolute monotony as to sense or argument, telling nothing, explaining nothing, convincing nobody who is a Christian already of anything (except that he had better go to sleep if he can); which many of them assume that no one who has come to church can be, but that we all want converting every Sunday: despising human learning, even of the Bible, because the apostles were not educated but inspired. Mr. Dale and Mr. Enraght might just as reasonably expect the 'prison gates to open to them of their own accord,' as a despiser of human learning to become learned by inspiration. We cannot, unfortunately, pronounce all this illegal; nor an epicene choir; nor a male one forbidden to veil their own polychromatic vestments of multifarious vulgarity with the uniform of the Church, for fear the Pope should slip in under it. But fortunately these things are all going out of fashion.

We will not even venture to call illegal their cherished piece of Ritualism, changing the surplice for a gown to preach in, which is fast dying out, and we should be sorry to revive controversy about it. It was admitted by Archdeacon Harrison, who very ably defended it thirty-five years ago, that it is a relic of popery; and we understand it is still done in popish churches, at any rate on some occasions; so that one would rather have expected it to be defended by the ritualistic than the puritanical party, except that the Puritans in old times were always struggling for as little surplice as possible. Bishop Wren said to the Long Parliament that it seemed very contradictory that 'the ministry of the word' should be denied to be 'ministration of Divine Service' by those who magnify preaching above all other ordinances (not that those were exactly the words of the then existing rubric or canons); and so it seems to most people now. Any such summary of the arguments on the subject as we could give here must needs be incomplete. Bearing in mind that it is decided by the court of final appeal that the surplice became the legal substitute for all the 'Vestments' (not including the gown; and a cope was never used for preaching), it would be a true summary, as far as it goes, to say that nothing but the surplice is ordered or mentioned for any part of the service in church by any statute, rubric or canon; and that it was only left optional 'to wear a surplice or no in other places' than cathedrals, colleges, and parish churches, by the original rubric of Edward VI.'s first Act of Uniformity and Prayer-book; the 'other places' being preaching places,

places, such as Paul's Cross and the University pulpits and any others where the Prayers were not said first. And further, it is admitted both by Archdeacon Harrison and Canon Robertson, and quite clear, that if the sermon is held to be legally part of the Communion service, in which alone it was ordered, then the surplice is the proper dress for it as the legal substitute for the albe, which was then the prescribed vestment for that service. But it is equally true that the surplice is no more expressly prescribed for 'preaching' *nominatim* than the gown, except for the members of colleges and cathedral chapters in their own churches, and the archdeacons, who were not *ex officio* Canons then, though a few are now by Acts of Parliament. To that it is replied again that if a surplice is not required for preaching there is no preaching dress at all. Gowns, 'with tippetts of sarcenet,' were the 'common apparel abroad,' prescribed a century before and worn a century after 1662. That rubric is simpler and wider than any of the previous orders about Ornaments, about which there had been disputes; for it says they are to be 'used by ministers at all times of their ministration.' No man without a theory to support would deny that this means 'whenever they are acting as ministers in church,' which they are in preaching quite as much as in praying; or say that wearing common walking-dress is 'using an ornament.' The only lawful or actual ornaments then remaining were the surplice, with a 'black tippet' (now called a stole), and a hood for those who have a right to one *aliunde*.

Beyond these statements of the written rules, and in order to explain them—or explain them away—we are plunged into a sea of historical and ecclesiological inquiries, from which it is impossible to come to any more definite conclusion than that both gowns and surplices have been so much worn in preaching, ever since the Reformation, that, on the principles of the Ridsdale judgment (which will be stated afterwards), it is probable that either would be held lawful now, if anybody on either side were foolish enough to start a prosecution about it with the consent of any bishop.* But though both may be lawful, both
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* The use of the gown for preaching by the parochial clergy, as distinguished from the itinerant or licensed preachers and lecturers of early times, never approached the universality of the disuse of the Vestments after 1564. Archdeacon Harrison attributes the non-use of the gown in the diocese of Durham to Bishop Cosin's influence. But he and Wren, of Norwich and Ely, were certainly not the only bishops who thought the surplice the proper preaching garment: and no one can tell how many more there may have been. We ourselves can remember when a gown was never seen in a pulpit in some parts of the two other most northern dioceses, and we used to hear that it was so very commonly in country places. That may have been because the clergyman had none, or thought it
useless

can hardly be expedient ; and the current has for a long time, quite independently of Ritualism, run so strongly in favour of what is indisputably the uniform of the Church for all other ' ministrations,' that those who at last find themselves the necessary champions of the Act of Uniformity would be wise to drop that odd compound of Popery and Puritanism, the gown in the pulpit, and so establish external uniformity at least, in the only way now possible, and leave the Ritualists the only visible nonconformists professing to belong to the Church.

Before considering the ritualistic questions in detail it is necessary to deal with some preliminary objections to meddling with the Ritualists as law-defiers or breakers of uniformity in the Church. And first there are the objectors who think to settle that question with a few plausible phrases about making the Church 'comprehensive,' 'liberal,' 'elastic:' avoiding 'iron rules' and 'hard and fast lines,' and other newspaper and platform platitudes of that kind: that 'we ought not to run the risk of driving out good and pious men (who only refuse to obey the law), but even to use their extravagances as the Roman Church does,' though we are not told how. All this is very easy for the most ignorant man to write or say, but it is as fallacious and wrong as the plausible view of most things is. 'The Church of England' is a phrase that means many things, according to the circumstances, and we should be sorry to have to invent a definition that would suit them all. But fortunately we have no occasion for it. We are only dealing with the sworn ministers or officiating servants of that undefined and unlimited Society with defined rules, the Church. Every man in the kingdom has a right to go to church, and nobody has a right to turn him out or ask him questions, as the owners of conventicles have, if he does not satisfy their conditions. If they chose

useless trouble to change the surplice for it, knowing that it is not ordered. On the other hand it was thought the genteel thing, in town churches where a curate was kept, for the superior parson to sit in a pew, in a 'pudding-sleeved' silk gown (which is their Court dress), until he 'ascended the pulpit' (as newspapers say, while 'Mr. ——— *presided* at the organ,' to keep order among the stops, we suppose). That is often called in books 'a preaching gown;' but no such article is recognized in the Canons, and still less in the Advertisements, for wearing at any time. The only gowns there ordered are one very like a cassock, and the proper University gowns, out of doors. In those days the ante-communion service was often read in the reading-desk by the curate. We think much less than Archdeacon Harrison of the fact that cathedral chapters interpreted the ambiguous rubric of Edward VI. to enable them to make strangers preach in a gown, when allowed to preach there at all, and not in a surplice as if they were members of the chapter. That was only natural, and proves nothing as to the proper legal interpretation. It is worth mentioning that the surplice was certainly sometimes, and it may be often, worn over the gown; which explains what seems odd in the orders of several ancient bishops to wear the surplice with the gown; which might be the close cassock-like one.

to make everybody sign a confession of faith at the door they would be quite within their legal rights. But we can do nothing of the kind. In that sense the Church is as comprehensive and elastic and liberal as she could be. And for that very reason she requires a definite code for her ministers, not less, but more than a sect of known members who appoint their own ministers. Otherwise the Church would simply be the World, if she had neither a defined code nor defined members. There is and can be no religious body in the world that has not some written or fully understood prescriptions and limitations of what its regular ministers, or any one who does minister to it, are to do and say therein. Every such association has a right to turn out instantly, and with all the power of the law, any one who takes to preaching or acting anything contrary to its rules. Though the Church of England has no definition of members she has certain doctrines, rites and ceremonies, which are all written in a book with as much precision as need be, so that the proper tribunals can and must determine whether they are observed or not by the ministers, exactly as they do for any sect of which all the members are known.

What then is the real meaning of 'making the Church more comprehensive' by letting her ministers do or preach anything, provided they read the prescribed Service? And even that condition would soon be pronounced too 'inelastic, hard and fast,' if it is not already. It means that this voluntary religious association for one purpose is to be changed by force into another; which is pure tyranny and robbery. Such a thing has not only never been thought of to be forced on any other sect (to adopt their word), but the courts of law have invariably protected every other sect from it. Even when the difference was so evanescent as between members of the Scotch Church in England and of the Free Kirk, who only differ about rights of patronage, which of course mean absolutely nothing here, the courts removed the ministers of the one who had taken up and avowed the opinions of the other. All the Acts of Parliament in the world cannot make a Protestant believe in transubstantiation, or a Socinian in the Trinity, or a Trinitarian in Socinianism, or make him tolerate having the opposite doctrine to his own thrust in his face whenever he goes to church. But making the Church 'comprehensive and elastic' in that way would expose us to it, and be exactly the same thing as an Act requiring the owners of Popish churches to allow Protestants to minister in them. The clergy are not the owners of our churches, except as trustees bound to use them in a certain way: a fact which should be remembered

remembered more than it is by those who talk of a parson's 'freehold' as if it were something above all ideas of trust. If such a thing were proposed against the Papists or other dissenters from the Church, we should have all England in a fury, and very justly.

In fact this is all a confusion of ideas and of two totally different things. It may be right—or wrong—to admit new persons of a different religion to mere privileges which have no special relation to religion ; but to force an existing religious body to accept the ministrations belonging to a different faith is not liberality to anybody, except the aggressors, who thus steal other people's pulpits and wages, to use against them. It will not do to say that that was done at the Reformation ; for the nation had become Protestant and resolved to turn out the Pope, who had been the aggressor and the introducer of novelties invented at known epochs, and the usurper of the older jurisdiction of the Crown. Archbishop Whately has credit for answering the Romanist's question, 'Where was your religion before the Reformation?' with, 'Where was your face before it was washed?'

And what is the Church to gain by keeping in her pulpits, and as masters of her parishes, ministers who have really become Dissenters, Papists in doctrine (as many of them avow) and Presbyterians and Independents in practice? Their professed veneration for bishops is only that of bees for their queen. 'No queen, no hive' = 'no bishop, no church.' Both are necessary to keep up the species, but neither is to be allowed to do anything else. It is all the same with Convocation. 'Convocation is the only Parliament of the Church.' But the Convocations made the present Canons, which allow no vestments ; and Convocation never dreamed of reviving them after the rubric of 1662 ; and the Archbishop of Canterbury reminded the Ritualists lately that Convocation had resolved that they ought to obey the bishops, but they regard that as little as the bishops. Presbyterians and Independents proper have some governing body and rules, and must obey them. These gentlemen have gone beyond that, and acknowledge none, or at any rate obey none. And yet we are to be frightened by the bugbear of Secession if we do not let them have their way, as if secession were the greatest of evils. There is a much greater ; and that is treason : the staying of our enemies among us, keeping hold of our churches, parishes, and wages : seducing weak people, by passing for 'familiar friends' and lovers of the Church, which they hate as it is by law established, and keeping out proper

ministers who would perform their trust and obey the law. They would be far less mischievous as open enemies. This bugbear, like many others, only wants looking in the face by the light of common sense, and it will be seen to be very small in point of numbers, very insignificant in point of reason, and much better got rid of than kept to scare unreflecting people out of their senses.

There is another very serious consideration. Parsons of the Church of England have a legal monopoly which the ecclesiastical courts are bound to protect, and always do. In great towns one may probably, though by no means certainly, find some church near enough, where the service is really that of the Church of England, and otherwise tolerable. But where you cannot, the Church of England may be practically extinguished for miles by the wilfulness of any parson who has the art of driving away his proper congregation (we use that word as the legal one for the rector of a parish, who is very literally indeed its rector, as we are showing). It is absolutely impossible, even with the help of the bishop, to have any other public service within the dominion of a parson who refuses to allow it, unless a layman does it in an unconsecrated building; and of course that is contrary to the theory of the Church, though it is sometimes necessary. No argument and no power can persuade real churchmen to regard the best preaching layman as duly authorized to minister in the congregation, or on a level in that respect with a curate ordained last week. It is amazing that this tyranny should have been allowed so long, and that every legislative attempt to put an end to it—even under episcopal permission, not to be granted as a matter of course but of discretion—has been frustrated by the opposition of those who are always finding some excuse for protecting the Ritualists while professing not to agree with them. ‘It would break up the Parochial System to allow such a thing.’ But what is the Parochial System? ‘Well, that is the Parochial System;’ for it is nothing else in the world; and that is the kind of logic that prevails against common sense in Parliament. Dr. Pusey and the Church Union were angry at a ‘Diocesan Chancellor,’ in the ‘Times,’ calling the ritualistic parsons ‘persecutors of the laity.’ They forgot that the prelate whom they all respect as much as they are able to respect any, Christopher Wordsworth,* had said and republished in his ‘Miscellanies’ exactly

* Probably the ‘Diocesan Chancellor’ was not his, however; for he presides at Church Union meetings, we see, where the contrary doctrine is preached; and pronounces ‘Erastianism’ the evil of the day. Whenever we hear that tremendous epithet applied, we think of O’Connell’s silencing the fishwoman by calling her a Hypothenuse. And a hypothenuse is much more easily defined than an Erastian. the

the same thing—‘The fact is, such clergymen are not Martyrs, but persecutors.’

Again, what is the use of pointing to such and such men as specimens of every virtue (except those which they find inconvenient), and exclaiming, ‘What a pity it is to lose and not to use them!’ So it is; or rather, so it was when we did lose them by their choosing to become Dissenters. That only brings the argument back to the former one. Their schism begins, not by leaving the Church, and still less by leaving the government and monopoly of a parish, but by acting and preaching the doctrines of another sect, and so ‘causing divisions.’ And schism is certainly not mended or avoided by breaking and defying the law besides. A clergyman who cannot conscientiously perform the duties of one need not leave the Church unless he chooses, any more than a layman who is not satisfied with every word of the Prayer-book, but prefers it on the whole to any other creed or form of worship. Those who talk so glibly about ‘the Roman Church making use of enthusiasts of all kinds,’ stop short of the essential words—‘who will submit to her and do as they are told.’ Did not a Pope once trample to death even that portentous body the Jesuits with a Bull, and another Pope revive them? The English Church did not drive out the Wesleyans, as is also said in defence of the Ritualists. They gradually changed their minds and their doctrines, and left it. They were personally discouraged and ‘flouted,’ no doubt; but all the legislation in the world cannot prevent that. Greater men than they have suffered greater things than that without turning schismatics because of them.

The proposal to ‘let the congregation decide’ whether a clergyman is to be allowed to go on breaking the law is absurd. What is ‘the congregation’? Why, of course those who choose to be, not those who have a right to be but have been driven away. In the country, where the unhappy parishioners have no escape from the tyranny of ‘the parochial system,’ the congregation may include some who put up with an offensive service as being better than none. But those cases are exceptional. In a town any lively heretic can get a congregation; and indeed nothing is more generally attractive, without even the aid of liveliness, than disloyalty to the body that you still profess to belong to. It passes for liberality with those who Mr. Carlyle says the people of England mostly are. The mischief is always done before the question could be put. Let it be put to any existing congregation in an unritualized church, whether they want it to be ritualized, and the answer would be invariably, No, as the Ritualists would soon find out if they were disestablished

and the laity made their masters, as they are in dissenting sects. Of course any set of ritualistic laymen could combine to make a congregation and provide a church, and these clergymen could preach there; and so they can now, if they choose to abdicate as ministers of our Church under the 'Clerical Disabilities Act 1870,' which of course does not affect the spiritual character of their Orders. And perhaps it ought to be made rather more 'elastic,' and the abdication revocable, if a bishop who is willing to license them again is entirely satisfied with their recantation. They are worse off than clergymen who have turned Papists without abdication, and come back. But all the lawyers of England cannot drive into the head of any Ritualist who cries out for disestablishment, that it would mean the establishment of the laity as their masters, and of the civil courts of law as their judges, who would turn them out much faster than the ecclesiastical courts have done, if they violated the standing rules of the disestablished church.

It is useless now to speculate whether the 'ritualistic follies,' as they are only regarded by many people, would have died out if they had been let alone. It is easy to dogmatize propositions which can be no more refuted than proved. Everything that we have seen as yet tends to prove the contrary. They have been let alone a thousand times more than they have been meddled with, and yet they have advanced quite as much in those places as in the few where attempts have been made to stop them. And whether they are mere passing follies, or a systematic and organized design to bring back all Popery, except the Pope, may be judged of from the two articles in this 'Review' already mentioned, and still later from the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech in 1874 in bringing in the Public Worship Bill with the concurrence of his brethren; wherein he gave some further and stronger specimens of the ritualistic doings in matters far beyond mere ritual, amounting to an absolute repudiation of every Protestant doctrine, and adoption of every Popish one, except the refusal of the Cup to the laity: which one of the cleverest adherents of that party, even before its later developments, once confessed to us was the only Roman doctrine he did not accept; and so do many others.

But two answers are made to all this: one by the indifferentists, who say, 'What is it to you that these people avow that their vestments and antics mean Popish doctrine? They do not thereby make you receive it.' The reply to that is that it is an entire ignorance of human nature. They might as well say so of systematically leaving out a sentence in the Creed or in any of the Prayers. Ritual is not a weaker but
a stronger

a stronger and more constant presentation of the doctrines to which we know it belongs, and a making of the congregation party to them, than preaching, though of course that may be offensive enough. Bishop Wilberforce said so in Convocation in 1868, though perhaps some persons might have expected him rather to have defended the Ritualists, from his sympathy with all religious zeal; and it is common sense, in a matter which does not admit of reasoning, any more than the effects of music or play-acting; which you may argue against for ever as a mere sham, and yet everybody will be affected by it just as much as if you held your tongue, and far more than by the most unanswerable sermon. Dean Howson in his Preface quotes Archdeacon Denison as having said that 'in two or three years the Ritual has done as much as or more than the teaching had done in twenty-five,' of the true doctrine of the Eucharist; and we shall see what he considers the true doctrine presently.

The other answer is more ingenious: it is that put forward by Dr. Pusey in the 'Times' of November 24, and (if it is worth adding) by the President of the Union aforesaid, for keeping hold of Church pulpits and endowments to 'deprave' Church doctrines in and with them. Dr. Pusey said these things 'symbolize a doctrine, and only that doctrine, which even the Privy Council in *Sheppard v. Bennett** pronounced not to be at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England.' First of all, it is not correct to say they symbolize *only* that doctrine. Dr. Pusey himself does not use the illegal vestments and rites, and therefore he is not the proper witness as to what the users mean. They have told the world in the most ostentatious ways that they mean a great deal more than Dr. Pusey advised Mr. Bennett to modify his original statements into before his case came before the Privy Council, or even before Sir R. Phillimore. Both of the courts said they should have condemned him if these had not been modified; and he was only acquitted, as it was, by the narrowest possible escape in every respect, with an emphatic denial by the Privy Council that even his amended doctrine is the doctrine of the Church of England, but only not so plainly repugnant to it as to be pronounced heresy. He had originally asserted the '*visible presence of our Lord on the altar*' after consecration, and said that he 'adored and taught the people to adore *the consecrated elements*.' If he had stuck to those two statements he would unquestionably have been condemned and deprived. But he

* Law Reports, 4 P. O. 376.

altered them into, and said in his new preface that he had meant by them, 'the *real and actual* presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine,' and that he 'adored *Christ* present in the Sacrament under the form of bread and wine.' The Judicial Committee said, by Lord Hatherley C., that even this 'went perilously near' the edge of the law; but the words were essentially different from the first words: that 'the doctrine of the Presence in the Eucharist is altogether mysterious and imperfectly comprehensible to the human understanding;' and therefore, 'with great hesitation and division of opinion and giving him the benefit of the doubt,' they would not say that his last words were actually prohibited by the Articles, which affirm (Art. 26) that—

'to such as *rightly, worthily, and with faith* receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ;' and that 'the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and that the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith.'

And again (Art. 29) that—

'the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth *the Sacrament of* the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ; but rather to their own condemnation eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.'

Whatever we may think the probable inference from Mr. Bennett's words as to his belief, he cannot be legally fixed with having affirmed anything as to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament to the wicked, or in fact anything like transubstantiation, though many of the Ritualists make no secret of believing it. As soon as they preach or publish it they will transgress the law, and be deprivable at once. Even his first statement, which was condemned, was a little short of that. So it is altogether wrong to pretend that the Privy Council has let them loose to affirm any such doctrine as that.

Archdeacon Denison did go further and affirmed that 'to all who come to the Lord's table, to those who eat and drink worthily, and to those who *eat and drink unworthily*, the body and blood of Christ are given;' and that doctrine was unanimously pronounced heretical in the only court that tried that question, by Dr. Lushington.* Instead of appealing against that judgment, the Archdeacon got the whole proceeding stopped by a purely technical objection, as of course he had a right to

* Ecc. Judgments of the P. C. p. 161.

do if he could ; but it is a mistake to suppose that his doctrine was allowed by any court.

The second answer to Dr. Pusey is, that it is simply bad logic to say that if they were not actually prohibited from preaching anything, however 'high' or 'low,' therefore we are bound to tolerate every kind of exhibition of it, which is otherwise illegal, and is intended to make us appear to acquiesce in it—and really in a great deal more than that which it is just lawful to preach ; for they avow that their dresses and decorations and ceremonies mean a great deal more than that, when they confess their full creed. This, like many other questions, is best tried by the alternative. We go to church, suppose, and see all things done in the regular and legal way. The clergyman may preach as inoffensive a sermon as we understand that both Popish priests and Ritualists often do. How are we the worse for the fact that they believe in transubstantiation, and a quantity of other things which we do not ? But if we cannot go to church without having the known and avowed symbols of that kind of doctrine continually thrust in our faces, we are a great deal the worse for it. If the sermon after a legal service avows such doctrine, after all there is a remedy for that in not attending to it, or in thinking what we do think of 'the man and his communication.' But from vestments and ceremonies, which in every religion have some well-understood meaning, we cannot so escape. And to give a broader and simpler answer still : it does not follow that because we cannot get rid of everything that is Popish by law, we should not get rid of what we can, viz. these illegal demonstrations. The Privy Council knew as well as Dr. Pusey and the Church Union, when it again and finally pronounced them illegal, that it had previously acquitted Mr. Bennett ; and that argument of Dr. Pusey's was too illogical for their very able advocates to advance there, though it does well enough for those whom lawyers call 'laymen,' though ecclesiastics, to address to newspapers and meetings of their own.

We cannot do better than take some of Dr. Pusey's other excuses for these defiers of the law, as the best that are likely to be made for them, and at any rate more worth notice than the declamation of the Church Union. Another is that 'the only way of testing judge-made law is to disobey it, and so to obtain a rehearing of the cause.' The 'Times' itself disposed of this at once by saying in effect, 'Very good : but then if you say you adopt defiance of the law, which means at last imprisonment, as a piece of legal strategy, it *ipso facto* ceases to be martyrdom : it is only a game in which you may win or lose ; and
you

you cannot expect gamblers to be received as martyrs.' But Dr. Pusey and a multitude of other people—probably everybody except a very few lawyers who have attended to these points in detail—are entirely mistaken and wrong in asserting continually, as they do, that the Privy Council has reversed its own decisions on any one of these questions *that has been argued before it by both sides*, and therefore may perhaps do so again. It has not done so; and we will now explain all that it has done in the way of reversing or varying previous judgments and sayings of its own.

We will begin with the latest of them, in the Ridsdale * case, wherein the previous judgment in the Purchas † case, that it is *only* lawful to stand at the north side of the Table in consecrating the Elements, was altered into a declaration that the priest may stand anywhere *at* the Table, provided he breaks the Bread and takes the Cup into his hands so that the people generally can see it, without his 'elevating' them. Of course to all ordinary persons this looks like a reversal, and literally it is so. But of what is it a reversal? Only of a judgment given against Mr. Purchas individually, who did not choose to argue the point either by himself or counsel; but who (or somebody behind him), after judgment was given against him by default, tried in two different ways to get his case reheard, which an unusually large Judicial Committee unanimously refused to allow. Every lawyer knows that a decree in an unargued case, though irreversible—at least in the same court—for that defendant, goes for no more in any subsequent trial than the expression of opinion of those Judges, like an opinion of eminent lawyers before trial, which they sometimes change themselves after hearing the arguments.

What happened next? The Lord Chancellor (Cairns), in a long speech on the Public Worship Bill in 1874, plainly intimated that he did not agree with that part of the Purchas judgment, and would not follow it whenever he might have the opportunity. And he had it in the Ridsdale case, in which he gave the judgment, making that important relaxation as to the position of the minister that we have spoken of. Any of us may think it wrong, and prefer the Purchas judgment to the Ridsdale one; and that all that had been said by Lord Cairns himself, in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, ‡ as to the importance always attached to uniformity of worship, the declared object of all the four Acts of Uniformity in their preambles, was just as appli-

* Ridsdale v. Clifton, 2 Prob. Div. (L. R.), 304.

† Hebbert v. Purchas, 3 P. C. 634.

‡ 2 P. C. (L. R.), 383.

cable to the position as to the posture of the priest, and that one was quite as unlikely to have been left optional as the other; and that an optional position was the least likely to have been intended of all the alternatives of north, west, east, or anywhere at pleasure; to say nothing of the difficulty of performing the feat of breaking bread in the sight of the people while you turn your back to them, which had been decisive with the Judicial Committee in the Purchas case, comprising two Lord Chancellors, one of whom has always passed for a high-churchman. Seeing that the Table was evidently intended by the 82nd Canon not to stand against the wall at Communion time in some churches, and that Laud was accused of causing them to be put there 'altarwise' long after the Canon, the east side is much more likely to have been intended than the west; and this is left quite open by the Ridsdale judgment. But again, whatever the makers of that rubric might say if we could ask them their intentions, it is decided, and we are quite sure is finally decided, that they did not say with sufficient clearness that the north side is the only lawful one, provided the priest can *bonâ fide* perform the feat just now mentioned, which is probably the very thing that the Ritualists want to avoid doing. The court added that if 'it were necessary to extract from the rubrics a rule for the position throughout the service, it would be the north side.' 'Elevation' of the Elements above what is necessary has been several times pronounced illegal.

The Ritualists gained another point by the Ridsdale judgment, that they may cut the Bread into the shape of wafers if they like, provided it is common bread and not wafers or unleavened; which again is most unlikely to have been intended by the makers of the rubric, and singularly incongruous with the idea of breaking bread. But notwithstanding these concessions, they set to work, with no less ingratitude than indecency, to abuse that particular Judicial Committee more than any that had ever sat since the Gorham case, in language for which they would certainly have been imprisoned for contempt by any other court; but it was thought better to leave them to the contempt of mankind. It would take more space than it is worth to reprint specimens of the abuse of that kind which we have all read in the general newspapers of late; and they are mild in comparison with the unrestrained outpourings of their own 'religious papers' which we have occasionally come across.

But they will ask triumphantly, if we do not anticipate the objection, whether we do not know that an eminent member of the Ridsdale court, the late Chief Baron, told somebody in a railway train that that judgment was prompted by policy
and

and not law. Of course we do, and that he afterwards publicly expressed his regret for having been so indiscreet.* The Ritualists never expressed theirs for publishing such a private conversation. After all, it was only a guess at other people's motives by a very old though very able man, who had made no secret of his opinion beforehand, and was disappointed at being in a small minority in a large and strong court; and by the common consent of mankind such guesses go for nothing unless they are supported by some proofs. In this case the most important decision that has been given in favour of the Ritualists had been publicly suggested before by the person who is notoriously the most odious to them of all judges and statesmen; and the decision against them was concurred in by one at least who had some years before given an opinion to the contrary: so that there could hardly be stronger evidence of impartiality, if any were needed, than that particular court presented.

To proceed with our proof that the Privy Council has not reversed any of its own decisions on questions raised and argued before it. The undefended Purchas case, which was thus varied by the Ridsdale one after argument, has itself been constantly talked of as a reversal of the previous Mackonochie decision,† which was supposed by those who are ignorant of legal maxims to have established 'the eastward position,' and that not optionally as now, but absolutely. Lord Cairns himself said in the Ridsdale judgment that the conclusion in the Mackonochie case had perhaps been expressed more broadly (by himself) than was necessary for the decision; and therefore we may say that we were surprised at the time that it was so; and that it was not foreseen by *all* the court that multitudes of the clergy, not knowing the ways of judges, and their disregard of everything but the point to be decided, would conclude that when they said '“*standing* before the Table” applies to the whole sentence in the rubric,' it meant that standing *before* the front or west side

* We should be sorry to appear to reflect on him, however, for merely talking of the fact that the court was not unanimous: a right never questioned before, and exercised whenever desired, by and with the concurrence of some of the greatest judges and bishops who have sat there. His 'Letter to the Lord Chancellor' turned the tide of legal and public opinion completely in his favour, and showed that the attempt to take away that right by a new Order in Council, professing to interpret their oath, was historically wrong, and in any case an invalid, illegal, and unconstitutional attempt to legislate by a royal decree on what men may talk about. Darius could do it for the Medes and Persians. But no authority in this kingdom can interpret an oath, except the court which has to try a man for perjury. The most imperial or imperious Prime Minister would not dare to strike a Lord Justice off the Council for disregarding such a decree and exercising his legal right as they have done before.

† *Martin v. Mackonochie*, 2 P. C. 565.

of it applied to the whole sentence. And so they did, including many who were not the least ritualistic. Accordingly the court had to explain in the *Purchas* case, and again in the *Ridsdale* one, that nothing at all had been decided, or argued, or in issue, in the *Mackonochie* case about the clergyman's position, or his attitude, as to facing any way, but only as to posture, standing *v.* kneeling; and that 'before' does not mean 'before the west side of,' or anything more than 'before any side of,' or 'at,' and that the proper side has to be determined by other considerations. So these two judgments were not in the smallest degree a reversal of any previous one; and the second only varied the other, which had been an undefended cause.

Now for the more complicated history of 'the sacrificial vestments,' as the Ritualists call them, from their Roman use in the 'Sacrifice of the Mass.' We will not include hoods, an ornament of a totally different kind and meaning, and expressly ordered by the Canons, and also copes at communion in cathedrals. And, by the bye, gentlemen who decorate themselves with 'hoods of theological colleges,' which affect to authorize them, had better remember that they incur suspension for it by the 58th Canon. Hoods are always mentioned as signifying University degrees. We heard of a bishop very rightly refusing to ordain a man who came in such a garment, which not even the Primate of All England* can authorize, unless he confers a degree. The conferee adopts the hood of the Primate's University, we believe. Non-graduates may only wear 'a decent tippet of black,' and that 'not silk.' And we quite agree with Canon Robertson and Archdeacon Harrison, that the decent tippet of black would be held to include, if not absolutely to mean, the black stole or scarf which is now invariably worn by clergymen of all parties, and is their recognized distinction from laymen taking any special part in the service, as choristers, or readers of the Psalms, and readers of the Lessons *a fortiori*, as they are deputies of the clergyman. Surplices have always been worn by them at Cambridge, on 'non-surplice days' for everybody else; and we cannot doubt that they ought to be, as a matter of uniformity and order, though perhaps the clergyman (who is responsible for the whole service) could not be legally required to insist on it. Coloured stoles, or decorated black ones, are quite another thing, and have been condemned already by the Court of Arches, and without appeal.† A

* Most newspaper editors need reminding that there are two Primates, though only one 'Primate of all England, and Metropolitan'; who alone can give degrees, and 'special licences' to be married anywhere and at any time of day.

† In *Combe v. Edwards*, 2 Prob. Div. 854.

fashion has arisen lately of deacons wearing stoles on one shoulder only, like a scarf at a funeral. However convenient it may be so to distinguish them from priests, it seems clear that anything that is to be justified as a 'tippet' was '*ab utroque humero pendula*' as long ago as 1564.*

The 'matter, decency, and comeliness of the surplice' are to be decided by the Bishop, by the 58th Canon. In looking for other things we found ample evidence in episcopal orders and enquiries in early times, and in a quotation from an old pamphlet against surplices, and the learned in such matters have come to the conclusion from artistic evidence, that the proper medieval and canonical surplice is the old-fashioned, long, full and large-sleeved one, which used to be universal till the Ritualists and robe-makers (who, like architects, wish to be thought highly ecclesiastical) introduced two new kinds: one so small and short, that it is more like a jacket than a surplice, and showing a great deal of 'long cassock, rivetted up the front like the boiler,'† which is also a new thing; and the other, those tight and flat ones without gathering, which in one cathedral we know were called 'the Dean's nightshirts;' and some with sleeves so narrow and ill-made that they are always on the flutter, instead of hanging quietly when the arms are moderately raised. Both kinds seem to us as uncomely and non-decent as possible. Up to thirty years ago the commonest undergraduate's surplice was a handsomer vestment than these mean-looking things, a sort of mongrel between an albe and a genuine surplice.

Nor shall we reckon among Vestments the 'decent cope,' required by the 24th Canon to be worn by the principal minister at Communion in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, i.e. such as Westminster and Windsor, instead of a hood for the time, and which has long been universally abandoned. An ornament which was only to be worn in about thirty churches in the kingdom could hardly be thought of much importance or value to anybody, except (we see) as a kind of small *tu quoque* argument by some 'Episcopus' in the 'Times' to persuade us that we ought to allow Ritualists to defy the law and the decrees of the supreme court in every church they can get hold of, because we do not stand out for thirty copes which nobody wants. The court has never yet ordered any dean or bishop to wear a cope. When it does, we are sure it will be obeyed. And it would be very easily obeyed; for it seems that there were copes of all degrees, from plain white silk up to cloaks so large and

* See 'Robertson on the Liturgy,' p. 105.

† Sir E. Beckett's 'Book on Building,' note on Lecterns and Reading-desks.

stiff

stiff and gorgeous that they required the great semicircular boxes to lie in, which survive, empty, in several cathedrals.

After this explanation we shall mean by 'Vestments' albes, chasubles, dalmatics, tunics, amices, maniples, stoles that are anything but black, birettas on the head, and any other known or yet unknown dress or decoration, except a proper surplice, black stole or tippet, and hood of a genuine degree. The judgment which is erroneously supposed to have authorized Vestments was that of the Privy Council in *Liddell v. Westerton* ;* which is supposed to have been reversed by the Purchas and the Ridsdale judgments; all because the court unadvisedly threw in *obiter* in the Liddell judgment the unlucky word 'dresses,' which they had nothing at all to do with; and it was never therefore brought to their notice that it would involve a long historical enquiry whenever it should be necessary to decide upon it. They said, 'the same *dresses*, utensils, or articles which were used under the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. may still be used. None of the rubrics in question therefore can have any reference to articles not used in the services, but set up in churches as ornaments in the sense of decorations;' the point they had to decide being that crosses are lawful when they are *bonâ fide* architectural ornaments of the church, but not on the communion table, either fixed or movable, or just raised above it, but plainly intended to belong to it, on a 'retable' or 'super-altar,' a thing itself without authority, as was decided afterwards in *Durst v. Masters*.† So groups of images were allowed in the Exeter reredos case,‡ and in *Hughes v. Edwards* ;§ while crucifixes have always been condemned and ordered to be removed, in the Ridsdale case || and others.

The question of vestments had actually to be decided for the first time in the Purchas case; and though Mr. Purchas did not appear, the counsel on the other side knew that they had to prove their case, and that much more was requisite to settle it, either way, than the mere comparison of two or three rubrics and statutes, as had been too hastily assumed before, when the question had not to be decided. But when it had, it was perceived that a good deal of historical investigation was necessary, in order to make sense of that suspicious word 'retained,' which was again introduced into 'the Ornaments Rubric' at the beginning of the Prayer-book of 1662, as it had been in Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, but with a reservation that they were only to be 'retained until order should be taken

* Ecc. Judgments of the P. C. 122.

† *Phillpotts v. Boyd*, 6 P. C. 449.

|| 2 Prob. Div. 304.

† 1 Prob. Div. 373.

§ 2 Prob. Div. 361.

about them under her authority.' On the face of it this is a puzzle, but soluble by history, as the Privy Council in the *Purchas* case, and more fully in the *Ridsdale* case, after elaborate arguments, explained; and their explanation was this:—

The first Prayer-book of the Reformation, prescribed by the first Act of Uniformity, 2 Ed. VI. c. 1, did not remove the Popish Vestments; but the second Prayer-book, of 5 Ed. VI. did, retaining the surplice only. Of course both were swept away and the Popish use restored under Mary. Then came Elizabeth, who was Protestant in her doctrines, but ritualistic in her tastes, and fond of finery, and also notoriously wilful and crafty, and always scheming to be able to throw on somebody else the responsibility for any strong measure. Therefore, when the Protestant Prayer-book was restored by 1 Eliz. c. 2, the third Act of Uniformity, she let it go no further against the vestments than to enact that they, i.e. 'such ornaments as were in use under the authority of Parliament in the second year (first Prayer-book) of Ed. VI. should be retained until other order should be taken by authority of the Queen, with the advice of her Commissioners, or of the Metropolitan'—not saying how she was to give it. And the printers thought fit to print, and to go on printing in the Prayer-book an unauthorized rubric copying that temporary sentence of the Act, long after it had been exhausted by the *Advertisements*. Probably she never meant that any order should be taken if she could help it; and in fact she refused the request of the Archbishop and others to do so as long as she dared. But with all her wilfulness she had the art of knowing how far she could safely go in resisting the public will, which had become strongly Protestant, and at last in 1565 certain things called the '*Advertisements*' came out—to use a word signifying only a bare fact, about which there is no dispute; nor is it denied that they abolished the vestments, if they were valid. The Ritualists dispute that they had the Queen's authority.

The summing up of the historical evidence about that occupies a great many pages both in the *Ridsdale* and the *Purchas* judgments, and in Archdeacon Harrison's book, which was written years before the vestment disputes began. They all came to the same conclusion, that the evidence for the *Advertisements* having been duly authorized and issued is overwhelming. We could do no justice to it by a summary of details; we can only say that it consists of a great number of royal, episcopal, and other documents, and decisive acts of various kinds, from the date of the *Advertisements* till long afterwards; and they are expressly recognized as law by the

24th Canon. The earliest person of any consequence who for a time doubted this was Bishop Cosin in the next century, who at first wrote that they had not been authorized, but afterwards confessed that he had overlooked the terms of the Act (which were peculiar); and then, strange to say, later in his life made his old mistake again. And that seems to have been copied by still later writers, such as Bishop Gibson and Dr. Burn. But as none of that was contemporaneous evidence, it is worth nothing against that which is. Moreover Cosin himself did not act upon his mistake, but, as Bishop of Durham, and previously as Archdeacon of the East Riding in 1627, he prescribed the surplice, which is inconsistent with vestments, as the Privy Council pointed out, for all Divine service. It is a pity that the other bishops at the Savoy Conference did not, as he urged them to do, specify the dress to be worn in all the services *nominatim*, instead of by that mysterious reference to Edward VI.'s first Prayer-book, complicated with all the subsequent history that was necessary to interpret the word 'retained,' which was introduced at last, and after all left the preaching dress so undetermined that there has never been uniformity about it since. Those old rubric-makers seem to have had a singular dislike of saying what they meant in a straightforward way.

On the strength of that mistake of his about the Advertisements Bishop Cosin had been the great card of the Ritualists, and they have furiously resented the trumping of it with his own subsequent confession by the Ridsdale Judicial Committee. A misprint or some other slip in the Purchas judgment had put 1687 as the date of his Visitation Articles instead of 1627, and it is assumed that the judges meant to pass him off for a bishop after the Restoration rubric when he issued them. In fact he was no more a bishop at one date than the other, for the very good reason that he died in 1672; and he did order the surplice and nothing else while he was a bishop. Yet on the strength of this trumpery and immaterial error, Dr. Littledale, one of the best known literary representatives of the Ritualists, wrote thus in the 'Spectator' of December 4:—

'Not the slightest doubt can arise in the mind of any intelligent person' [of course every intelligent person is a Ritualist] 'that the law has been deliberately and wilfully set aside in the judgments in the Gorham, Mackonochie, Purchas, and Ridsdale cases' [so far as the last was not in their favour; and what about the Bennett case?]. 'In the third a *false* date was assigned to certain Visitation Articles of Cosin' . . . and afterwards it improves into 'a *forged* date.' . . . 'Here then we have such irresistible testimony of bad faith as to destroy the whole judgment.'

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The poor man forgets in his fury that that judgment had been already superseded, but confirmed against the vestments, by the Ridsdale one, and pretends not to see that if it had not, and if Cosin had never discovered his own original blunder, or had never issued any Visitation Articles at all either as archdeacon or bishop, it could not have made the smallest difference in the judgment. And this is not the only matter in which Cosin (who no doubt was a high churchman) is unduly pressed into the service of the Ritualists. Dean Howson says (p. 81) that Smart's charge against him before the 'Court of High Commission,' that he used the 'eastward position' as a prebendary of Durham, is constantly repeated by Mr. Beresford Hope and other writers on that side, as proof that he did so, while by what the Dean politely calls 'a strange freak of controversy,' Cosin's answer (which appears in the Surtees Society's publication of those proceedings) is carefully kept out of view; viz. this:—

'Denieth that he did ever officiate with face purposely towards the east; but that he constantly stood at the north side or end of the table . . . saving that, the bread and wine being usually placed in the middle of the table, which is about seven foot in length, he might haply do as others did there before him (though he remembereth not to have done so these 12 years) and step to the former [i.e. middle] part thereof to consecrate those elements, which otherwise he could not conveniently reach.'

And there is no pretence of any evidence that he changed his practice after he became bishop, though he is also said to have been the author of the rubric of 1662. Bishop Wren gave the same answer to a similar charge against him, only adding that besides the table being long he was short, and could not reach over the book to take the Cup without the risk of spilling the wine. None of all this was noticed in the Ridsdale judgment; but we are not concerned with that point now.

And that is an episode, though a necessary one. Beside the continuous stream of episcopal and other testimony as to the Advertisements, the Ritualists thought it to their advantage to point out that the destruction of vestments had been going on without, and indeed against, legal authority, all through the earlier years of Elizabeth, before the Advertisements were issued. They did not see that that fact immensely increased the probability that 'order would be taken' in the matter, and that Archbishop Parker would be certain to urge that strong indication of public opinion to make the Queen give way. The Judicial Committee came to the conclusion that 'within a few years after the Advertisements, the Vestments used in the Mass (which they all were) had entirely disappeared.'

There

There were also some 'Injunctions' of Elizabeth in 1559, which must not be confounded with the Advertisements of 1565. They are in the same direction, and the Purchas Committee thought them law; but the Ridsdale Committee thought that they were not such a complete 'taking order' as was intended by the Act of Uniformity.

Nobody contends or can imagine that in spite of the standing prohibition of anything but the surplice and cope in the Canons (24, 25, and 58), in addition to the previous universal disappearance of the Vestments, they got back somehow into use between 1603 and 1662. And if not, they were simply non-existent then, and non-existent legally. For though the Canons would not override an Act of Parliament, the Act itself had been worked out as to Vestments by the Advertisements, and the Canons were a mere repetition of them and binding on the clergy. But then the Ritualists say everything was altered by the new Rubric of the fourth Act of Uniformity and Prayer-book of 1662, saying that 'the ornaments which were in use by authority of Parliament in 2 Ed. VI. shall be "retained."' And if 'retained' had happened to be spelt 'revived,' they would have been unanswerable. But 'retained,' as the Judicial Committee said, means 'continued,' and a thing cannot be continued which does not exist. And were they revived in fact, as they must have been if the Rubric and the new Act of Uniformity meant that? Nobody pretends that they were, or that it was ever dreamed that the Act meant it for 200 years. Then comes in the well-known rule, frequently stated by Lord Eldon and other great judges, that long usage, for which no other origin is shown, is to be accepted as the contemporaneous and true interpretation of a doubtful instrument, and sometimes even as sufficient proof that such an instrument existed, though no other evidence of it survives. So the Advertisements of Elizabeth are proved by their original existence as a book, and by the universal acting on them, besides the many contemporaneous statements about them; and the interpretation of the doubtful word in the Restoration rubric is proved by immediate and universal usage, which was quite impossible if the word 'retained' had meant 'revived,' or meant to repeal the Canons, then sixty years old, and of unquestionable meaning. We should then have to believe that the wearing of the surplice only 'was a constant breach of the law, commanded and enforced by bishops, including those who framed the Act' of 1662.

Moreover the word 'retained' was actually inserted by the bishops at the Savoy Conference after—and evidently because—the Puritans had objected that the rubric as it first stood with-

out that word 'appeared to bring back the vestments;' and they were probably right as a matter of law, though nobody then dreamed of vestments, but only of retaining or getting rid of surplices. If the Privy Council in those two cases 'perverted the law,' we must conclude that nobody from 1565 till about 1865 knew the meaning of the Acts and public Orders they were making and obeying: that everybody was destroying vestments and 'charging' against them when they ought to have been enforcing them: that the Canons of 1603, made by that infallible body the Convocation, the only one which the Ritualists allow to represent the Church, were utterly illegal; and false besides, in referring to 'the Advertisements published anno 7 Eliz.' as law. And when we add that even to this day none of their greatest men of the highest sacramentarian views—not even Archdeacon Denison—feel bound to use these long-forgotten 'sacrificial vestments,' we need say no more of this new theory that it is men's duty to go to prison to maintain the interpretation of an Act of Parliament that 'retain' means 'revive.' Not that anybody is so foolish as to believe that that is the reason of the Ritualists doing these things. It is only their excuse for doing what they want and trying to defend it. Excuses are very different from reasons.

Dr. Pusey said, 'it is rather a paradox that a vestment prescribed early in the reign of Elizabeth, and again enjoined in the reign of Charles II., should symbolize a doctrine belonging exclusively to the Church of Rome,' as had been practically, though not verbally, said by a 'Diocesan Chancellor' whom he was answering. That kind of controversial writing is not worthy of Dr. Pusey, though it may be suitable enough for Dr. Littledale. He knows perfectly well that the vestments were only 'prescribed' under Elizabeth in the sense of being let alone until 'other order should be taken,' which obviously meant that they would not be let alone long; and to say that they were enjoined in the reign of Charles II. is of course to beg the whole question; and means that he is a better lawyer than the two Judicial Committees, including four Lord Chancellors, who said that they were not enjoined. Theology has nothing to do with it. Other ritualistic advocates go on writing the same to the newspapers as if it were a fact beyond dispute, and not the whole question in dispute.

We have exhausted both the story of the vestments and of the supposed contradictions between successive judgments of the Privy Council. The other points on which ritualistic practices have been condemned are; first, stone altars, in the celebrated case in the Arches of *Faulkner v. Litchfield*, relating to the
Round

Round church at Cambridge,* which was followed in several subsequent ones, except that the disallowance of a 'credence table,' or a shelf for the Bread and Wine before they are put on the Communion Table, according to the Rubric (which implies that they were to be somewhere else and conveniently near), was reversed in *Liddell v. Westerton*.† On every occasion where the point has arisen the Judicial Committee has repeated the law that there is no Altar in the Church of England, and that the Communion Table must be of wood only; and that it may be covered with different cloths at the discretion, not of the clergyman, but the Ordinary (Canon 82); except at Communion, when it must have a plain linen cloth without lace or ornamental fringes. Candles and candlesticks on it are lawful, as they may be for use, but they must not be lighted by day. Angels on the Table were condemned in *Hudson v. Tooth*,‡ besides many other things that were condemned already, such as mixing water with the wine, either before or at Communion; incense, processions round the church, and the carrying of crosses and banners; 'Stations of the Cross,' or what is called a Calvary, and the erection of a second Table in an aisle, in manifest imitation of Popish side-altars, and in contravention of Canon 82 which prescribes one Table. Not that a second is likely to be prohibited in some distinct part of a large church *bonâ fide* used for a congregation usually sitting there, which could not conveniently move to the principal Table or hear the service there. The court has shown itself quite able to appreciate real distinctions, as well as ingenious evasions, such as that of putting an 'altar-cross' just out of contact with the Table, but to all appearance on it, or on a 'super-altar' just above it. Bishop Phillpotts decided against vases of flowers on the Table.||

Again, it was decided by the Court of Arches in *Bradford v. Fry*,§ and not appealed from, that the very common modern practice of making the Table look as like an altar as possible, by putting steps round three sides of it, is illegal; and one Bishop at least and his Chancellor had anticipated that decision by several years, in allowing no faculties to issue for such steps; as well as the other part of that decision which

* 1 Robertson's Ecc. Judgments, 184; affirmed in *Liddell v. Westerton*.

† Nevertheless credences (from *credenza*, Italian for a sideboard, &c.) have not been allowed yet in most churches under 'evangelical' dominion, where they insist on now perfectly useless Commandments being 'set up at the East end,' according to the 82nd Canon, but eschew the 'other chosen sentences' in the same sentence of it—another specimen of consistency.

‡ 2 Prob. Div. 125.

§ 4 Prob. Div. 193.

|| *In re Park Smith*. Stephens's 'Laws of the Clergy,' 1083.

required chancel gates to be removed, as implying a right to reserve it to the clergy, which is contrary to law. We did not mention under Vestments, the permission to carry a biretta (a sort of undeveloped college cap) in the hand, though not on the head, apparently on the same principle that clerical dignitaries seem unable to move about their churches now without their college cap, even though they sometimes hand it over to the vergers, and judges bring their theoretical three-cornered hats into court. That is the only personal and non-architectural ornament that has been allowed in any of these suits finally; for we need not notice the numerous reversals before Lord Penzance became Dean, who has been singularly lucky thus far in all his decisions upon merits, and more lucky even in appeals on technicalities than his over-zealous prohibitor, the late Lord Chief Justice. And the upshot of all these judgments is, that everything, except the right to stand at the west of the Table (if they can there break the Bread and take up the Cup in the sight of the people) that has been introduced by the Ritualists, and manifestly if not avowedly copied from Rome, has been pronounced illegal—and as we have shown, with perfect consistency—by the Judicial Committee in all the argued cases.

It is true that the Privy Council, like the House of Lords, is not absolutely bound to follow its own precedents, as inferior judges are to follow their superiors, and take as law whatever has been last declared by the supreme tribunal on any subject. But we believe that the House of Lords has only altered the law declared by itself in one case (Upfil's) which had long been considered a mistake only waiting for correction, and the Privy Council in not one, except as we have explained. Therefore the notion that the Ritualists have only to defy the law in order to get it tried over again and altered is altogether visionary, besides at once extinguishing their claim to be martyrs. They are mere rebels with a policy, and a very foolish one. Indeed they have begun to discover that, probably with the help of their legal advisers, who are better judges of it than Dr. Pusey, and they appeal no more to the only court which could so alter the law, but to the civil courts on mere technicalities which decide nothing. But they are no longer going to appeal to any court on earth. St. Paul appealed to Cæsar, but they must dethrone him as to jurisdiction over them, and 'obey God rather than men.' They now boldly declare that they are not bound, and do not mean, to obey the law and the Queen's courts—or even the Archbishops', because (what they call) the Church has never submitted to or acknowledged them. Absurd

as such a claim is, in the eyes of everybody except themselves, probably no great number of people know of any specific answer to it, and a great many take for granted that there must be some kind of truth in the statement which they hear so often and so confidently repeated, that the clergy never have submitted to the State, and have in some unknown way got and retained the privilege of making laws for themselves and all the rest of the Church of England, though no other body, corporation, class or society in this kingdom pretends the like. The Church Union, writing by its President to the 'Times' Dec. 15, had the amazing audacity to declare that the present 'tribunals only derive their authority from Parliament *in defiance of the Reformation Settlement.*' And this theory is not without attractions for the clerical mind generally, whether ritualistic or not. Therefore its intrinsic absurdity must not exempt it from being duly exposed.

It professes then to start with a historical fact, that the clergy have never submitted to the 'King,' as we used to say, or to the 'State,' as we say now, each meaning the same thing, viz. the King acting as he only can act, by his legislative and judicial courts. Although it was not so from the beginning, we can afford to make these modern Independents a present of this, that for some centuries before the Reformation the clergy had managed to become in a great measure independent of the State: that is, the Pope had done it for them, and they had become more and more subject to Rome; and that very thing hastened the Reformation. But whatever were its main causes, did these gentry never hear of an Act of Parliament usually called the 'Submission of the Clergy Act' (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19), which recites, as the fact was, that they had acknowledged that Convocation cannot act without the King's leave and that there were then some canons repugnant to the laws of the realm, and they had requested that the canons may be revised by thirty-two commissioners, sixteen lay peers and members of Parliament, and sixteen clergymen, appointed, not by Convocation, but by the King? and it was so enacted. That revision was not actually made; but it certainly was not abandoned as a concession back again to the clergy; for other and much greater things were done, and their submission was thus recorded for ever; and their concession that the special laws of the Church should be revised by a Royal Commission of that kind was decisive that they had given up all idea of independence.

But further, and with more direct bearing on the present question, what was to become of the ecclesiastical appeals which for some centuries had gone to Rome? They were absolutely transferred

transferred to a new court, called the Delegates, not even of permanent judges appointed by the Archbishops, like the Dean of Arches, and the Official Principal of York, but from time to time for every special case by the King, 'like as on appeals from the Admiral's Court.' Dr. Pusey thinks it worth while to say that they were in fact bishops until James I.'s time; but what has that to do with it? They were not required to be bishops any more than admirals, or than the Lord Chancellor, who had very often been a bishop up to that time, and once was afterwards. But even if they had been all ecclesiastics, they were the King's judges appointed under an Act of Parliament; and the clergy had no more control over them than—let us say, the Freemasons. And has Dr. Pusey forgotten that while all the episcopal Privy Councillors were on the Judicial Committee, by 3 & 4 Vic. c. 86, s. 16, the Ritualists were always finding fault with them? They were in consequence foolishly removed as judges in 1876; and now of course the court is abused still more for being a purely lay one. So much use it is attending to their clamour. The 26th of Hen. VIII. c. 1 again recited that the 'Clergy had recognized the King as Head of the Church,' which means nothing if his courts are not recognized as supreme. Of course the supremacy went back to the Pope under Mary, but it was all brought back again to the Crown by the very first Act of Elizabeth.

This therefore is quite clear; that the clergy are either subject to the Crown or to the Pope. They cannot possibly show how they got rid of their subjection to him, which the Ritualists who have not yet gone to Rome deny, as much as anybody, except by those proceedings of Convocation and Parliament under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. But they are not the only ones. These people cannot at any rate repudiate the Canons of 1603, made by their own body in the two Convocations with the leave of the King, according to the Act of Submission of the Clergy. The first of them is headed, 'The King's Supremacy over the Church of England in causes ecclesiastical is to be maintained.' What are causes ecclesiastical if all those that we have been talking of are not; and how is the King's supremacy in them to be maintained except by the decisions of his courts? And the body of that Canon says that 'all ecclesiastical persons shall faithfully observe all the laws and statutes made for *restoring* to the Crown of this kingdom the *ancient* jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical,' and so on. And the second canon is like unto it:—

'Whosoever shall affirm that the King's Majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had among the
Jews

Jews and Christian Emperors of the primitive Church ; or impeach in any part his regal supremacy in the said causes *restored to the Crown*, and by the laws of this realm therein established ; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the Archbishop after his repentance and public revocation of those his wicked errors.'

Every clergyman who has not read his Canons but has been in the University churches or a cathedral, must be familiar with the 'Bidding Prayer,' prescribed by the 55th Canon, which calls the Queen 'Supreme over all persons in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal.' What do they suppose that means? And every clergyman must know and admit the 37th Article, which actually explains the Royal Supremacy to mean that 'Princes should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and *restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.*' A Jesuit could no doubt equivocate even this plain language away, after publicly reading it and professing to accept it, as every incumbent does, but no one else. The Reformation Settlement was in fact the extinction of the claims of the clergy to independence, much more than any settlement of doctrines, which took a longer time.

Some of them, who know this awkward history better than the rest, confine their objections to the modern courts, i.e. to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which was substituted for the fluctuating Delegates in 1832 and 1833, and still more to Lord Penzance, because he became Dean of Arches, &c., by virtue of an Act of Parliament of 1874, and has not taken the old oaths. But when was any bargain made with the clergy as to the particular kind of court through which the King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical was to be exercised? Have they forgotten that by every one of the four Acts of Uniformity they can be tried for these offences at the Assizes or at Borough Sessions by people a good deal less ecclesiastical than the Dean of Arches, who must be a Churchman, and appointed by the two Archbishops, with only the approval of the Crown? As for their special objections to Lord Penzance, they did not obey his predecessor a bit more, though he had taken all the oaths, and was a man after their own heart in theological views ; for he thought Mr. Bennett's amended doctrine not only just within the law, but actually that of the Church, which the Privy Council denied ; and he invented or adopted the theory of a maximum of ritual permitted and a minimum enjoined, which the court above equally repudiated. One of the suspensions decreed by Lord Penzance was of Mr. Mackonochie for
contempt

contempt of the orders of his predecessor to discontinue a multitude of illegal practices ;—who has been most unwisely allowed to defy every judge and court with impunity. How can they expect us to believe the sincerity of any of their professions of obedience to some body with undiscovered powers—bishops at one time, Convocation at another, ‘the Church’ (whatever they mean thereby) very often, when in fact they have defied everybody under pretexts such as these that we have been exposing? And what is the use of Dr. Liddon flattering himself that he can invent a court that they will obey—unless he means to take away the supremacy of the Crown again? And he can hardly expect the people of England to stand that.

They have yet another plea, which deserves special notice and involves no history. Most people are familiar by this time with their mode of evading the vows they take at what they call the most solemn period of their lives, their two Ordinations, viz. that they only promised to ‘obey the *godly* admonitions of their Ordinary,’ not those which are not godly. This would be bad enough if it were true, and fitter for the Jesuits’ ‘Treatise on Equivocation,’ or their doctrines which Pascal exposed in his ‘Provincial Letters,’ than for English clergymen talking about conscience and martyrdom ; for it simply means, ‘I will obey such of your admonitions as I approve of and none that I do not,’ much like the old ‘Highgate oath,’ to do such and such things—unless you prefer to do the contrary. But their description of their Ordination vow has not even the merit of being true. The word ‘godly’ is not where they put it. They are asked by the bishop :—

‘Will you reverently obey your Ordinary and other chief ministers of the Church and those to whom the charge and government over you is committed?’ [nothing about godly admonitions yet ; and then, as a further requirement] ‘following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions.’

We know of course that such verbal criticism is trifling ; but as they begin it, and try to justify thereby what everybody else can see is a breach of a most solemn pledge and vow, that is the answer to them on their own ground ; though the real and broad answer is that if they avowed that interpretation at the proper time, when they come to be ordained, they would never have the opportunity of disobeying. We wonder what they would say if the bishops asked them beforehand (as they ought now that they are warned) how they interpret the vow they are going to take. If they really promise with that secret reservation, they simply obtain Orders under false pretences, which is
much

much worse than what Simon Magus did, or tried to do. One of them, and only one out of the multitude that they boast of, has been honest enough to resign when he felt that he could no longer obey his bishop, viz., Mr. Carter of Clewer. Mr. Tooth enjoyed a little martyrdom before resigning.

But they say, and some people do not see the fallacy of it, 'In spite of all your arguments and our former promises we are now conscientiously convinced that we ought to do these things, and "we must obey God rather than men:" you cannot deny that an Act of Parliament might require us to do something impossible for Christians or Churchmen to obey, and then what are we to do?' We answer, Wait till that happens; we are not sitting to decide abstract casuistical questions, but practical ones. It is too ridiculous for even you to talk about it being heretical or unchristian not to wear a quantity of coloured garments and perform ceremonies which no clergyman for three hundred years under the same code of laws ever thought of. And we answer the first question by saying, When you can give us any proof that you are obeying God and not men, i.e. yourselves, in doing these things, we may respect you and your motives. Nothing is farther from the truth than your maxim, *Vox mei, vox Dei*, and nothing more deceitful than the thing called conscience, when it concurs with our wishes. Those who said they must obey God when the authorities tried to silence them were apostles, and knew that they were inspired. You will hardly pretend that you are. It is obvious that every law might be repudiated on just the same pretext, that people who do not like it feel assured by God and their conscience that it is wrong; and they might all set up for martyrs as soon as the law dealt with them as it would forthwith. You are in prison not for any faith, but because we cannot otherwise keep you out of pulpits where you have no more right to be at present than a defeated claimant of a house has to take possession of it by force. If he persists, he must be put in gaol as the only way to keep him quiet.

Many persons will think we have wasted too much time upon such excuses for what is mere mutiny and sedition in the clerical army. But we do not think so, if we have given the public a better insight into the real position of the mutineers than most people possess. We have left ourselves too little room to discuss the two Acts of Parliament under which all these legal proceedings have to be conducted, and of which we think as ill as the Ritualists themselves, though for different reasons. Two more blundering Acts were never contrived, fuller of technical pitfalls for those who have to administer them,
or

or more productive of costs which they were intended to diminish, though not so bad in that as the great Law Reform of the age, the Judicature Act. Of the Church Discipline Act, 3 & 4 Vic. c. 86; the Dean of Arches of the time said it had evidently been drawn hastily, a mild way of saying what other judges have said less mildly. We had the curiosity some time ago to examine its history, which goes a long way towards explaining its badness; and it is shortly this. A much simpler Bill had been passed by the House of Lords the year before, notwithstanding the violent opposition of Bishop Phillpotts, which delayed it till too late to pass the House of Commons. He contrived by his speeches then, and probably by writing afterwards, to persuade the clergy that the Bill deprived the bishops of their jurisdiction: of which they had not one bit of the kind, independent of their Ecclesiastical courts or Chancellors, whose functions were to be superseded by converting the two provincial courts into primary ones, and that was really all the Bill did. Unfortunately the Government gave way to him in 1840, though he had been beaten before, and introduced the Bill with a quantity of new machinery and allowed the bishops to be judges themselves if the clergy would accept them. Then it became necessary to prohibit a bishop from acting if he was patron, which was never so before, and which, being copied into the Public Worship Act 1874, has been fruitful in litigation about practically nothing.

The clergy very soon learnt not to accept the bishops as their judges. Then there was all the portentous machinery of commissions of five, issued by the bishop to inform him whether he ought to proceed; and then a long litigation (in the Denison case), which, to the surprise of everybody, decided that the bishop must proceed if this kind of grand jury 'found a true bill,' or 'a *primâ facie* case.' And since then there have been more lawsuits to determine whether he has any option to refuse either a Commission or Letters of Request on the most frivolous complaint, the late Lord Chief Justice with two of his brethren deciding that he had not, contrary to the previous decisions and dicta of numerous judges, and the court of appeal reversing him. And then the great climax of all, in the later Denison decision, that if these preliminary inquiries are protracted by litigation for two years beyond the original offence, the whole fabric falls to pieces, and the parties have only to pick up the bits of law they may have got and pay the costs.* That was how the decision was got rid of, that the Archdeacon had committed heresy,

* *Ecc. Judgments in the P. C.* p. 167.

by going even beyond Mr. Bennett and affirming the Real Presence in the Sacrament to the wicked as well as to the faithful. It is no wonder that those commissions are almost if not quite abandoned; for the bishop can send Letters of Request to the Provincial Court without them, and even concurrently with them, but not if they have found no *primâ facie* case. The Act retained all the old cumbrous proceeding by Articles, which almost means trying everything twice over. Some day we shall learn the great truth that pleadings are the curse of the law, but the blessing of lawyers; that is, all pleadings beyond the simplest statement of the real case on each side.

The visible history of the Public Worship Act 1874 is this, whatever other motives there may have been for it. The Judicial Committee on the Purchas case, finding no precedent for depriving a clergyman for persisting in disobedience (though it was not likely that there should be any, such rebellion being a perfectly new phenomenon), were too timid to make one, and so merely brought themselves into more contempt, from Mr. Purchas at least, by suspending him for a year; which was as little attended to as the previous monition and all subsequent ones have been. That was the true cause of all the later troubles. If the ecclesiastical law was really so defective as that judgment assumed, there would have been no difficulty in passing a short Act to 'declare and enact' that clergymen might be deprived for deliberately refusing to obey the law and the courts, without an entirely fresh suit, as they not only may, but must, be under the 13th of Elizabeth for heresy, if they refuse to retract it. Surely rebellion deserves deprivation quite as much as heresy. But that was too simple a remedy for modern law reformers, who must do things on a grand scale, and provide for every contingency that they foresee, and therefore not for many they do not foresee, and prescribe rules and formalities and restrictions and conditions of no value to any human being except that deserving body of men who live by them. 'What would become of such respectable practitioners as Mr. Vholes, with a father in the vale of Taunton, if all these things were abolished?'* The Archbishop of Canterbury told the House of Lords that the Bennett case and one of the others cost nearly 19,000*l.*, of which counsel (who find all the learning and all the arguments) got what he called 'the very sufficient sum of' about one-third, and therefore 'Mr. Vholes' and his fraternity the other two-thirds for doing all the rest, whatever that may be.

* 'Bleak House.'

The Public Worship Bill in its original form was prepared under the direction of the bishops. It is not worth while to complicate the story by describing what it then was, or giving an opinion whether the Bill was better or worse than the Act, except that it was simpler and gave more power to the bishops in the first instance. Nevertheless it was furiously attacked, not only by the Ritualists, but by one as far removed from them as possible, Lord Shaftesbury, whose jealousy of episcopal authority belongs to the 'evangelical' age and party. There is no record of 'unopposed business' in Committees of the Lords; and many a Bill comes out of Committee as different from the Bill that went in as Lord Lyndhurst's celebrated Bill did for making marriages with wives' sisters unimpeachable after two years, which was quietly transformed by Bishops Blomfield and Phillpotts into making all the existing ones absolutely valid, and all future ones absolutely void.

There was however plenty of discussion of proposed amendments to the Public Worship Bill. The Bishop of Peterborough tried to 'make things pleasant all round' by proposing to declare legal a certain number of doubtful practices of both parties in the Church; and he said afterwards that he had succeeded admirably to this extent: he received innumerable letters approving highly of the principle, and of so much of the general compromise as was in favour of the respective writers, but strongly deprecating all the concessions to the other side: which we have long since found to be always the clerical theory of 'compromise.' So he judiciously resolved to abandon all of them.

The ritualistic party in both Houses made several attempts to stop the Bill. Mr. Gladstone's celebrated six resolutions with that object lately received due gratitude from them all over the kingdom. But it was not otherwise made a party question, and some of his present lieutenants opposed him strongly. The Government practically took it up, and when it came down to the Commons, Mr. Disraeli said 'it was a Bill to put down Ritualism,' which at another time he called the 'Mass in masquerade'; though probably that definition hardly satisfied Mr. Hope's inability to discover what Ritualism is. But a more ineffectual scheme for doing so could hardly have been devised, or a more effectual one for keeping parishes in confusion, neither with nor without a parson for three years. For all that it practically does beyond the Discipline Act is this:—Assuming a quantity of preliminary proceedings all to have gone right, which have several times gone wrong, the court may 'inhibit' a parson from doing duty. That is not
suspension

suspension *ab officio et beneficio*, which can be done under the other Act, but merely giving him a holiday, for three months certain, and thenceforward until he submits and promises to give up whatever illegal things he had been doing. If he does not within three *years*, then he is deprived. The provisions for getting a new Dean of Arches and Judge of the Provincial Court of York, in the place of the then existing ones, are of no consequence now, as all Mr. Dale's technical objections to Lord Penzance being all those *personæ* have come to nothing, in the Queen's Bench at any rate, whatever may happen on appeal. Nor are the provisions for dealing with Deans and Chapters collectively for church ornaments, and their clergy individually for personal vestments and ceremonies, material here, though they have not been immaterial everywhere.

But the 'aggrieved parishioner,' as it is the fashion to call him, deserves a word or two. That was another specimen of modern legislative pettifogging, and putting trumpery little provisions into Acts of Parliament to conciliate somebody who only means mischief, and will deride that very thing afterwards, as the Ritualists have continually derided this. Seeing that no prosecution can be set going under either Act without the bishop's leave, it was mere absurdity not to leave him to judge whether the complainant is a proper one. But first one 'parishioner resident for a year' got into the Bill, as the only unofficial person who could complain. Then, it seems, Convocation got him multiplied by three; and then Mr. Beresford Hope tried to work him up to six, who, if we remember right, were also to be communicants: but the House of Commons saw his object and defeated it.

One other little incident in the progress of the Bill deserves notice. The House of Commons inserted an appeal to the Archbishop from a Bishop's decision whether a suit should be allowed or not. They foresaw what has exactly happened, that some bishops would decide that question not by the circumstances of the particular case, as the Act plainly meant them to do, but by their own general views of the expediency of any prosecutions. Some of the bishops, when the Bill came back to the Lords, raised a storm about this, as if such interference and distrust of their discretion was unheard of, although there are appeals to the Archbishops in other discretionary matters, and they prevailed on the Lords to stand by their own Bill; and for fear of losing it the Commons gave way. After Lord Justice Bramwell's comments on the exercise of such discretion in the Bishop of Oxford's case, though deciding for him on the law, and the public declarations of some other bishops that they will
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allow no proceedings under the Act, they will have hard work to maintain their freedom from appeal in any future legislation on the subject, even though they are under the tremendous responsibility of having to record their written reasons for refusing an application in the Registry of the Diocese! As the 'Law Reports' are only accessible to few, we had better quote what the Lord Justice said, on this point:—

'By what means Mr. Carter has persuaded himself that he can receive the wages of the State to do a certain duty, and not to do it, but that which is opposed to it, I cannot conceive; and with all submission, I feel a nearly equal difficulty in understanding how it can seem right to the bishop not to bring him to justice. . . . It does seem to me (I speak with sincere respect) that the discretion here has been most erroneously exercised. It is as though a public prosecutor should refuse to prosecute a man persisting in a public nuisance against the rights and to the injury of the neighbourhood, because the offender was old and respected, and because some of the neighbours worked for him, and because some prosecutions for nuisance had recently failed.'*

Several bishops have been complaining of the prosecutions which they sanctioned being carried on to the point of imprisonment. Nothing can be more unreasonable or unfair. Can they not see that the moment it is understood that legal sentences will not be enforced, rebels and defendants of all kinds, clerical and lay, will simply laugh at all legal proceedings? People do not go to law for abstract declarations, but for practical results. The Act was passed in order to stop illegalities immediately, not three years after judgment.

It did not occur to any of these legislators on the mint anise and cummin of aggrieved parishioners, and recording written reasons for doing nothing in the archives of a diocese, and other such rubbish, that leaving a parish with no parson except one silenced in the church for three years, was an evil worth thinking about; or that if he chooses to say that he submits, and does the service properly for a week or two just before the end of the three years, he will have complied with the Act and exhausted his inhibition, and can start again with all his vestments and ceremonies as soon as he likes, and then all that the aggrieved parishioners can do is to begin again and procure him another three years' holiday. Indeed it would be an excellent way to get unlimited holidays and leave of absence, and power to let the parsonage, to get inhibited from time to time and always surrender just in time. When Lord Pen-

* (L. R.) 4 Q. B. Div. 555.

zance was 'prohibited' from going on in Mr. Tooth's case because he had sat in Lambeth, and Lambeth is not London, and the word 'Province' (which is in the Act, absurdly requiring the Archbishop to require the Dean of Arches to sit somewhere, but not providing him with a seat anywhere) had been omitted in the Orders drawn up under it by half-a-dozen great judges, every former Dean having been rationally left to make his own orders, and he appealed, a friend of ours said, 'Why does he appeal? If I were a judge I should like to be prohibited from doing everything.' So parsons under this funny Act can say, 'I only want inhibiting. The bishop won't let me have a holiday beyond my lawful three months. I know how to get three years, and as many more as I want after them, with the help of three friendly parishioners who will be kind enough to complain of me when I ask them.'

Parliament may certainly be excused, as the present Lord Chief Justice said the other day, for not foreseeing that inhibitions would be treated with contempt, and that inhibited and suspended clergymen would only be kept from trespassing by being kept in gaol. But now that we know all this it can no longer be rationally doubted what ought to be done, unless rebellion is to be patronized and indulged in England as well as in Ireland, for which the theory was invented some years ago, that it is not to be judged by general mundane rules of either law or logic or political economy. It may of course be said that deprivation would not have any more terrors for clergymen than the inhibitions and suspensions which they treat with contempt, telling the bishops that their admonitions are ungodly, and that though they might (theoretically) obey them if they acted *ex mero motu*, yet they cannot think of doing so as they are only carrying out the views of a court which the clergy do not acknowledge; which was an excuse lately published. And it is true that a man may invade a pulpit by force after it has actually been given to somebody else, as well as when it is only assigned to a curate temporarily. But practically it has never been done, and there is an immense difference between the two positions, both in public opinion and in law. He would no longer enjoy the mysterious privilege of being the 'freeholder' of the church, and somebody else would. He would be both a stranger and a criminal, 'as a disturber of public worship,' besides being 'in contempt of the court.' A deprivee so punished would set up a claim to martyrdom in vain.

Fortunately we shall soon have the means of judging of this
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by experience. For Lord Penzance has at last (Dec. 21) screwed up his courage, in an admirable judgment covering the whole ground, to the depriving of a clergyman, Mr. De la Bere, late Edwards, who had gone through all the necessary preliminary stages of rebellion; which is the more satisfactory after his extraordinary refusal in 1879 to administer justice at all in the new suit against the still longer rebellious Mr. Mackonochie, because the prosecutor in a previous suit had not wasted more money in trying to enforce the last suspension, which he could not do by the only effectual means, deprivation, according to the second Purchas judgment. Not being in the secrets of either party, we cannot conceive why the prosecutor did not appeal. But now that deprivation is at last seen to be a possible and actual thing, and nine people out of ten are very glad to see it, what earthly reason is there why it should be made to cost thousands of pounds and many years, all spent on doing nothing that could not have been done in a month, besides the gross injustice to the parish that is kept in confusion? The law on all these points is no longer argued in the court, whatever it may be in the newspapers: it is a mere question of fact whether a man has been breaking it systematically or not, which can be determined by the mouth of two or three witnesses in an hour. And when it has been, the clergyman can answer in three minutes as well as in three years whether he means to submit or not, as he must in cases of heresy under the 13th of Elizabeth, or else he is straightway deprived.

The two Acts are full of useless machinery, which only makes a vast clatter in working, and is constantly going wrong, and always wasting time and money. They have eminently failed in doing the thing that their inventors professed that they were to do, viz. to simplify proceedings; and they are full of pettifogging details which should be left to every court to settle for itself. Moreover, it ought certainly to be enacted that defendants who let judgment go by default should not be allowed to appeal to any other court. The Court that gave the judgment might rehear the case for any good cause shown; but it should never go to any other until it has been heard there. It is unfair to the judges, as well as to the prosecutors, and it brings contempt on the law to have judgments reversed which might never have been given if the court had been duly informed; which no court can be without the help of advocates on each side. Technical objections, in these and in all other courts, should never be allowed to prevail unless the party complaining has been really damaged, and then he should simply be put into his proper position by the court according

according to its own discretion. The moment these things are attempted to be done by general rules, they are sure to produce more litigation. Judges who have all the facts of a case before them can surely do more justice than legislators and bill-drawers guessing at possibilities beforehand.

There is also an absurd distinction drawn between what are technically civil and technically criminal cases in these courts. All these that we have been treating of are technically 'criminal suits.' Charges of immorality must of course be proved without any forced confession of the defendant. And no man must be cross-examined as to his opinions. But when he believes and maintains that he has been doing or preaching rightly, there is no reason why the facts stated in the charge should not be taken as admitted, unless he denies or explains them, and that not as a mere pleading device, but *bonâ fide*, and on oath, subject to cross-examination as in a civil suit, in which it has been decided that a respondent in these courts may be called and examined adversely. 'Interrogatories' are only the most expensive and ineffective mode of cross-examining, and have become one of the many curses of the Judicature Act, which has enormously increased the costs of litigation, as knowing men predicted that it would.

However, we are not drawing a new Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Act, but only noticing the obvious and proved defects of the present law, and showing how the imprisonments, which nobody wants, except the 'martyrs' who decline even to go out on bail with a promise not to make a disturbance for a few weeks, may be stopped, or at any rate the prisoners deprived of such sympathy as they get from ignorant persons who do not understand that they are in prison for trespassing and rebellion, and not for Ritualism; and that they could come out to-morrow without sacrificing a single opinion or promising to do anything, except not to trespass and make a disturbance in church—disturbance of the proper and lawful minister for the time, at any rate. How can they wonder at 'Protestant mobs' behaving as shamefully as they have done in several places when they set the example of more direct rebellion and disturbance? They and their backers have been challenged lately in and by the leading newspapers to descend from dignified plausibilities to common sense, and to answer in plain words the simple question, why they should not be at once deprived of their position as soon as they are proved to be using it illegally and refuse to satisfy the proper authorities that they will do so no more. They have all taken good care not to answer the question, and we do not think they will, at any rate with success.

- ART. X.—1. *A Short Statement concerning the Confiscation of Improvements in Ireland.* Addressed to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland. By A Working Landowner. London, 1880.
2. *The Land Question, Ireland: Confiscation or Contract.* London, 1880.
3. *The Life's Work in Ireland of a Landlord who tried to do his Duty.* By W. Bence Jones, of Lisselan. London, 1880.
4. *Hibernian Horrors: or, the Nemesis of Faction. A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.* By Alfred Austin. London, 1880.

DURING the last three months many must have perplexed themselves with contrasting the existing state of public opinion in England with the agitation that pervaded the country on the arrival of the tidings of the Bulgarian Massacres in 1876. The rumour of that tragic event came to us from a distant country, under the rule of a foreign though a friendly Sovereign. Horrible as were the atrocities reported, they were by no means unprecedented in the annals of the East. It was stated at the time that they were the results partly of panic, partly of reprisal, and experience has at any rate amply proved that in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia the crimes of lust, arson, and murder, are by no means peculiar to the anti-Christian Turk. The tale was told to a people not prone to meddle in the affairs of their neighbours, an unimaginative race to whom the words of Horace seemed especially applicable :—

‘ Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.’

Yet the whole English nation seemed to be transformed by the narrative, and fell into transports of indignation as if the tragedy had been enacted under their own eyes. Who does not remember how the Fiery Cross of Liberal humanity sped from town to town, while pulpit and platform poured their invective in equal proportion on the ‘unspeakable’ Turk and the wicked Tory?

Now throughout the past autumn, within a day’s post of London, and in a portion of the Queen’s dominions, a reign of terror has prevailed which we venture to say may, in respect of deliberate wickedness, compare with the anarchy existing in the most lawless province under the nominal rule of the Sultan. Any recital of the crimes then perpetrated would seem stale and unprofitable in the midst of the ever-varying details
with

with which the correspondence of the daily journals illustrates the situation :—

‘Vice with such giant strides comes on amain,
Invention strives to be before in vain.’

But lest we should be accused of exaggeration, we shall simply quote portions of the now historical address of Mr. Justice Fitzgerald to the Grand Jury at Cork on December 7 :—

‘I have now to ask your attention to a few cases which I have extracted from the reports supplied to me. I will take, in the first instance, the County Clare, and I may repeat that I exclude all the ordinary offences, save in one instance, in which I shall give a direction, and which occurred in one of the Ridings of the County. With that exception, however, I do not take into consideration any of the ordinary offences, which are of the usual character, and regarding which you require no assistance from us. I find in County Clare a *résumé* of extraordinary offences. There are forty-three cases of letters threatening to kill or murder, three of firing into dwelling-houses by parties disguised and armed at night, two of maiming cattle, eight of arson and malicious burning, and three of taking and keeping forcible possession. These are the offences which I call extraordinary, and which strike at the whole foundation of society.

‘Now let us turn from Clare to Limerick. Limerick is a county with which I happen to have a good deal of acquaintance, and I must certainly say that when I left on my autumn vacation I thought Limerick was in as peaceable and orderly a condition as any county I am acquainted with. There were sent in the County Limerick fifty-seven threatening letters, all expressly or impliedly threatening to kill if certain things were not done. There were sixteen cases of arson, nine of maiming cattle—that is, maiming them in some savage and brutal way with a view to terrify the owners—nine of malicious injury to property, seven of taking forcible possession of farms or dwelling-houses at night with fire-arms. There is, in addition, the murder of young Mr. Wheeler, of which we have all heard.

‘In Kerry matters are even worse. There were 101 threatening letters, six actually threatening murder. There are also twenty-three cases of arson, four of maiming cattle, malicious injuries without number, and six of attacking dwelling-houses.’

His Lordship then adverted to the murder of Bowling in the West Riding of County Cork, and proceeded :—

‘In addition to this case of murder, there are thirty-five cases in the West Riding of threatening letters. I may state that, with two exceptions, none of the writers have been made amenable to justice. There have been fifteen cases of maiming cattle and other malicious injuries, and five of compelling parties to quit by violence.

‘I now turn to the East Riding of the County Cork, and I expected

to find it somewhat better. There are, however, fifty-one cases of threatening letters, twenty-two of arson (all with a view of intimidating), three cases of maiming cattle, seven cases of forcible possession, and another of assault on bailiffs, and several other charges, one or two of which I should like to advert to.'

His Lordship concluded as follows:—

'I do not wish to be guilty of exaggeration, or to create excitement or alarm. I desire now to express myself in calm and measured language. That best becomes one to whom the administration of justice is committed, and I should fall short of my duty if I did not point out to you that in several districts, embracing a large portion of Munster, true liberty has ceased to exist, and intolerable tyranny prevails. Life is not secure, right is disregarded, the process of the law cannot be enforced, and dishonesty and lawlessness disgrace the land. It is said in excuse or palliation that this flood of anarchy and crime has been produced by bad laws. It is not for us here to consider whether our laws require amendment, or whether our institutions are open to improvement, these are matters for the Legislature; but no candid mind can doubt the disposition of the Imperial Parliament, or its desire to consider and redress all real grievances; and I add for myself and for you, and for all well-thinking people, that we are prepared to make all sacrifices, if in doing so we can procure the restoration of peace and prosperity to this distracted country.'

Nothing is wanting to the effect of this solemn and elevated language. We must, however, add the grave warning given by Baron Dowse in his Charge in Galway:

'This is neither the time nor the place to discuss the remedies for this state of affairs, except so far as the remedies are bound up with the law, the wise and firm administration of which I hope all will take part in during the present assizes. This, however, I will take the liberty of saying, for I think it is the time and place to do so, that if this state of affairs is allowed to continue much longer, immediate danger to Ireland will be the consequence, and ultimate danger to the Empire of which she forms a part.'

Have Mr. Gladstone's Government discharged the duty so plainly pointed out to them in these words? The Ministry is composed of the men who inflamed the minds of the people against the 'inhumanity' of the Conservatives, and who have never ceased to scold the Sultan for the disorder prevalent in his dominions. So lately as the 2nd of October the Cabinet was at leisure to survey the distractions of Albania, and Lord Granville wrote to Mr. Goschen the following despatch:—

'Your Excellency is aware, from reports that have been received, that the state of the country in North-East Albania is little short of anarchy.'

anarchy. The Turkish officials are powerless to execute justice; murder, violence, and forced exactions are prevalent, and the peaceable population is at the mercy of the armed committees, who under the name of the Albanian League have been allowed to assume absolute authority.'

There is not a word in this despatch which might not be justly applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to Ireland. Dervish Pasha has dissolved the Albanian League, and has restored order throughout the disturbed country; the proceedings of his English Mentors present an instructive contrast to his energy. With many protestations of confidence they dispensed with the Peace Preservation Act, against the earnest entreaties of the magistracy; they watched in complete apathy while the Land League were establishing their power throughout the country; suddenly becoming alarmed, they issued Proclamations which have remained without effect; they hunted-up powers as antiquated as horse-pistols to confront an organization which had invented the art of 'Boycotting;' they met, panic-stricken, in a hurried succession of Cabinet Councils; the scandal of their dissensions penetrated into the outer world; they spoke with one voice to the merchants of London on the necessity of upholding the law, and with another to the Radicals of Birmingham on the duty of avoiding coercion. Meantime the reign of terror in Ireland has continued its triumphs. Imagine the misery caused to the tenant who finds himself shunned like a leper by an organized conspiracy of his neighbours because he honestly fulfils his engagements; of the landlord who goes hourly in jeopardy of his life among those whom he has constantly endeavoured to benefit or relieve; of the hundreds of innocent women and children who are not only being reduced to destitution by a systematic robbery, but who live, from moment to moment, in apprehension for the safety of those who are dearest to them. Yet, though the authority of the Queen and the security of her subjects is thus flagrantly outraged, the Government have hitherto done practically nothing; the 6th of this month was supposed by our leisurely rulers to arrive before dealing with a state of lawlessness which they had been so prompt to reprobate in the dominions of the 'unspeakable' Turk.

But another question remains: Why has not Public Opinion forced the Government to relinquish their attitude of disgraceful apathy? Certainly no candid person can avoid a feeling of amazement, mingled with shame, when he contrasts the outcry and indignation which embarrassed the late Ministry during the summer and autumn of 1876 with the apparent indifference of the masses to the sufferings which are being inflicted on their
own

own countrymen by banded robbers and assassins, with something indistinguishable from acquiescence on the part of the Queen's Government. Must we then come to the conclusion that the sense of the English people is no longer a judicial Court of Appeal? We hope not. The mass of the electorate with whom lies the award of political supremacy are singularly inaccessible to the evidence of fact and reason. Not only are they swayed like all democracies by superstition and sentiment, but they are too deeply immersed in business to study political affairs. The organizers of the Liberal party have recognized this fact, and have deliberately traded on the credulity of the multitude. When the public judgment went against Mr. Gladstone in 1874, the one absorbing thought of the Liberal leaders was how to recover their lost position, and they acted on the principle that any stick was good enough to beat a Tory. The Bulgarian Atrocities offered an admirable opportunity to rouse the people against their rivals; and having once obtained a hearing they proceeded to show, with all the rhetoric at their command, that the disturbed state of Europe, the troubles of the Empire in India and at the Cape, the depression of trade, and even the low rate of wages, were all the direct fruits of Lord Beaconsfield's policy. They succeeded in their object; they are in power; they have now to govern. Confronted not only with the difficulties which embarrassed their predecessors, but with the illusions, the agitation, the madness of the multitude which they themselves encouraged while in Opposition, they find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. If they adopt what they chose to stigmatize as Tory, but what are in reality reasonable, methods of Government, they convict themselves of something worse than inconsistency; yet govern on their own principles they cannot. The course which under these circumstances they have adopted appears to be to close their own eyes to sense and fact, and to employ Mr. Gladstone's prestige to dazzle the people with fresh forms of illusion. Ireland is before them in a condition of anarchy; thus much they recognize; but they say, or did say, Force is no remedy; it is a Tory instrument employed to repress outrages which have been actually caused by centuries of Tory oppression. The true medicine, we are told, is a vast alteration in the existing unjust law of land tenure, and this is now in preparation.

This policy appears to us to be as dangerous as it is insatuated. It assumes that all popular violence must be the result of antecedent oppression; that the real cause of the present agitation in Ireland is the ancient hatred of the English, produced by conquest and confiscation; and that justice requires historic injuries

injuries to be redressed at the expense of existing interests. Illusions so inveterate can probably only be removed by time, experience, and, it may be, disaster. Nevertheless we should be wrong if we neglected by argument and reason to test the value of the statements which are being employed by so-called 'Liberal' statesmen, to mislead the sympathies of the English public.

We shall prepare ourselves, then, to deal seriously with the various causes which are alleged to lie at the root of the existing discontent; and we must consider such propositions as that the land was violently torn from the tribesmen who cultivated it, that eviction is the common practice of the landlords, that farms are constantly put up to auction, that rent is excessively high, and the like, statements ingeniously calculated to make a powerful impression on minds too indolent or too busy to investigate their accuracy. With regard to the first of these, it might be supposed that, whether well-founded or not, it was of little practical importance, yet the constant use of the historical argument by the agitators proves that it is reckoned as weighty in its influence as it is certainly far-reaching in its consequences. We need not, perhaps, take any notice of the rhetoric employed at land-meetings in Ireland, and meant solely for home consumption, but when we find a place allowed to Mr. O'Connor Power in the pages of the 'Nineteenth Century,' we must presume that the writer is addressing himself to educated men in England and elsewhere, and must treat his arguments with becoming seriousness. Now, what is it that Mr. O'Connor Power tells us on the subject of 'Landlordism'?

'The main cause of Irish poverty,' says he, 'is not to be found in over-population, or in any want of energy or economy on the part of the Irish people, but in the system of land-tenure imposed by Imperial conquest. . . . It is hardly in the power of language to describe the many evil effects of this system. It has blasted the hopes, ruined the homes, and destroyed the lives of millions of the Irish race. It has stopped the social, political, and industrial growth of Ireland as effectually as if the country had been in a state of perpetual civil war; and no war has ever been more cruel in its incidents or operations towards those among whom it was carried on than the war which Irish landlordism has waged against the people whose inheritance it usurped, and whose property it has confiscated.' *

The impression which the general reader is intended to carry away from this passage is that all the miseries of Ireland

* 'Nineteenth Century' for December 1879.

are to be traced to the English Conquest; that before that baneful event civil war was unknown in the island; that 'sweet Auburns' were everywhere to be found; but that with the iniquitous system of land-tenure then imposed, the whole character of the race was altered, and its prospects irretrievably blighted. Those, however, who seek to inform themselves on the subject may learn that Ireland, before the English Conquest, was the prey of unmitigated anarchy and violence; that the conquest of the country by the English made no alteration in the ancient feudal system of land tenure; but that, since the subjugation of the island by the lieutenants of Elizabeth, Ireland, in spite of many deplorable episodes of harshness and injustice, has made a vast advance in wealth and order, much of the improvement in the social position of the nation having been effected by that very race of landlords whom it is now the fashion to hold up to public execration.

The most trustworthy of early Irish records, known as the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' begins the history of Ireland forty days after the Deluge, when Ceasair, a granddaughter of Noah, colonized the island with fifty girls, and three men. We shall not push our researches back to this date, but taking the fifth century as the period when anything like authentic history commences, and embracing the whole interval up to 1603, when Hugh O'Neill submitted to Lord Mountjoy, all that is characteristic in the history of Ireland might be compressed into two or three sentences. The territory of one tribe is invaded by the chiefs of another; whatever it contains of value is carried off or destroyed by fire; its inhabitants are slaughtered in open battle or by dark treachery. The kings, whether provincial or supreme, are too weak to preserve order within their respective jurisdictions. Their lives are spent in war upon each other or upon their subordinates, and the instability of their fortunes causes the compiler of the 'Annals of the Four Masters' to exclaim—

'What is reign? What is law? What is power over chieftains?
Behold Colman Rimhidh the King, Lochan Dilmaun slew him.
Great was the bloody condition of all the Irish kings,
Aedh Haine of the valorous host, Aedh Roin, and Aedh Brudhi.'

There was no more peace within the interior of each tribal territory where the rule of tanistry obtained, by which the succession to the chieftainship fell to the eldest male of the ruling family, who was sometimes, if not always, named as tanist, at the same time that the new chieftain was installed. The heir-expectant being not the son, but the brother, nephew, or cousin
of

of the chief, lacked that respect which few even among the most barbarous savages fail to entertain for their parents; and the Annals teem with the records of the blinding and murder of blood-relations.

Little amelioration in this condition of things was produced by the arrival of the English. The territory adjacent to Dublin and a few other districts were quieted; but even these were not secure from incursions of the unsubdued natives, while in the rest of the island petty plundering expeditions went on as before. Those of the immigrants who became lords of territories beyond the English pale speedily adopted the manners of the country, and a Fitzgerald or a Burke fought with and plundered his neighbour exactly as if he had been born an O'Donnell or an O'Neill. That chief was the most honoured who had 'taken hostages,' or, in other words, levied tribute from the greatest number of his neighbours. When the annalist wishes to exalt the memory of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who died in 1503, he describes him as a man 'who had made many predatory excursions through Ireland, a man who may be justly styled the Augustus of the North-west of Europe.'

Here, then, we have the picture of a political condition in which each tribe forms a nation in little, so far organized as to recognize a king and to be capable of carrying on war, but rarely extending its ideas beyond plunder, and unequal to the loftier ambition of uniting its neighbours beneath its own sway.

What was the social condition of the country and what the system of land-tenure under this regime? Each territory had at its head a quasi-royal family, the chieftainship being, as we have already said, determined by the rule of seniority. The purely tribal state in which all the inhabitants of a territory were, or were supposed to be, of one blood, had ceased to exist before the period of historical record begins; but as the ruling family had innumerable branches, the greater part of the aristocracy in each territory consisted of men of the same name, and probably of the same race. The entire soil of the territory, excepting the Church lands and such estates as were appanages of the chieftainship, was portioned among the Flaths or Flaiths, whose position seems to have been almost exactly equivalent to that of an English lord of the manor. This statement may appear surprising to many who imagine with Sismondi (in the case of the Highland clans of Scotland) that the land was held, to some extent, in common among the members of the tribe, and that the English doctrine of ownership was unknown. But Dr. O'Curry, whose knowledge of the subject was unsurpassed, says:—

'The

‘The Flaith, a word which in some sense may be translated the Lord or Nobleman, was distinguished by being the absolute owner (within his own tribe) of land for which he paid no rent. All other persons holding land, held it either from a Flaith or from some tenant of his.’ *

Dr. Sullivan, in his admirable introduction to Dr. O’Curry’s work, confirms this view, adding:—

‘The Flaiths of a territory lived upon their own estates, and kept as much of the land in their own hand as was necessary for the dignity of their rank and their legal responsibilities; this portion they worked by means of Sen Cleithes, Bothachs, and Daer Fuidirs, base adherents, who had no property in the soil and no political rights. As in the case of the chieftains, they disposed of the rest among their free and base clients, the former giving them allegiance and service, and annual tributes of food, &c., and helping them to bear the burdens and pay the mulots and fines of the tribe, and to ransom themselves or any of their family who might be taken as hostages. The base Ceiles also performed military service, but except in not being ascribed to the glebe, they were more or less in the position of serfs; they were in an especial manner the purveyors of their lords.’ †

Here we have nothing more or less than a description of the tenures of land in what in England is called a manor, in Scotland a barony, in France a seigneurie; indeed, as Dr. Sullivan says, ‘As might have been anticipated among so closely allied branches of the Aryans, the general principles of the laws regulating the occupation of the land were practically the same among the early Northern natives, whether Celts or Germans.’ ‡ The Ceiles correspond to the freehold and copyhold tenants, the Sen Cleithes, Bothachs, and Daer Fuidirs, to the various classes of villains. §

Now let us hear Spenser’s opinion of these principles applied, and let it be remembered that the poet is not speaking of land laws imported by the English, but of the old-established customs of the country:—

‘There is one generall inconvenience, which reigneth almost throughout all Ireland: that is the Lords of land and Freeholders, doe not there use to set out their land in farme, or for tearme of yeares, to their tennants, but onely from yeare to yeare, and some during pleasure, neither indeede will the Irish tennant or husbandman otherwise take his land, than so long as he list himselfe. The

* ‘Lectures on Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish,’ vol. ii. p. 34.

† Ibid. p. cxxxviii.

‡ Ibid.

§ This view of the social condition of Celtic Ireland, based on the unrivalled learning of Dr. O’Curry and Dr. Sullivan, has been accepted by the most eminent authorities on land tenures, as M. de Laveleye (‘Primitive Property,’ pp. 124, 235), and Sir Henry Maine.

reason hereof in the tennant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to racke their tennants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them (besides his covenants) what he pleaseth. So that the poore husbandman either dare not binde himselfe to him for longer tearme, or thinketh by his continuall liberty of change, to keepe his landlord rather in awe from wronging of him. And the reason why the landlord will no longer covenant with him is, for that he dayly looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds.'

So far, then, from this unhappy system of tenure having been introduced from England, it is plain that it was the product of a great antiquity ; and so far from the English having desired to prolong its existence, it may be seen, by any one who will take the trouble to examine the correspondence and other official papers relating to the Ulster Plantation, that the constant endeavour of the Government was to secure the letting of land for fixed terms of years. And as it was under Queen Elizabeth, so it is under Queen Victoria. Every one who has had experience in the management of Irish estates must have found that tenants are usually by no means eager to accept a lease, unless for a very long term of years, no doubt preferring the nominal risk of eviction from a yearly tenancy, to the burden of binding conditions of cultivation. Modern Conservatives may well deplore this state of things, as Spenser deplored it three hundred years ago ; but after what we have said, Mr. O'Connor Power ought to have some difficulty in persuading the world that it is the result merely of 'Imperial Conquest.'

The state of civilization was such as might be expected under the circumstances. A very large portion of the population was completely nomadic, dwelling in huts of wattles, which were removed as the occupiers wandered from place to place in search of pasture. Such aggregations of families were known in Ulster as Creaghts, and Mr. Prendergast, who has written an account of them, says that 'in Ulster, north and west of Lough Neagh, it seems that the whole population was formed of Creaghts leading this wild and nomad life.' The same habits, in a somewhat modified form, prevailed also in the south of Ireland, and were known by the name of 'boolying.'

As to the practice of husbandry by those who were not nomadic, we find significant hints in the Act of the Irish Parliament, 11 & 12 Charles I. 1634-35. Chap. xv. opens as follows :—

'Whereas in many places of this kingdom there hath been a long time used a barbarous custom of ploughing, harrowing, drawing and working, with horses, mares, geldings, garrans, and colts, by the taile,

taile, whereby (besides the crueltie used to the beasts) the breed of horses is much impaired in this kingdome, to the great prejudice therof; and whereas also divers have and yet do use the like barbarous custome of pulling off the wooll yearly from living sheep, instead of clipping or shearing the same,' &c.

In cap. xvii. of the same statute is a description of the practice of 'burning corn in the straw,' a slovenly substitute for threshing and winnowing. These practices are by the statute prohibited under penalties. How deeply ingrained they were by the habits of the people may be inferred from the fact that in the 22nd of the Articles of Peace agreed on between the Duke of Ormond, on behalf of Charles I., and the Irish Insurgents, it was actually arranged that the statutes directed against them should be repealed.* But notwithstanding the statutes, the practice of ploughing by the tail was common in certain parts of Ulster at the end of the last century (1776-1779), when it was frequently observed by Arthur Young. Indeed ploughing, or at least harrowing, by the tail, has been seen by men now only in middle age.

Ex pede Herculem. If such was the condition of Irish agriculture in the seventeenth century, what wonder that Arthur Young should in the third quarter of the eighteenth century assert that Irish farming was five hundred years behind that of England? The live-stock, as may be supposed, was small and ill-managed. Sir William Petty reckons the weight of an ox, six years old, at which age he says that it is full-grown, at 7 cwt., live-weight, and its fore-quarters at 5 cwt. In a rental of 1633 muttens are valued at 4s. 6d., and fat hogs at 6s. Multiplying these sums by five, in order to bring them into proper relation with the value of money at the present time, it will be seen sheep at 22s. 6d. and fat hogs at 30s. must have been very small. The memory of the old Irish pig, now fortunately almost an extinct species, still survives.

Except in the towns, houses constructed of more durable materials than rods and wattles were, before 1600, almost unknown. The chief of a territory often, but by no means always, possessed a stone tower. The Anglo-Norman barons constructed castles, sometimes of considerable size; and the English settlers in Munster in Queen Elizabeth's time built towers and bawns, or walled enclosures, for the protection of their families and cattle. But by far the greater portion even of the gentry seem to have occupied houses much resembling those of the

* Milton, in his 'Observations on the Peace,' has some caustic remarks on the matter.

Abyssinians, an aggregation of huts surrounded by a palisade or a wall of sods. Fynes Moryson, who accompanied Lord Mountjoy in his campaigns against Hugh O'Neill, describes them as living 'in a poore house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees and covered with turffe, for such are the dwellings of the very Lords among them.' *

So much for the Eden that existed in Ireland before—according to the version of Mr. O'Connor Power—'the system of land tenure, imposed by Imperial conquest, blasted the hopes, ruined the homes, and destroyed the lives of millions of the Irish race;' or, according to history, before English law, introduced throughout the island, substituted something like peace and order for the prevailing anarchy. Now let us enquire into the results of what seems to the orators of the Land League an unhappy Revolution.

We have no trustworthy census of the population in 1600, but in 1672 Sir William Petty estimated it at 1,100,000; in 1846 it exceeded 8,000,000. The value of the live-stock of the country, the only part of the agricultural wealth of which any estimate is available, was, according to Sir William, not above 500,000*l.* in 1652; this, multiplied by five, in order to bring it into correspondence with the actual value of money, would amount to 2,500,000*l.*; in 1878 the live-stock was valued at 63,266,152*l.*, exclusive of horses, valued at 12,289,779*l.* and poultry valued at 4,500,000*l.* Of dwelling-houses, Sir William Petty reckons there were in 1666 but 200,000 in the whole of Ireland, 160,000 of these being cabins of one room without chimneys, 24,000 houses with one chimney, and 16,000 houses with more than one, of which class 9400 were in Dublin or other cities. In 1767, 424,046 houses paid house-tax, and the census of 1871 returns the number of houses at 961,380, only 155,675 of which are cabins of but one room.

It cannot be denied that these are very remarkable results. All the means and appliances of civilization implied in these statistics—roads, houses, barns, homesteads, fences, furniture, implements—have had to be created within little more than two hundred years from the resources of a country possessing no very great natural advantages, with a humid climate, and a soil, except in certain parts, not particularly fertile. In many counties in England hundreds of houses, dating from the seventeenth, the sixteenth, and even the fifteenth century, are still inhabited; but in Ireland there are many counties in which not one house now inhabited was built before the commencement of

* 'Itinerary,' part iii. book 3, chap. v.

the last century. And while the population is about five times as great as in 1652, the value of the live-stock is more than thirty-nine times as great; in implements, utensils of husbandry, furniture, clothing, and the like, the rate of increase must have been much greater.

What then will Mr. O'Connor Power say in reply to this plain statement of fact? Between the years 500-1600 we have eleven centuries, constituting the Golden Age to which his imagination fondly reverts. The history of these centuries may be summed up in two words, Perpetual Anarchy. During the whole of this period *Irish* 'law' was in general operation, and under it the country remained without roads, without towns, without internal commerce, without the practice of good farming economy. After 1600 English law was established throughout the island; the English commercial system of land-tenures began to replace the Irish feudal system; capital was introduced; order gradually prevailed. The results of the change have been what we have just described. For it cannot be urged that these results have been produced in spite of 'Imperial conquest.' We have plain proof to the contrary. Through the Western Highlands and islands of Scotland districts might have been found at the beginning of this century, in which the farming was as bad, and the poverty as great, as in any part of Ireland. The famine of 1846-47 was hardly less severely felt in Skye, and other parts of the Hebrides, than in Ireland. Poverty and its constant accompaniment, bad farming, are in Ireland always most visible where the population is the most Celtic and unchanged; where the refinement and knowledge of more advanced countries has found it difficult to penetrate, and where the landlord, from whatever cause, has left his tenant to follow his own devices without attempting to suggest, and, if need be, to enforce improvement.

But perhaps Mr. O'Connor Power, quitting a position which he can hardly hope to defend, will assert that the material improvement in the condition of the Irish people has been produced by the efforts and industry of the tenant, and that the landlords are a race of drones, who simply consume the fruits of honest labour. This is one of those rhetorical commonplaces that is heard at every meeting of the Land League. Let us ask, then, how far it is true. The Irish gentry of the seventeenth and eighteenth century were but little given to writing, or to preserving what was written; and it would probably be difficult to trace the history of agricultural improvement until we reach 1775-79, when Arthur Young made his tour through the island. Young records the exertions which the landlords in every part of

of the island were making, both for the improvement of the land which they held in demesne and that held by tenants. His account of the work accomplished by the then Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Kingsborough, Lord Farnham, and a host of other landlords, should be studied by all who wish to give a fair hearing to the case of 'landlordism;' it will, in any event, remain a standing monument to the memory of these benevolent men. Their example has not been lost upon the landlords of our own day. The Hon. M. Longfield, Judge of the Landed Estates Court, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1865, thus answers certain questions put to him:

Question 334. 'You remember the state of Ireland at the period of thirty years ago?'—'Yes.' *Q. 335.* 'Is it not your opinion that Ireland has made immense progress in that time?'—'Very great.' [He is then questioned as to the benefits arising from the establishment of model farms, the introduction of improved implements, of better stock, of farming societies, all of which he acknowledges to have been of great service. He is then asked] *Q. 342.* 'You must be aware that all the benefits you are prepared to admit as arising from those labours, which have now spread over thirty years, have entirely emanated from the landlords?'—'Yes.'

It is asserted by Mr. O'Connor Power that Irish landlords have only in rare cases availed themselves of Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1842, which authorized the issue of loans on easy terms. The fact—which either is or ought to be known to Mr. Power—is, that in the thirty-one years—1847–78—nearly 3,000,000*l.* has been thus borrowed, and in 1879–80 the loans have been proportionately very large. Nor should it be forgotten that the landlord is liable for the repayment of these loans, though the tenant benefits by them, and that the refusal or nonpayment of rent compels the landlord to find means for the discharge of his debt if he is able; if he is unable, forces him to sell his estate.

The accusation most frequently brought against Irish landlords, and in England too often believed, is that they have exacted from their tenants unreasonable rents. This will not stand the test of examination. Sir William Petty, in 1672, estimates the rent of the profitable land of the whole kingdom at 2*s.* per plantation acre, equivalent to about 1*s.* 3½*d.* per English acre, less than one-half of which, he conceives, goes into the pocket of the landlord, the remainder being absorbed by tithes, quit-rents, the benefit of leases, and the value of tenants' improvements. A hundred years later Arthur Young, after making his tour through the country, estimated the average of rent at 9*s.* 7*d.* Irish, or 5*s.* 6*d.* per English acre. The great Napoleonic war had the effect of raising rents in Ireland as well as in England, and with its termination came a heavy fall.

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In 1843 one of the witnesses before the Devon Commission, Mr. Philip Reade, stated from personal knowledge and enquiry that the rent of Ireland averaged 25s. per Irish, or 15s. per statute acre; of Scotland, 1l. 16s. per statute acre; of England, 1l. 6s. 6d.*

In 1869 the following tabular statement of rents was published in the 'Irish Farmers' Gazette,' reprinted in 1871 by the Cobden Club, with the 'Systems of Land Tenure:—

					Rent per Acre.	Value per Acre.	Produce, Bushels of Wheat per Acre.
					s. s.	£ £	
Ireland	..	..	..	..	15 to 20	30 to 45	26 Average, 38 to 40 high.
England	..	..	..	..	35	50 „ 100	28 „ 28 „ 44 „
Scotland	..	..	..	..	46	50 „ 100	28 „ 44 „
Belgium	..	..	..	..	24 „ 40	50 „ 85	21 „
France	..	..	..	..	25 „ 30	40 „ 60	14 „
Prussia	..	..	..	..	25 „ 32	40 „ 60	17 Silesia 10
Austria	..	..	..	..	20 „ 26	..	15 to 16.
Italy	..	..	..	..	20 „ 26	..	12 to 14.
Spain	..	..	..	..
Portugal	..	..	..	..

This table speaks for itself. Still, the mere statement of the amount of rent paid is not a sufficient measure for the reasonableness of the amount charged. We must decide this point by two criteria, the circumstances of the tenants and the proportion which the rent paid bears to the gross produce of the land.

It has been already stated that the live-stock of Ireland was valued in 1873 at upwards of 80,000,000l. We can hardly estimate the value of unsold crops, implements and utensils of husbandry, furniture, clothing, and the like, belonging to the 600,000 tenants of land at less than 40,000,000l. In 1878 the deposits in Savings-banks, Joint Stock and Post-Office Savings-banks, were upwards of 35,000,000l., a very considerable portion of which, no doubt, belonged to the tenant farmers. Perhaps we may not unreasonably estimate their share at 15,000,000l., for Bishop Keane, in 1865, stated in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee (Q. 3348), that the deposits of the farmers were then about 14,000,000l. To this we must add the value of the interest in their tenancies given to them by the Act of 1870. This, Sir John Gray has esti-

* When Irish are compared with English and Scotch rents, it should be remembered, on the one hand, that repairs and buildings are in Ireland done by the tenant—though before 1870 it was extremely common for the landlord to assist by providing timber or slates for buildings—and on the other side, that the rent in Ireland includes tithe, or, as it is called, rent-charge, and the interest of money which has been borrowed from Government for improvement, and that the landlord pays half the poor-rate.

mated at 70,000,000*l.*; and others, who aided Mr. Gladstone in passing the measure, have arrived at the same result. Probably the estimate is an exaggerated one; but as the effect of the Act has been to reduce the selling value of land by at least three years' purchase, we may not unreasonably value the amount transferred from the landlord to the tenant at 45,000,000*l.*, rather more than three times the rateable value of all Ireland. Some land is, no doubt, held in demesne by the owners, but, on the other hand, the rateable is far below the real value. We have thus a total of 180,000,000*l.*, or an average of more than 300*l.* for each of the 579,399 occupiers of land in Ireland.

These statements may perhaps appear surprising to many English readers, who have been taught to regard Ireland as a land of paupers; but they are corroborated by innumerable instances in which large sums of money have been produced by tenants for the stocking of farms, the purchase of the tenant-right of an insolvent neighbour, or even of the fee-simple of part of a large estate, when sold in lots.

The truth is, that the great rise of prices since 1826 has enabled prudent and industrious men holding a fair amount of land to make large profits out of their farms. We subjoin a table, showing the prices of the chief articles of agricultural produce, as compiled by the Valuation Department, from the returns furnished from local markets up to 1876, and from the Returns of the Registrar-General in 1877-78:—

YEARS.	Wheat.		Oats.		Barley.		Potatoes.		Butter.		Beef.		Mutton.		Pork.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
1826	10	0	6	0	7	0	1	7	69	0	33	0	34	6	25	6
Act Prices)																
1836	10	0	6	0	7	0	1	7	69	0	33	0	34	6	25	6
1849	8	7½	5	7½	6	2½	4	1	61	9	41	0	46	0½	40	5½
1850	8	0½	5	1½	5	3	3	6	65	9	40	3	46	9½	36	1½
1851	7	11½	5	5½	5	8½	3	6½	69	6½	40	11	48	10½	35	10
1852																
Act Prices)	7	6	4	10	5	6	..		65	4	35	6	41	0	32	0
1859	9	8	7	1½	7	2½	2	11	96	1½	57	4½	59	6½	42	6½
1860	11	5½	8	3½	8	8½	4	1½	98	4	62	9½	65	3½	49	5½
1861	10	10½	7	4½	8	1½	4	0½	94	11	60	9½	62	5½	49	10
1862	10	6	7	8½	7	5	4	3½	88	2½	57	7½	60	10½	47	2½
1863	9	2	6	5	7	1½	2	9½	90	6	58	7½	63	7½	43	9½
1864 to 1866	10	0	7	6	7	6	2	9	102	0	55	0	61	0	45	0
1874	10	9	7	10½	8	7½	3	6½	126	7½	71	8½	75	5½	54	9½
1875	9	8	7	11	8	8½	3	5½	125	3	73	8	77	11½	55	4½
1876	9	8½	7	5½	8	4½	3	6½	130	10½	70	4	76	1½	51	9½
1877																
One Quarter)	10	10	9	4	7	1	4	6	110	8	77	5	80	6	47	3
1878	10	9	9	8	7	5	4	11	106	7	79	8	81	11	48	9

Now, when we examine this table, it will be seen that between 1826 and 1878 the prices of all articles, with the exception of wheat—which stands nearly at the same figure—have risen enormously: oats, the staple corn-crop of Ireland, 50 per cent.; potatoes, 200 per cent.; butter, 50 per cent.; beef, more than 100 per cent.; mutton, 130 per cent.; pork, nearly 100 per cent.

‘Griffith’s Valuation’ has lately become a household word. English readers ought therefore to be enlightened as to its true meaning. It is based on the prices of 1826, and Sir R. Griffith stated in his evidence before the Devon Committee that a deduction of 25 per cent. was made, so that the valuation really represents only 75 per cent. of the actual letting value at that time. ‘The scale of value,’ he says, ‘adopted by me under the Act is nearly that of the great landed proprietors of Ireland, but considerably below the ordinary rents.’ It is generally admitted in Ireland that in this valuation the poorer lands are in many cases valued at a relatively higher rate than the richer. This is particularly the case with Munster. A re-valuation, based on thoroughly sound principles, is therefore imperatively required, and any Government desirous of settling the question on a just basis ought to have the courage to undertake it.

It would be unreasonable to argue that a proportionate rise in rents should have accompanied this rise in prices. The expenses of cultivation are much greater than in 1826, notably in the article of labourers’ wages. But has there been anything approaching to a proportionate increase of rents? Data are at present unfortunately wanting to furnish us with a precise answer; but, speaking generally, there can be no doubt what the answer would be. Many estates are still let at Griffith’s valuation, and a much larger number at rents ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. above that valuation; in other words at from 15 to 20 per cent. below a rent which, in 1826, would have been called a full rent, but which would, nevertheless, have been willingly offered, although the tenant had only to look to the prices shown in the table for the produce of his farm. The Land League are curiously chary of statistics on this point. They make great play with rhetoric about rack-rents, and with a few exceptional cases in which the rent is asserted to be twice the amount of the valuation. It does not positively follow that even cases of this kind need involve injustice, for it is notorious that much good land has been greatly undervalued; but, at any rate, they are not representative examples. For anything like proof that rents on the larger estates in Ireland are generally
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what would have been reckoned a full rent in 1826 we may look in vain.

These facts ought to speak with eloquence to those who have the courage to look them fully and fairly in the face. They explain why such large sums are paid for tenant-right, that is to say, for the privilege of renting of land. They explain why all the machinery of terrorism is brought to bear against the farmer who takes a farm from which a tenant has been evicted. They tell us why a bankrupt and ruined man clings so desperately to his holding. If the rent even approached the real value of the land, the eagerness to hold it would certainly be less. It has, indeed, been constantly repeated that the possession of a piece of land to a poor Irishman is a matter of life and death, and before the establishment of the Poor Law System this contention would have had some truth, but every Irishman has now legal right to subsistence, and Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the last Session of Parliament that 'the occupier may regard the sentence of eviction as coming very near to a sentence of death,' was only one of those mischievous outbursts of rhetoric which that statesman so frequently employs when it suits his purpose, and which he afterwards finds it convenient to explain away.

Means, not merely of comfortable existence, but even of considerable profit, are and have been for many years secured to an active and prudent man, while the cultivation of potatoes is even to the very poorest occupier equivalent to a stake in a lottery, often yielding valuable prizes. A case is within our knowledge in which the tenant of a single acre realized from it last year 20*l.*, having twenty sacks of potatoes, worth at that time 1*l.* a sack. Still the very small tenant no doubt, as a rule, finds it hard to hold his own. Should his family be large; should a single horse die or a cow fail in a herd limited to three or four kine, his position becomes precarious. The seasons may be against him, his cattle are of inferior breed, his pasture is poor, his hay in such years as 1879 so bad as to cause disease to the beasts that eat it; his butter, from want of skill in making and of proper appliances, is of second or third-rate quality. Hence tenants of this class cannot afford to pay the rent which the land under other conditions could easily afford, and the market value of rent is kept down to the benefit of the 'strong farmer,' who asks with convincing rhetoric why he should be charged a higher rent than his neighbour who exhausts his land?

A word more as to the profits of farming in Ireland. It is of course very hard to ascertain exactly what these are. The

farmer often keeps his accounts so imperfectly that he is really unable to say how he stands, and even if he could do so, he would be reluctant to own to his prosperity. But Professor Baldwin has given us in detail the results of the cultivation of a few small farms.* On one of these, of $11\frac{1}{2}$ statute acres, the rent was 11*l.*, and the gross returns 113*l.*; from another of 6 acres (rent not stated) 56*l.* 17*s.* was realized for wheat, butter, and eggs; from another of $8\frac{3}{4}$ acres, paying 9*l.* 16*s.* as rent, 65*l.* was made on the sale of grain, pigs, &c.; and in these two latter cases the value of the produce of the farm consumed by the family is excluded from the reckoning. Taking this item into account, it appears to be a fair inference that nearly or quite ten rents were obtained from these holdings instead of five, which is said to be the average in English farming. Professor Baldwin, writing of the farmer of $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres, says: 'There is nothing extraordinary in his farming. There are tens of thousands of small farmers in Ulster who would, however, double their incomes if they farmed as well as he does.' In the opinion of this competent and impartial observer, it is not 'the accursed system of landlordism' which keeps the small farmer poor, but bad farming. We ought, however, in fairness to impute the backwardness of Irish agriculture not simply to the deficiencies of the farmer in this generation, but in great measure to the ignorance of better methods, and to the want of that steady plodding industry which has become a second nature in races which have long enjoyed the advantages of settled peace and order.

We have now examined Mr. O'Connor Power's account of the causes of the existing agitation, and have found it to be inadequate. We have proved that the belief that 'Imperial Conquest' lies at the root of Irish poverty and wretchedness is based on mere mythology, for that, since the anarchy prevailing under the Irish feudal system was suppressed by the introduction of English law throughout the island, Ireland has proportionately made more progress in wealth than any country in Europe. And we have further shown that it is an equal fallacy to impute all existing evils to 'landlordism,' for while the prices of all produce have vastly increased since the early part of the century, rents on the majority of the large Irish estates have made, comparatively, but a very small advance since the same period. Premising then that we exclude from consideration those causes of discontent which are rooted in the

* Report of the 'Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society' for 1876, as quoted in the 'Times,' 11th February, 1880.

permanent conditions of human nature, historic antipathies of race, and the envy which the poor experience in witnessing the prosperity of their richer neighbours, we shall proceed to determine, as accurately as we can, what are the real factors in the existing discontent.

These appear to us to be six in number. (1) The ancient spirit of lawlessness prompting men to right all wrongs, real or imaginary, by the strong hand, a spirit naturalized in the people by many centuries of anarchy and bloodshed, and kept alive by the wilder members—the ‘boys’ as they are called—of the rural community. (2) Real misery in the lowest class in certain districts. (3) Much impecuniosity and indebtedness among the smaller tenant farmers. (4) A perception on the part of the larger farmers, who form the backbone of the movement, that the present is a favourable opportunity to establish a highly advantageous position for themselves. (5) The ambition or fanaticism of the promoters of the agitation, who seek to make political capital out of what is primarily a social revolution. (6) The character of the Land Act of 1870, and the hopes created by the return of a Liberal majority greater than any which has appeared since the Reform Bill of 1832. Of the two first of these causes we have already incidentally said enough; we shall proceed, therefore, to deal with the others in turn.

The poverty and indebtedness of the small tenant are not altogether the fault either of himself or of his landlord. The petty holdings in Ulster originated in great measure with the handloom linen manufacture, which at one time was carried on throughout the province. Of the effects of this industry Arthur Young says :—

‘View the North of Ireland, and you there behold a whole province peopled by weavers; it is they who cultivate or rather beggar the soil; agriculture is there in ruins. . . . All the crops you see are contemptible, nothing but filth and weeds.’

Power-looms have annihilated the old handlooms, and those who lived by them have had to turn to the ill-used soil, without knowledge of farming and without capital. It is really to the credit both of landlord and tenant that Ulster to-day stands as it does. The condition of Gloucestershire fifty years ago, when the greater part of the woollen manufacture deserted it, and of Silesia at present, where the handloom weaving of linen is dead or dying, exemplify the straits to which a province may be reduced when the industries which largely help to support its population cease to be profitable.

Nor, whatever may have been the case before 1870, can the
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small tenant any longer plead that he is unprotected. 'If his landlord evict him, he may be awarded as compensation, under any circumstances except non-payment of rent or subdivision, a sum not exceeding seven years' rent, according to the discretion of the County Court Judge.' To this may be added payment for any improvements he has made. Even if evicted for non-payment of rent, he can take the opinion of the Judge on the question whether the rent charged is or is not exorbitant; and if judgment be in his favour, he becomes entitled to the same compensation as if he had been 'capriciously evicted.' How happy would be the industrious Flemish cultivator if he were in possession of any one of the guarantees of security which the Irish tenant enjoys! M. de Laveleye thus describes the position of the farmers in Flanders:—

'They are incessantly exposed to having their rents raised or their farms taken from them. Enjoying no security as to the future, they live in perpetual anxiety.'

Their rents, he says, have doubled since 1830. Nevertheless they thrive. No land in Europe is better cultivated than that of Flanders, though originally of poor quality. The achievements of the Flemish farmers were long a stock argument with the advocates of peasant tenure, until it was unfortunately discovered that they were tenants, and tenants occupying under exceptionally hard conditions.

Yet more. Should the Irish tenant be utterly ruined, and evicted for non-payment of a reasonable rent, neither he nor his family need starve. The sad refuge of the Union is still open to the pauperized ex-tenant. In practice, however, he has frequently a less painful alternative, his landlord being willing to give some not inconsiderable sum for the surrender of the holding; while in Ulster, on most estates, he can claim as a right the selling of the good-will of his farm.

All these facts it suits the agents of the Land League entirely to ignore. They claim, on behalf of the tenant, that under no circumstances shall he be evicted from his holding; though a complete pauper and destitute of means to stock or crop his farm, he must still remain in possession. The small occupier is taught that he is morally justified in aiding or abetting assassination and outrage, because these crimes are calculated to prevent eviction.

Such doctrines have met with a ready appreciation among a people volatile by nature, hard pressed by the seasons, and encumbered with debt. The small tenants are the arm and the instrument of the Land League. From this class are produced
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the desperadoes who execute what is supposed to be justice, and among this class the red-handed assassin, by a perverted public sympathy, is protected from the law of the land. For a record of the consequences of this terrible moral depravation we need only turn to the charges of Baron Fitzgerald and Baron Dowse.

But if the impoverished small farmer is the agent by whom the Land League executes its schemes, the mainstay and support of the movement are the richer class of tenants whose solvency is undoubted. Nor is the cause of this phenomenon far to seek. Every one acquainted with the condition of rural affairs in Ireland must have known numerous cases in which tenants have held leases for lives—sometimes for three lives and thirty years afterwards—which have lasted for seventy, eighty, or even nearly one hundred years, at rents not exceeding one-third or one-quarter of the valuation rate. These men, if they practised the most ordinary prudence, could not fail to acquire property; in many cases they have acquired it. Now, when such a lease comes to an end, it is not surprising, unreasonable as the feeling may be, that a farmer who is called upon to pay 100*l.* where his father paid but 25*l.* should be in a mood to lend a willing ear to the agitator who tells him that he is by right the owner of the land he occupies. We find in practice that this class is particularly forward in resisting the payment of rent. The Commissioner of the ‘Daily News’ (November 18, 1880) bears witness to the prevailing temper. ‘Thim that is snug is slower in payin’ than thim that is poor,’ is, he says, the general report; and he goes on to remark that it is in the districts where there is ‘plenty of evidence of prosperity, as in the rich country lying east of Lough Mask, that the greatest disinclination to pay rent prevails. Nowhere is the disaffected party more completely organized.’

The agitators have advocated with the most cynical disregard of the ordinary standards of morality and honesty that tenants should withhold the whole, or a great portion, of their rents, and by this means force the poorer landlords into the Landed Estates Court, where their properties may be knocked down to the occupiers at fifteen or ten years’ purchase.

Let us consider what this means. Griffith’s valuation was purposely made at 25 per cent. below a letting value. The rise of prices would, as has been shown, apparently justify an advance of at least 50 per cent. in the rent; an allowance ought, however, to be made for the increased cost of labour; and we will take 25 per cent. to be a reasonable advance; a price, that is to say, which would be certainly realized by any one who had land to let free from tenants, or tenant-right.

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We will suppose, then, land to be valued at 20s. per acre under the Poor Law Valuation. Its real letting value in 1852 was 25s.; add to this 25 per cent., to bring it to a level with existing prices; we have then 31s. 3d. as a rent, which would no doubt readily be paid if the farmer were unable to obtain the land on easier terms. The selling value at twenty-five years' purchase—a rate usually paid for well-circumstanced properties before the passing of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act—would then be 39l. per acre; and when we remember that twenty and twenty-two years' purchase is often given for the tenant-right of a farm on which an ordinary rent is to be paid, this estimate will certainly not seem excessive. If then agitation will enable the occupier to become owner of the land at twenty years' purchase of the rent he actually pays, say 22s. (10 per cent. over the valuation, which is certainly above the average rate of rent), he will get it for 22l.; if at fifteen years, for 16l. 10s.; or less than half the value it would fetch if it were put up in a really open market. Who can wonder that Land Leaguers are returned to Parliament when they dangle such bribes as these before the imagination of the voters?

As to the motives of the Parliamentary Leaguers, which form so important a factor in the present movement, we shall not venture upon much speculation, nor do we wish to say anything harsh or disrespectful of the representatives of the people. But whether the spirit that animates them be the hatred of English ascendancy, or the desire of Irish independence, one thing is certain—that their intention is to make use of the social movement merely as the basis for future political action. Mr. Parnell, the founder of the Land League, has left no room for doubt upon this point. 'I feel,' said he in his speech at Waterford, on the 5th of December, 'that we shall never settle the national question until we settle the Land question.' And the lengths to which he is prepared to push the 'national question' may be inferred from the following words:—

'We stand to-day in the same position as our ancestors. We declare that it is the duty of every Irishman to free his country if he can. We refuse to inflict needless suffering on the masses of the people. We will work by constitutional measures so long as it suits us to do so. We refuse to plunge this country into the horrors of civil war when she has not a chance; but I ask any man at this board, I ask any true Irishman, be he priest or be he layman, whether he would not consider it the first duty of an Irishman to do what he could to enable his country to take her place among the nations of the world. If it could be shown to them that there was a fair prospect of success from the sacrifice, I ask my reverend and lay friends whether they would not consider it their highest duty to give their
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lives for the country that gave them birth. I call for no vain, for no useless sacrifice. I do not wish to be misunderstood for a moment. Our present path is within the lines of the Constitution. England has given us that Constitution for her purposes; we will use it for ours; and if I ever call, or if anybody over whom I have any influence ever calls, upon the people of Ireland to go beyond the line of that Constitution, we shall do so openly and above board, not by any subterfuge. We shall not ask any people to share a risk that we are unwilling to encounter ourselves.'

Here speaks the force of a rare fanaticism. Morality and honesty go down before it. For what says the argument? 'Starve out the landlords by constitutional means (viz. by withholding rent) and then—' The 'aposiopesis' is full of eloquence. And we may be quite sure that if the prospect of becoming owners of the land is the vision that has dazzled the masses of the people, there are thousands of more aspiring spirits whose imagination feeds on the idea of separation from England.

The characteristic of Mr. Parnell's policy is that it is cool and business-like. He has all along understood the means to his end, and he saw that the advent to power of the authors of the Land Act of 1870 would materially further his schemes. Last year his one urgent desire was to turn out the Tories; nor did he attempt to conceal the reasons of his strategy. 'When the Whigs come into power,' said he, 'we shall have a different way of dealing with them.' What this 'way' was we now see; it is one that has never failed to bring conviction to the minds of the 'Liberal' party. Mr. Gladstone has told us that the first step towards the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Act of 1870 was the blowing up of Clerkenwell Gaol. Yet when those Acts were first passed, all the resources of rhetoric were exhausted in representing them as the spontaneous products of 'Liberal' virtue and enlightenment. Mr. Parnell only reasoned from logical premises. Nevertheless Lord Hartington, the representative of moderate Liberalism, did not hesitate to sneer at him last year as a young man who had still to serve his political apprenticeship; and the electors listened to the persuasive arguments of the then leader of the Opposition when he asked them to return the Liberals to power because they were the party of moderation and 'common sense.' 'It is not,' said Lord Hartington, during his electioneering campaign in North-East Lancashire, 'for the purpose of making great sweeping or revolutionary changes that we are asking the country now to replace the Conservative majority. It is for the purpose of reverting to a policy of prudence and moderation.'

tion.' But now the party of Lord Hartington is nowhere, and the party of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Chamberlain, who *are* for making 'great sweeping and revolutionary changes,' is in the ascendant. We are not in the least surprised at this; it is what we have always said would happen. While the Conservatives were in power, we warned the Whigs of the consequences of the factious spirit they were displaying; when the late Ministry fell, we said that the cause of their fall was the negative anti-Tory temper of the constituencies; but we predicted at the same time that the governing force of the new Government would be Radical, because with that section of the party lay the strength of sentiment and theory, as well as the still greater power of organization.

For the last two months the Tory party has from certain quarters been treated almost every other morning to a lecture on its duties, or a scolding for its delinquencies. It appears to us that these oracular warnings are as superfluous as they are absurd. We shall not seek to defend the action of the Opposition, for it is allowed to have been constitutional, and, under the circumstances, forbearing. But, in any case, what can be more ridiculous than the pretensions of those who presume to address a great party like the Conservatives, united by well-defined principles and ancient traditions, from a position of superiority. What oracles are these? They claim to be in a special manner the representatives of that force which we call Public Opinion. Has Public Opinion, then, any great title to our respect? Public Opinion four years ago encouraged Holy Russia in her attack upon Turkey, and gave no heed to English interests till the invaders were close on the gates of Constantinople. Public Opinion then vecred round, and having first reproached the Conservative Ministry for their tardiness in action, proceeded to back them in the vigorous measures which finally succeeded in substituting the Treaty of Berlin for the Treaty of San Stefano; it applauded their Afghan policy; it supported them down to the eve of the General Election. The great Conservative overthrow followed. At once Public Opinion faced about; it adored what it had burnt, and burnt what it adored. The new Government were praised for their attitude of moral coercion towards Turkey; the Greeks were encouraged to rise; pious thanksgivings were breathed at our deliverance from the risk of annexation in Afghanistan. When Turkey showed a few sparks of dangerous vitality, Public Opinion rapidly cooled; and by the time that the fleet which was never intended to fire a gun had exhausted its powers of moral demonstration, the discovery was made that the Greeks had been much too
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hasty in their movements. In a word, whatever appears to Public Opinion to be for the moment the strongest force, will also appear to it to be the best.

In this article we are seeking to tell the truth. The truth about what calls itself Public Opinion we take to be this. There is, indeed, a quality of common sense which the English people possess, and which, in spite of the heat, the want of foresight and the party spirit which characterize the democratic element among them, prevents the social balance from being completely upset. But to suppose that this Public Opinion is a steady body of collective wisdom which constantly controls the Government of the day is one of those flattering self-delusions in which Englishmen generally are apt to indulge. As a matter of fact, it is too often only the opinion of the influential moneyed class, which is always too ready to sacrifice permanent interests for present ease. Mr. Parnell has shown that he understands the action of Public Opinion in Constitutional Government as well as he understands the composition of the Liberal party. He has perceived that in order to bring the machinery of the Liberal party into effective operation the Radical section must be the ruling force; and he has rightly reasoned, that in order to convince Public Opinion of the justice of Radical demands he must employ the engine of violence. To use a homely metaphor, he knows that if he can get Public Opinion into a corner, it will make large concessions to be allowed to come out. His policy is amply justified by the event. The 'Times,' which before the success of the Land League, spoke with condescension of Mr. Parnell, and with moderation of the remedies to be applied to Ireland, now addresses its readers as follows :—

'The first object of any Land Bill must evidently be to give greater security of possession to the agricultural occupier. The relations between landlords and tenants have broken down in large districts of the South and West of Ireland, and the present situation is admitted to be intolerable. Whatever else happens, *these relations must undergo a great change*. Instead of being temporary and determinable at brief notice, with or without compensation, they must in some way receive a greater character of permanence.' *

* 'Times' of 7th December. Since this article has been in type, the 'Times' has been endeavouring to prepare 'public opinion' for the Government Bill by representing that, after all, Mr. Gladstone will only propose an extension of the principles of the Land Act of 1870. 'The outlines of the new Irish Land Bill,' we are told, 'as the Prime Minister will expound them, are not likely to be entirely satisfactory either to landlords or tenants, and for that reason they may commend themselves to more impartial persons.'—'Times' of 3rd January. By 'impartial persons' we presume the writer to mean those who will not themselves suffer by confiscation !

Now Conservatives should recognize clearly that the spirit animating this passage is the greatest difficulty with which they have to deal. Not only is the conclusion here reached diametrically opposed to the judgment of the nation, as declared in the Land Act of 1870, which was in that year regarded as a final settlement of a vexed question, but it is one which, six months ago would not have been considered 'within the range of practical politics.' It is now adopted, not as the result of any reasoning process, certainly not because it appears right and equitable, but simply and solely because 'the present situation is admitted to be intolerable.' And why has it become intolerable? Because Mr. Parnell and the Land League have been allowed to usurp the Government of Ireland, and because the Cabinet, swayed by the councils of Birmingham, have feared to vindicate the law of the land. The first great Radical postulate of the necessity of an organic change having been admitted, all that now remains is to sanctify the Revolution with those moral and philosophic phrases of which the Liberal leaders are masters.

It is well therefore to take a survey beforehand of the possibilities of remedial legislation. We have, in the first part of this article, examined the nature of the causes—Imperial conquest and the system of land-tenure—by which the agitators attempt to account for Irish distress; we have further declared at length what we ourselves believe to be the real factors in the agitation; it remains to discuss, as briefly as we can, the policy of the measures which it is supposed the Government were to introduce for the purpose of removing the grounds of Irish discontent.

In the first place, after what we have said in the earlier part of this article, we suppose it will be admitted that the progress which Ireland has made in wealth and order since 1600 has been very remarkable. It is equally indisputable that this progress has been one from status to contract. It would therefore seem to be the right conclusion that the same slow but certain agencies which have hitherto operated beneficially on the country should be left to their own natural development. But if the legislation of 1870 has rendered this impossible, if the Land Act of that year recognized the Irish tenant as a proper object for the paternal care of the State, there ought at least to be a general consent to restrict interference with contract within jealously guarded limits. Such was the alleged intention of the authors of the Act of 1870. Mr. Gladstone introduced the Bill with a hope that it might prove to be only provisionally necessary. He had no wish, he said, to force upon the rest of Ireland

Ireland 'a spurious Ulster Custom.' He declared that 'he himself was not prepared, nor were his colleagues, to admit that the just protection of the Irish occupier afforded either an apology or a reason for endowing him with a joint property in the soil.' Mr. Lowe, who it is to be presumed spoke the mind of his then colleagues, said:—

'We have not altered the tenure of land; we have studiously avoided doing so, but we have said, where a wrong can be proved, we will give, within moderate and fair limits, a summary remedy. I hope, he added, it will be admitted on all sides that we have not been indistinct in the declaration of our intention *to offer a firm resistance* to all attempts to introduce principles into the Bill which would go to make the power of the landlord on his property, or the receipts he derived from it, subject to the indefinite claims of separate and rival interests.'

These are strong protestations and deliberate promises. To those, however, who looked beneath moderate phrases the changes introduced by the Act appeared dangerous and far-reaching; they saw that the interference with the rights of owners proceeded much farther than appeared on the surface, and they were hardly surprised when they were told last Session that the Land Act of 1870 contained the 'germ' of the monstrous Compensation for Disturbance Bill of 1880. The two main objects of the former Act, as far as concerned tenants, were to give compensation in the first place for improvements, and in the second place for 'capricious eviction.'

Provision was made for the first of these objects in Sections 3, 4, and 5, which give compensation for all improvements, even if executed without the knowledge of the owner; while the second was secured by Sections 3 and 9, under which compensation for disturbance is given to tenants in proportion to the amount of their rent. Now by both these provisions the principle that existing contracts ought not to be altered without the consent of both parties was completely disregarded. With respect, however, to the first of the two provisions, it appeared so thoroughly equitable that compensation should be given for real improvements, even if effected without the landlord's consent, that no just owner would practically have found cause for complaint, had proper care been taken to secure him against unreasonable or fraudulent claims.

But the second provision stands altogether on a different footing. It tends to root the small and, in Ireland, probably therefore the poor tenant in the soil. The case contemplated is not that of the improving occupier, a class of men whom, if the State must needs interfere, we should certainly be glad to see protected;

protected; but of the tenant who, always on the verge of pauperism, clings to his holding, without skill to profit by the land, and with scarcely sufficient energy to exist upon it. Now as to the policy of discouraging by legislation the consolidation of farms, it will perhaps be sufficient to quote the opinion given before the Select Committee of 1865 by Judge Longfield, who in reply to Mr. Cardwell's question: 'Do you think, speaking generally, that the smaller the holding, the greater the prospect of agricultural improvement?' said 'No! a small holding can scarcely be improved.' And again the same authority, in an address to the Statistical Society of Dublin, said:—

'There is no small portion of the land of Ireland in the hands of tenants to whom a promise of compensation for *bond-fide* improvements would be useless. They have neither skill, capital, nor energy, to undertake such tasks. Their only hope is to live, that is, to sustain life upon the land, and to divide it among their children. These tenants never settle accounts with their landlords, nor get receipts from him. They seldom know, and they never care, how much they owe their landlords for arrears of rent. It is sufficient that they owe more than they ever intend to pay.'

In spite, however, of its veiled encroachments on the rights of property, the Land Act of 1870 was accepted both by landlord and tenant as the final settlement of a vexed question. The landlord reposed on the faith of the solemn promises of the Government, that the Act was to be the limit of concessions. The tenant might well be content with the measure, for by it he was accorded a security not possessed by any other occupier in Europe. But where now are the words and phrases of 1870? Last Session we were told, as if no record remained of the speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe, 'that the Land Act of 1870 gave Irish tenants some kind of interest in their holdings.' Well may the unhappy purchasers who have invested in Irish land trusting to the faith of Government, ask what it is that has caused English statesmen, in ten years' time, to turn their backs upon their promises! The Irish landlords cannot be accountable, for the Land Act was expressly framed to restrict their power. What then is the potent cause which has brought conviction to the mind of Mr. Gladstone? The answer is, five bad seasons and the Land League.

We merely note this passage of history in order that the public may be able to take the real measure of the statesmen who displayed their sagacity and foresight in 1870; and that they may gauge the intellect of those who, oblivious of experience, are now instructing us in set phrases that the remedy for Irish discontent has been at last discovered in the system of the
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‘three F’s.’ Having been informed on Liberal authority that a vast remedial measure is about to be introduced, we proceed to anticipate the kind of arguments by which it will be defended. We may take Mr. Massey as a type of the ‘Moderate Liberal,’ and judge from his speech at Tiverton of the 24th of December of the fairness with which that section of the party is approaching the question.

‘The great grievance of Ireland,’ he is reported to have said, ‘was the exaction of exorbitant rents, and the absence of security to the tenant for the money he has laid out on another man’s land. Beneath all the clamour and confusion that drowned the voice of common sense, there was a demand for three practical things—the three F’s. He could see nothing very alarming or revolutionary in the demand for fixity of tenure, free sale of the tenant’s interest, and fair rent.’


Observe how the Liberals trade on the ignorance of the constituencies—for we can scarcely suppose Mr. Massey to be himself ignorant of the contents of the Act of 1870. Who would suppose from his speech that compensation for improvements and security against the exaction of exorbitant rents were bestowed on the tenant by that Act? These boons, the member for Tiverton wishes his hearers to infer, can only be secured to the farmer by the three F’s, or by the extension to all parts of Ireland of the Ulster Custom legalized by the Act of 1870. Let us see then what would be the effects of a policy which he supposes to be the mere embodiment of ‘common sense.’

And to begin with, what experience has Ulster to show in favour of tenant-right? Ulster was the cradle of the system. It grew into life there under the most propitious circumstances, for it was a *custom* of the country. Customs may be good or bad; but they have at least this advantage, that they are not produced by philosophic or sentimental legislation, but grow naturally out of human circumstances. The Land Act of 1870 only gave legal effect to the Ulster Custom, wherever it existed, so that practically its provisions on this subject produced no disturbance in the relations of landlord and tenant. During the prosperous years which followed the Act, praises of the virtues of Tenant Right were loud and general. But these notes of triumph have of late marvellously subsided. What is now thought of the sovereign remedy may be gathered from the following extract from a representative organ of Irish agriculture, the ‘Irish Farmer’ :—

‘Ulster being a province which has enjoyed for centuries the advantage of tenant-right, and which possesses, besides, a certain amount of manufactures, its farmers may be considered as peculiarly favoured.

favoured. And yet the condition of the agricultural classes in that province is, in many large districts, very unsatisfactory. In Donegal distress of the acutest character is prevalent; in parts of Tyrone and Derry, farmers are very much reduced; Monaghan and Cavan are anything but prosperous; and poor land everywhere tells this season with a crushing effect upon its cultivators. Now if a body of farmers are really prosperous, three or four bad seasons ought not to be able to reduce them to so low a condition. The Ulster farmers are frugal, very industrious, shrewd and skilful; they have a greater variety of crops than are grown in most parts of the island; they have tenant-right, and yet, with all this, many are bankrupt, and great numbers are emigrating.'

We trust that those Liberals who are now discoursing so fluently to urban constituencies in England on the virtue of the 'three F's,' will ponder these words, for they are uttered with authority. There is, however, nothing surprising in the tale that they tell. The Ulster Custom provides for the tenant precisely the security that is demanded in the speech we have quoted above. By it an outgoing tenant has the right to sell the interest in his holding to the highest bidder; the landlord has no power to interfere with the agreement beyond objecting to the purchaser on the score of character. On his side he secures his rent by deducting all arrears from the amount of the purchase-money. It is easy to understand how such a custom originally grew up in a district partly agricultural partly manufacturing, where, rents being low, the industrious capitalist was ready to make a bargain with the needy farmer, while the landlords sanctioned the proceeding because it guaranteed them the receipt of their rents. But the dangers of such a system are obvious. The capital of the purchaser is swallowed up in the purchase of the mere right to occupy the land; there is nothing left for him to expend on improvements, so that unless he is a man of energy and resources, or unless his rent bears a very small proportion to the real value of the land, it is almost impossible that he can farm with profit. Following upon the occupation of a probably needy tenant who has exhausted the powers of the soil, he has nothing in hand to repair the waste, and even with the skill and industry with which the 'Irish Farmer' credits him, he can scarcely hope to succeed in his unequal struggle with Nature. This is the position of the purchasing tenant; the position of the landlord is no less unsatisfactory. His rent is secured to him, but he is deprived of all active interest in the well-being of the farm; he cannot select his tenant; he has no inducement to co-operate with the farmer by improving the land, since he is at any moment liable to lose what he has expended; nor is it



it likely that he will gain the confidence and affection of those who regard him as a mere encumbrancer. Is it very likely that under these circumstances the soil of Ireland will receive, either from landlord or tenant, the only treatment that is likely to develop its resources, the employment of capital, and enterprise?

Yet the system which has confessedly broken down under stress of difficulties in the part of Ireland where it has been long rooted, where the population is most skilful and energetic, where manufactures flourish, it is now proposed to extend to the poorest, idlest, most unthrifty, or most drunken tenant in any part of the island. Everywhere we hear the parrot formula of 'fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents,' as if the speakers had fully thought out the meaning of the words, and were prepared to make them the basis of practical legislation. But if we really begin to think over the proposal, what do we find? 'Fixity of tenure' must mean that every tenant in Ireland who does not hold under a lease—for we presume that even a Liberal Government will not yet venture to touch leases—is to be secured in his holding so long as he can pay his rent. That is to say, that a large portion of the population which from its poverty gives strength to the present agitation is to be rooted in the soil; the consolidation of holdings is to cease; the owner is no longer to be free master of his land. 'Free sale' must mean that the money value of this tenure is to be given (with or without compensation to the landlord) to the existing tenantry, and that the latter are to have the full right of disposing of their interest by sale. 'Fair rents' must mean that the value of rent is no longer to be fixed by the standard of demand and supply, but by the discretion of the State. Stated thus baldly, the proposal is surely of a kind to stagger the loudest of platform orators.

What will be its effect on the value of land in Ireland? We can form some estimate from the operation of the Act of 1870. Land, which before 1870 sold at an average rate of about twenty-five years' purchase, after the passing of the Act, speedily fell to about twenty-two. Mr. Gladstone stated in the debate on the Disturbance Bill of last Session that the average selling price obtained since 1870 in the Landed Estates Court has been from twenty-two to twenty-five years' purchase. The average price obtained by the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Estates has been somewhat below twenty-three years' purchase, and this, although much of the property sold was glebe-land in hand, and though the purchaser bought with the enormous advantage of being able to borrow three-fourths of the purchase-

money from the State. Thus every landowner has already found the value of his property diminished by about 12 per cent. According to Sir John Gray, 70,000,000*l.* have been thus already transferred from the landlord to the tenant; but taking the moderate estimate of 45,000,000*l.*, such a wholesale measure of confiscation is without parallel in English history. Yet it is one that appears trifling by the side of the proposals which are being made nowadays, in cold blood, to English constituencies.

If the owner is injured by the proposed change, will the occupier be benefited by it? The tenant is to have the 'free sale' of his right to occupy. But is it contemplated that he shall first purchase this right from his landlord? If so, how is it supposed that the class which now professes its inability to pay rent will provide the necessary capital? But if—which we grant is scarcely conceivable—it is intended to give the existing tenant a property in his holding, without making compensation to the landlord, no doubt one class will be robbed for the benefit of another. But the only persons who will reap any advantage will be the idle, drunken, or unskilful tenants, who are at least in some measure responsible for their present poverty; and these, we may be sure, will immediately sell the property which the State has handed over to them. The incoming tenant will then find himself in the same position as the man so graphically described by the 'Irish Farmer,' and will owe a grudge against the mulcted landlord, whom he will certainly regard as an encumbrancer on his property. Here we have a fruitful 'germ' for fresh agitation and wider concessions.

Though the tenant is, according to our Reformers, to have the free right of sale, the landlord is by no means to possess the power of fixing his own rent. That is to say, that the competition for the holding of the land which has already been carried to such ruinous extremes is to be sanctioned by legislation, while the value of the land to the occupier, which has hitherto been determined, like that of every other commodity in the open market, is to be arbitrarily determined by the State. Could anything be more monstrous?

We have said nothing hitherto on the question of justice. But we cannot suppose that this is an element which will be left out of consideration by a British Parliament; and we therefore desire to bring before the notice of the public the injury which will be inflicted on improving landlords by such legislation as we have heard proposed. We hope that all our readers will procure the very instructive pamphlet of Mr. Mahony ('A Working Landowner'), the title of which we have placed at the head of our article, and from which we make the following extracts:—

'In

'In the year 1851 I came into possession of my estate. Old rentals in my possession show that for many years previous to that date there had been allowances made to tenants at the rate of about 1000*l.* per annum. Yet when I took up the estate there was not one drain made by a tenant, not one slated house, not a perch of road, not a yard of subsoiled land: I then adopted the system of making all improvements myself, charging interest of the outlay upon the occupier, according to the circumstances and increased value of the farm. The result has been that in some five-and-twenty years, I have built about eighty houses and offices, slated or tiled, made twenty-eight miles of road, built nine bridges, made twenty-three miles of fences, thorough drained about five hundred acres, planted one hundred and fifty acres of waste land, and proportionately improved the condition and circumstances of the people. . . .

'Some years ago I bought up the interest in a leasehold from a tenant. His father and he had held it for many years, and had exhausted all naturally available land on it by successive corn crops without manure. When in their hands it starved fifteen head of cattle. I have had it in my own occupation some fourteen years, and it now carries fifty-three in good condition. Is it to be supposed that the magic of tenant-right would have transformed these people into good agriculturists? The season of 1879 is recorded in the history of British agriculture as unusually disastrous. In that year the gross produce of each cow on this (dairy) farm amounted to 9*l.* 9*s.* for butter, sold in London, and 3*l.* per cow for calves reared. The average letting of land to agricultural tenants on my estate is 1*l.* 10*s.* per cow. A tenant-right measure, allowing the occupier to sell the interest of his farm, will take from me and transfer to him the difference between 8*l.* and 1*l.* 10*s.* if 4*l.* be deducted as cost of labour attendant on each cow—an extravagant allowance. Or to consider the question as a matter of rent. My estate has been more than doubled in worth since 1848, when Griffith's valuation was made, owing to the care and capital expended on it. But my rents are about 40 to 45 per cent. over Griffith's valuation. A tenant-right measure will convey to the occupier this 60 per cent., or more than half the value of the land—a value created not by his industry, but by my outlay. The waste lands of Ireland can only be brought into cultivation by heavy outlay and labour, and with full assurance of security for such investment. But it will not encourage the others to see those who have cast capital and energy into such a work, deprived by Act of Parliament of the fruit of their labours. It would be a sad corollary for me to draw, that I had better have employed every farthing I could muster, in paying off mortgages, or in investment in other countries, and have left the district, which I have to some extent civilized, the desert which I found it. If tenant-right had been established on this estate in 1851 (when it came into my hands), and its natural consequences left to work themselves out, it would now be far on the way to rival some of those neglected and overpopulated districts in Donegal, so graphically described by
Mr.

Mr. Tuke. Any one who supposes that to divert the care and outlay of the owner to other objects, and to substitute for it the free action and part ownership of the occupiers would improve the condition of the country, knows nothing of the tendencies of a people whose agricultural status was at the time I refer to but little beyond that of a nomadic tribe. You might as well adopt the theory of utilising an untrained horse, by humouring him, and flinging the reins on his neck, and leaving him to his own resources.'

There is nothing like a concrete instance for testing an abstract theory. Mr. Mahony's case is that of hundreds of other enlightened and benevolent landlords in Ireland. Is it just that men who have deserved well of their country should in return be deprived of the property in it which they have themselves created? Or if compensation be allowed them to the full extent of their improvements, is it politic for the State to transfer the ownership of land from those who have shown how thoroughly they understand its duties to the ignorant occupier who barely knows how to guard himself against destitution?

There is another point deserving of consideration. An extensive measure creating tenant-right throughout Ireland will, no doubt, confer material advantages on a large number of existing occupiers. But on the poorest class, the landless labourers or the holders of less than five acres, it will only operate as an inducement for fresh agitation. These classes number probably not less than 400,000 labourers holding no land, and of occupiers 120,000 holding less than an acre, and 60,000 holding from one to five acres; while against these there are 420,000 who hold from five acres upwards. What will the poor labourer in the inland town, or the cotter on the land of the substantial farmer, think when he sees the class immediately above him acquiring a parliamentary title to property in consequence of successful agitation? The schemes for depriving the landlord of his property for the benefit of the tenant are communistic, but the communism they involve is aristocratic; and though the orators of the League have pledged themselves that the interests of the poor shall be duly protected, it is difficult to see in what way reforms conceived solely in the interest of the farming class can advantage the proletariat. A fresh movement will almost infallibly be set on foot for a more equal division of the spoils. What will this mean? Ireland contains no more than 12,125,280 acres of arable and meadow land, and 4,900,000 of possibly improvable waste. The occupiers of land are 600,000; besides these there is a large body of landless labourers. The census of 1871 returns the number of male agriculturists at 864,209, together with 221,855 males described as general labourers.

Many

Many of those who are included in the former class are certainly sons of occupiers, and many of the latter are employed in towns; these, however, will see no reason why they should be excluded from the new settlement. We have, therefore, besides the 600,000 occupiers 264,209 agriculturists, and 221,855 general labourers, in all 486,064 without an occupancy. Besides, there are nearly 200,000 women who appear in the census, viz. 170,000 described as agriculturists, and 21,000 general labourers. Farmers' daughters in Ireland are constantly in the habit of looking to their father's farm to afford them a 'fortune,' and wills embodying such ideas are of everyday occurrence; the agricultural female we may therefore be sure will not consent to be left out of the scramble. Assuming that many of the females are the wives of farmers, we may perhaps estimate the number of claimants for a share in the land as 1,000,000. The share of each would then be about twelve acres of profitable and about five of possibly improvable land. To those who, like Mr. Arthur Arnold, cherish visions of an Ireland maintaining a population like Jersey or Guernsey, such a prospect may appear satisfactory, but whoever reflects on the difference as regards climate, soil, and history between Ireland and the Channel Islands, will probably regard it with dismay.

There are some, however, who, with Mr. Bright and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, look forward to the establishment of a peasant proprietary on the soil side by side with the present owners. Could such a scheme be executed without prejudice to existing rights, Conservatives ought to be the last to object to it. But we are not prepared to join in the raptures with which Mr. Lefevre surveys the system.

'We had in Ireland,' he said, in his speech at Reading of the 8th of December, 'all the conditions of a peasant-proprietary except ownership or security of holdings, and all the experience we had from elsewhere and from history was to the effect that a system of small cultivation could not succeed unless largely combined with ownership or fixity of tenure, for it was only the stimulus of property which supplies the industry and thrift that can make small holdings answer.'

It is not a consolatory thought that statements of this kind are thought by a member of the Government sufficiently plausible to secure the approval of his constituents. Mr. Lefevre need not have looked further than Belgium to find a complete refutation of his doctrine. For in that country, as we have already said, a tenantry holding on the most insecure terms produce results which are the admiration of Europe. But, allowing the 'magic of property' all the powers that its advocates claim for it,

it, nevertheless experience shows that it is likely to aggravate the very evil which the Government are now seeking to remove. Professor Webb, in the pamphlet, the title of which stands at the head of our article, cites evidence on this point which is irresistible.

‘It is notorious that under a system of small proprietors the price of land is constantly rising. M. de Lavergne, cited in “Free Trade in Land,” avers that in France the market price of land has quadrupled in ten years (p. 114). It is equally notorious that of all rack-renters the small proprietor is the hardest. Mr. Cliffe Leslie, in the publication of the Cobden Club, admits that among the peasant proprietors of France, “with greatly rising prices of agricultural produce there is a steady and general augmentation of rents.” De Laveleye, writing of Belgium in the same publication, admits, “where peasant proprietorship exists side by side with leasehold farming in an over-populated country, the tenant-farmer is placed in a worse condition than if the estates were large” (p. 229). And this is confirmed by the experience of Ireland itself. If there is any living authority upon land, it is Mr. De Moleyns, one of Her Majesty’s counsel in Ireland, who for twenty years has sat as Chairman of Kilkenny. In his admirable handbook of the Irish Land Law, that gentleman remarks that it is “the smaller investors in land, purchasers usually in the Landed Estates Court,” who most rigorously enforce the “covenant for payment of a scrupulously adjusted rent” (p. 263). His remark is confirmed by the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland. In the case of *Berkery v. Moloney*, Chief Justice Morris observed that “the class of landlords to which the Respondent belonged invariably pursued matters to extremities, and exacted the last farthing from those who had the misfortune to be their tenants.” And the Respondent was a tenant-farmer, and a Celt. The reason is obvious enough. It is only great proprietors, as Judge Longfield shows, when speaking of the Ulster Custom, who can afford to be indulgent’ (p. 39).

We think that these considerations are conclusive against the policy of making any vast alteration in the principles of the Land Act of 1870. It appears to us that under that Act, if administered according to its intention, the tenant obtains all the security he can reasonably require. Should experience, however, show that owing to practical difficulties the tenant may still justly complain of grievances which the Act was intended to remove, true statesmanship would seem to demand that the Act should be amended, either by the introduction of fresh provisions to redress the injustice which is proved to exist, or by the institution of a central tribunal with power of equitable jurisdiction. But if Government resolve to introduce a fresh measure, it is at least to be hoped that they will show more foresight

foresight and discrimination than they displayed in 1870. Lord Dufferin in his evidence before the Agricultural Commission, has pointed out the different circumstances of different parts of Ireland—the East with its richly watered pastures, and large holdings, the North, Centre, and South with their small farms, and the West with its cotters and potato cultivators. It is manifest that any legislation based on the principle of the three F's would be unnecessary for the first of these classes, and would be utterly inadequate to provide for the requirements of the third. The sole remedy for the poverty and over-population of Mayo, Connemara, and Galway, is emigration, and we are confident that any well-considered proposal for the promotion of this policy would secure the support of the entire Conservative party.

But while as Conservatives we are fully prepared to give a fair consideration to any measures of land reform which the Government may introduce, we hope that the Opposition will insist that Parliament ought not to be asked to deliberate on such proposals till the authority of the Queen has been restored in Ireland. The great principles which the Tory party are united to defend are loyalty and order. As loyalists they owe a faithful allegiance to the Queen, and therefore, within just limits, to the Ministers whom she calls to her councils. Recognizing that Her Majesty can only govern constitutionally through a Ministry possessing the confidence of the majority in Parliament, the Conservatives, though never ceasing to maintain that the existing Liberal majority is the product of a vast illusion in the mind of the constituencies, have displayed a wise forbearance towards the policy of the Government. They have been willing to assume that the latter, however misguided in their views, have at least the intention of doing their duty as Her Majesty's servants; and as to the illusions of the constituencies, they have understood that it was far better that these should be dissipated by hard facts than strengthened by anything like the appearance of factious opposition. The Government have had a fair field, if no favour, for the development of their foreign policy; whatever criticism this has received has been confined to free discussion in the press and to fair comments at public meetings. There has been no attempt on the part of the Conservatives to excite against the Ministry that extra Parliamentary Opposition by which the action of the late Government was so persistently hampered. As for Mr. Gladstone's domestic legislation, though the Tory party could not be blind to the animus by which it has been inspired, they have in no degree overstepped just constitutional limits in their endeavours to mitigate its penal character.

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But while the Conservatives are bound to loyalty by their permanent principles, they are at present charged with scarcely less important functions as Her Majesty's Opposition. They are bound to see that the Ministry fulfil their duty to the Queen and the country, and if they fail to do so, to call them to strict account. Her Majesty has inherited the responsibility of providing for the well-being and safety of her subjects, but the desire which all her subjects know she entertains for the promotion of the public good can only be made effectual if it is embodied in the acts of her responsible Ministers. The first duty of Government is to preserve law and order, to protect life and property. How have Her Majesty's Ministers attempted to perform this elementary duty? What is the meaning of the existing state of society in Ireland, when the loyal elements are alienated and despairing, seeing, as they do, the powers of real Government directed by lawless desperadoes; when the law itself is powerless; when the Judges are threatened on the Bench; when witnesses are forced to perjure themselves; when juries fear to return true verdicts; when unoffending men are besieged in their own houses, and their servants abandon them under the influence of a mysterious terror; when the magistrate loses his energy from very hopelessness, and the constabulary become almost passive spectators of violence; when cattle are mutilated and hayricks burned, and bailiffs murdered, while the thief, the incendiary, and the murderer, escape with impunity? These scenes have been enacted daily through the disturbed districts of Ireland for the last four months. Why have the Ministry allowed all this time to elapse before taking any effective steps to vindicate the outraged majesty of the Law?

There can be, we fear, but one answer to this question: the spirit of party has been allowed to prevail over the principle of loyalty. The active forces of Liberalism reside in the 'Birmingham' section of the Cabinet, and the nature of the genius of Birmingham appears in Mr. Bright, who, while professing himself the servant of the Crown, has not scrupled to declare on a public platform that 'almost all the greatest crimes in history and almost all the greatest calamities in history have been brought upon mankind by the direct instrumentality of monarchs and statesmen,' and that, on the other hand, the Sovereign people can consciously do no wrong. We see, then, the light in which the Cabinet regard the triumph of anarchy in Ireland. They hold it to be the result not of active wickedness but of past oppression, and as the fruit of popular ignorance, they think it must be tenderly treated. Shamed at the eleventh hour into the abandonment of the principle that 'Force is no remedy,'
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the Ministry have been compelled, nevertheless, by the influence of Birmingham to postpone coercive measures until they can meet Parliament in the regular course with their 'remedial' proposals. Now what does this mean? It means that for four cruel months, the disaffected portion of Irish society has been allowed to defy with impunity a law which these same Ministers declared in 1870 was calculated to place the relations of landlord and tenant on a thoroughly just and satisfactory footing. It further means that the most loyal and peaceable members of the Irish nation, who through the whole autumn and winter have been deprived of the protection which they have a right to claim from the Crown, may at last hope to regain their lost security, but that, in return for the duty thus sullenly and reluctantly discharged by the Government, they must be prepared to pay 'black mail' in the shape of fresh confiscation of their property. Yet more, it means that Parliament will be called to deliberate on the 'remedies' proposed by the Government, before order has been restored in Ireland, while popular passion throughout the kingdom is in a state of dangerous excitement, and while, in the organs of the press which have hitherto faithfully reflected the temper of the Ministry, threats of the consequences that will follow the rejection of Ministerial measures are uttered not obscurely against both Houses of the Legislature. Worst of all, it means that legislation under such circumstances will be construed as a surrender to force; it will be seen that the Government have been influenced much less by a desire to redress the social grievances of the tenant, than by their sense of the power of the political agitator. The Irish agitator is irreconcilable. He knows that the Land Act of 1870 was a concession to his demands, and for this very reason he immediately set on foot a fresh agitation which has culminated in the tyranny of the Land League. No measure which an English Legislature will pass will destroy the hold of the agitator on the ardent Irish imagination. On the other hand, any appearance of weakness on the part of the Government will necessarily encourage him to fresh efforts in the future. The logical climax to the policy which the Liberal Ministry are now pursuing, is the concession of Home Rule.

In our college days we used to be taught that there was a fallacy lurking beneath the old sophism that since Themistocles governed Athens, and the wife of Themistocles governed her husband, and his child governed its mother, therefore Themistocles' child governed Athens. But something very analogous to this supposed process of government is actually being experienced in England at the present moment. Raised

to power by a reckless agitation, Mr. Gladstone finds it necessary to satisfy, at least by an appearance of legislation, the democratic hopes and resentments which he has himself excited. Though he has constantly defended himself from the imputation of Radicalism, he now finds that a Radical policy and Radical organization are needed to sustain him in his position. The one is required to attract the imagination of the masses, and by the other alone can he hope to keep within the ranks the Whigs and Moderate Liberals who form so important an element of his majority. On their side, the Whigs at last understand their political impotence. While in Opposition, though warned that their return to power would involve the triumph of the Radicals, they were persuaded that they themselves would 'ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.' But events must surely have restored them to sanity, and, as happened to the monomaniac in Pope,

'From patriots of distinguished note
Have bled and purged them to a simple vote.'

The vital differences of opinion between Lords Hartington and Selborne, and Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Bright, as to the necessity of vindicating the Law, have been an open secret for the last three months. Birmingham has prevailed, and the Whigs meekly resign themselves to its influence. The Moderate Liberalism of the country which naturally follows its leaders, though astounded at the course which events have taken, consoles itself with thinking that nothing very revolutionary can be attempted by a Cabinet which contains Lord Hartington and Lord Selborne. Thus the middle classes, who were asked by Lord Hartington to return a great Liberal majority that the country might revert to a policy of 'moderation and common-sense,' now see the Whigs helplessly following the chariot of Mr. Gladstone, which is itself drawn in the track of the triumphant Radicals in the work of Revolution. This is surely the *reductio ad absurdum* of Party Government. Never since the First Reform Bill has party spirit in the country been so violently inflamed, yet never has there been a period when there has been less difference in the minds of reflecting men, outside the narrow sphere of mere party organization, as to the policy required for the preservation of our national interests. It is idle to pretend that at this stage of our history a society which has grown up under an expanding Constitution, and on the basis of free contract, can be regulated by Whig or Tory principles. It is still more absurd to suppose that the dangers which surround us both in the centre and extremities of our Empire

Empire can be removed by the triumph of domestic faction. In Ireland, in India, in Africa, we are beset by difficulties which have been forced on us, much less by the choice of parties and individuals, than by the necessities of our Imperial position. Retire from this position we cannot, we dare not; *Noblesse oblige*; the very existence of England as a great and prosperous nation depends on our power to overcome the disintegrating forces that are at work in the midst of our Imperial society. To assert the greatness of his country should be the first object of every true Englishman, but the stern obligations which this duty imposes on us afford little scope for applying philosophical theories of government. If our statesmen are really loyal in their resolve to maintain in their integrity the English Constitution and the British Empire, they must face facts apart from sentiment. Parliamentary Government is on its trial, and, requiring as we do, courage, independence, and principle in our legislators, we look forward with anxiety to a Session which will test severely the capacity of the present House of Commons as part of the Great Council of the Realm.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

Since the above was in type, Parliament has met, and both the Government and the Opposition have announced their policy. We are heartily glad to see that the Conservatives are worthily maintaining their old traditions. Mr. Fawcett, in a recent speech to his constituents, said that, 'in a great national crisis Englishmen might be expected to rise above the mere considerations of party.' Truly a surprising expectation to be cherished by a late active member of the Opposition of 1876-80! But we venture to say, for all that, it will not be disappointed. We must support the Queen's Government, for they represent England; and England herself, we see but too clearly, is in the midst of perils from which she can be extricated only by the loyalty and patriotism of her people. But the Government should not misunderstand the conditions on which they will obtain Conservative support. They have acquired power by the unscrupulous advocacy of principles, which, if applied, must prove disastrous to the integrity of the Empire; and even now, though Imperial necessity has in some cases forced them to abandon their illusions, yet where this necessity is less immediately pressing, they are doing what they can to redeem their pledges

pledges to the Radicals. They have given us cause to regard them with deep and settled distrust; the extent of our confidence in them must, therefore, depend upon the spirit that they display in the discharge of the duties they have hitherto left unperformed. It is scarcely ingenuous in Lord Granville to take credit to the Ministry for carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, when all the world knows that the only articles of the Treaty, on the fulfilment of which the Government have strongly insisted, are those that operate with severity against Turkey, and that it is no thanks to Mr. Gladstone that Europe has been saved from the danger of adopting towards that Power an attitude of armed Coercion. It is even more idle for the Foreign Secretary and his supporters in the Press to pretend that in Afghanistan there has been no reversal of the policy of the preceding Government. What reversal could be more complete than that announced in the Queen's Speech? True the Ministry of Lord Beaconsfield always intended, if it were practicable, to leave Afghanistan an independent State; but it was never so insane as to dream of retiring behind our old frontier, thus abandoning every advantage which we had gained from a war, forced upon us by necessity, and successfully ended, only with great sacrifices of blood and treasure. The spirit of '*laissez faire*' and the spirit of party, which between them have determined the Indian policy of the Government, cannot grapple successfully with the stern task that lies before us at the Cape and in Ireland. We are glad to see that the Ministry seem to be aware of their responsibilities in upholding the authority of the Queen in South Africa; but we have yet to learn how far they appreciate the true position of Irish affairs. What the Opposition have to do is by no means to give the Government a blind support in any measures they may introduce, but to encourage and stimulate them to act as if they were really the Queen's servants, and so long as they strive to do so, to stand side by side with them in resisting the attacks which such policy will bring on them from the fanatics of their own party.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *The Nineteenth Century*. 1877, 1878, 1881.
2. *Speeches by Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., and Mr. Bright, M.P., at Rochdale and Bradford*. November 1877.
3. *Mr. Gladstone's Speeches in Midlothian, 1879–80*. London, 1880.
4. *London and Provincial Newspapers*. 1877–81.
5. *The Fortnightly Review*. 1877.

NO one who watches attentively the course of public affairs and the undercurrents of political life can doubt that a party exists in England, the object and end of which can only be accurately described as Revolutionary. It is possible that this description may be repudiated by some members of the party, who are unable or unwilling to look forward to the inevitable termination of the journey on which they have set out, or by others who happen to occupy responsible positions before the public, and therefore deem it expedient to pay formal deference to long-standing prejudices. They were not always in so cautious a mood; and if we look back to their former professions of faith, there will be little room left for doubt concerning the real character of the work in which they are engaged. Their associates, who are still free from official restraints, but who are rapidly pushing their way to the front, are sufficiently straightforward; while their organs in the press, especially beyond the range of London, are active, influential, and not deficient in ability. In these days, if we desire to test the varying moods of public opinion, it will not do to confine our attention to the speeches delivered in Parliament, or to the articles which appear in London newspapers. We must go among the people themselves, and listen to what is said to them, and read what they are reading, and study diligently the influences which are at work upon their minds. There are occasions, indeed—especially upon the eve of an election—when Mr. Gladstone undertakes to interpret popular wishes without

Vol. 151.—No. 302. x the

the reservations which usually accompany his words. His articles, letters, and speeches, published between 1877 and the spring of 1880, might well have given satisfaction even to Northampton itself. But, as a rule, he contents himself with drawing vast and misty outlines, which are capable of taking permanent shape or of mysteriously disappearing, as the development of the artist's ideas and the drift of circumstances may determine. If, carried away by sympathetic impulses and the excitement of the moment, he goes beyond strictly prudent limits, no one has greater skill in giving an entirely new and unexpected definition to apparently simple language. There is always a qualification which everybody had overlooked—some little word in a sentence which, when properly 'elucidated,' is found to have exactly the opposite meaning from that which commonplace people supposed. In extreme cases, it may be possible even to disown the whole of an important statement. In one of the Midlothian speeches, Mr. Gladstone took the utmost pains to impress upon his audience that he had not come to deliver random assertions, but to present facts which never could be shaken. 'It is well in these things,' he said, 'that men should be held to the words that they utter, should be made to feel that they are responsible for them.'* There could not be a wiser rule for any public man to lay down for his guidance, before subjecting himself to the temptation of making a popular speech. Unfortunately, the very first time that certain statements in these very speeches, put forward with the utmost care and solemnity, came to be challenged, Mr. Gladstone flung them ignominiously behind him, and declared that having become a 'responsible Minister,' he would 'not either repeat or defend in argument polemical language.'† If, then, we cite anything from Mr. Gladstone in illustration of the policy which his Radical supporters are bent on carrying out, we do it at the risk of finding that we are discussing writings, which, having served their turn, have been discarded as useless lumber, and speeches which are accounted dead as the speeches written by Dr. Johnson for Mr. Cave. But this risk we must run, for it will be admitted that a complete review of the plans devised for governing a 'regenerate' nation in the new era could scarcely be framed without considering the contributions made to them by Mr. Gladstone.

We must, however, go beyond the line drawn by Mr. Gladstone, though not far beyond that which has been traced by his political colleagues and allies. Many excellent persons suppose

* First Midlothian Speech, Nov. 25, 1879.

† Letter to Count Karolyi, May 4, 1880.

that anything which is not actually spoken by the recognized chiefs of the Liberal party, or written in the most decorous of newspapers, is entirely unworthy of attention. This is a theory which has come down to us from a former generation, when the world was not quite so enlightened as it now is ; and it must be given up, in common with many other relics of the past. The elders of the party are themselves passing out of date. Bolder spirits are pressing close upon their heels, and they make no great secret of their impatience to possess the inheritance. Much as Mr. Gladstone has done for his supporters, he is constantly regarded by a large section of them with mingled fear and distrust. Old training and old associations are not to be wholly obliterated from a man's life, and occasionally they seem to interfere somewhat with what is called Mr. Gladstone's mental growth. He had not been long in office last year before his friendship for certain representatives of the decaying Whig party, and his slowness to march with the age, brought upon his head some bitter upbraidings. By one writer he was asked whether he was waiting to be converted again, and was frankly told that he required too many special efforts to bring him 'round to a condition of liberal enlightenment.' 'His career,' continued the critic, 'has been a series of creditable conversions, and he perhaps enjoys the process.' But his conscience took a great deal of time to get properly to work. His admirers were consequently forced to remember Mr. Kinglake's saying, that 'Mr. Gladstone is a good man in the worst sense of that term.'* Another journal of the same party complained still more recently of Mr. Gladstone's 'dictatorial and overbearing temper,' and declared that, 'like Prince Bismarck, he listens only to the promptings of his own passions.' Loyalty to party leaders may possibly be carried too far ; it would be easy to mention some remarkable instances ; but the Radicals are never likely to fall into that mistake. When their present leaders have answered a temporary purpose, they will be summarily dismissed without a character. The attacks levelled at Mr. Forster may warn the others what they have to expect. He is, we are now told, 'a weak and gullible politician.' Nobody, says one of the 'people's newspapers,' expected anything 'from Whigs like Granville, or from men like Northbrook, whose training exactly fitted them *not* to take the places which they got.' Those who suppose that the Whig element of the present Cabinet enjoys popular favour have very little acquaintance with the opinions which are entertained by the rising men of the new party.

* Letter to the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' July 12, 1880.

These opinions are important, for, after all that may be said, they decided the election of 1880. Yet a man might spend a lifetime in London without coming into contact with them. The newspapers of the dearer sort, or those which profess to represent the middle classes, are not in any way to be accepted as interpreters of 'national' opinion. They have their uses, but those uses lie within a comparatively narrow field. Their sceptre is passing over to the once-despised provincial editor, who formerly contented himself for the most part with echoing the views which were provided for him in the metropolis. Now he comes forward to teach, not to learn. The old-fashioned papers are too much wedded to their own fancies, and grasp new ideas too slowly, to suit the present generation. They cannot see what is going on under their very eyes. Mark their general line of argument on the subject which we are now considering, and it will be found that it all turns upon two or three assumptions—namely, that everybody is happy and contented, that there are no class hatreds now as there used to be, and that Revolution, though possible enough among flighty people like the French, or half-civilized nations like the Russians, is altogether out of the question in England. These observers throw an eagle glance over the country, and find that everything is very good, and is constantly 'progressing' from good to better. 'To us it appears,' says one of the oracles, 'that there never was a time in the present century when Radicalism was less socially or politically dangerous than it is at present.' In fact, a real live Radical is getting almost rare enough to be exhibited in a booth. Radicalism has 'ceased to be either Democratic or Radical.' It asks simply for the 'progressive adaptation of the Constitution to the conditions of modern society.' The most timid of Conservatives cannot object to that. 'There is hardly any social envy,' this sagacious writer contended, 'in the so-called Democratic classes of the country; there is no desire to attack the rich because they are rich, no sense of exclusion, and no keen political jealousies. Nor, again, are the desires of the commonalty directed to any great and radical measures either of social or political change.'* These are remarkable conclusions for any man to form, who is gifted with ordinary judgment and perception. By one process only can they be kept alive, and that is by taking them into a strictly private room, and nursing them there in fond seclusion. The eyes must be kept blinded and the ears deaf to all that is going on in the world of life and action. The assertion, from what-

* 'Times' leading article, July 19, 1880.

ever source it may proceed, that Radicalism has ceased to be Democratic, and that no great social or political changes are aimed at by any section of the community, is ludicrously at variance with the present state of things in England. It is but too easy to detect in the newspapers and other publications which are read and trusted by the people a tone of rancour and vindictiveness which, if not absolutely new in this country, is at any rate a more serious phenomenon than ever it was before, considering the steady advance of Democracy towards almost unbroken power. Mr. Gladstone himself has not hesitated ere now, we will not say to aggravate, but to work skilfully upon the class jealousies and dislikes which shallow writers are unable even to discern. In his eighteenth Midlothian speech, he did not expressly declare that the wealthy and the titled were the enemies of the poor, for it is not his way to speak out so plainly as that on any subject; but he told the working men and farmers whom he addressed that they 'could not reckon upon the aristocracy,' nor upon 'what is called the landed interest;' nor 'upon the clergy of the Established Church,' with some exceptions.

'On none of these,' he said, 'can we place our trust. We cannot reckon on the wealth of the country, nor upon the rank of the country, nor upon the influence which rank and wealth usually bring. In the main these powers are against us, and there are other powers against us, for wherever there is a close corporation, wherever there is a spirit of organized monopoly, wherever there is narrow and sectional interest apart from that of the country, and desiring to be set up above the interest of the public, there, gentlemen, we, the Liberal party, have no friendship and no tolerance to expect. We must set them down among our most determined foes.'*

Most people, who can only see in words the meaning which they are obviously intended to convey, would recognize in this passage a studied and dangerous appeal to party hatreds and class jealousies. If Mr. Gladstone had not been a much better judge of the times in which we live than many who undertake to instruct the public, he would not, having solemnly forsworn all office, have been in a situation to assign to himself the two chief posts in the Ministry.

Class prejudices, it is true, are not a growth of our own times: in many instances we have to thank other times for them. The most strenuous advocates of the rights of property will not

* Speech at West Calder, April 2, 1880. ('Collected Speeches,' second series, pp. 354-5.)

venture to affirm that these rights have always been wisely or justly exercised; and when demagogues desire to inflame the animosities of the multitude, they have only to point to the hardships or the wrongs which stupidity or recklessness inflicted on the people in former days. The abuses of the poor laws, and the barbarity of the criminal code, inspired feelings which are by no means yet extinguished. Eminent statesmen sometimes maintain that the recollection of past oppression in Ireland is a sufficient justification of present discontent. It would be hard to deny to the English poor, when they are misled by political charlatans, the benefit of the same plea. Upon many of these traditions—for happily they are now only traditions—the successful demagogues of the day base their plan of action. Property, they contend, had no compassion in its days of supremacy, and it should receive none now. Where wealth is abundant, there you will invariably find a sentiment hostile to the people. Mr. Gladstone has done his utmost to impress this simple doctrine upon the minds of his audiences, and it is one which derives no little force from the fatal eloquence of such a teacher. At Hawarden, soon after the elections of 1880, he told a meeting of his friends that everywhere except in centres of wealth the verdict had been a righteous one. ‘But,’ he added, ‘it is the richest parts of London that have gone wrong. That is a most extraordinary fact. It is where wealth is most concentrated, in the City; it is where luxury is most prevalent, in Westminster; it is where property is most represented, in the county—that it has gone wrong.’ The nation itself never went astray, and by the nation, as he subsequently intimated in the House of Commons, he meant the working classes. Their will is to prevail in all things. What, then, is their will? ‘Our Conservative friends,’ says a Radical writer, ‘must try to learn what it is the mass of the people want, and then endeavour to obtain it for them.’ We have some recollection that this rule has been adopted by eminent Conservative statesmen ere now, with more or less dubious results. All that concerns us for the moment, however, is the first part of the admonition, and that, beyond a doubt, is worthy of the best attention we can bestow upon it.

The Landed ‘system,’ the Established Church, and the House of Lords, are the main grievances which urgently call for redress. The Church has of late sunk into the second, or even the third place; the impending struggle over the rights of property, and the stormy prelude to it which we are witnessing in Ireland, naturally absorb the chief share of attention. The Church has been put aside till the more important contest is settled. But the

the principles upon which its fate is to be determined were long ago fixed by more than one of the Liberal leaders who now hold office under the Crown. Events move so rapidly, and people are expected to read so many speeches, most of them, unfortunately, such very long speeches, that possibly a certain address delivered at Edinburgh in 1877 by Lord Hartington, may be half forgotten. Yet it should be clearly recalled, if only because the way for many great changes peculiar to the present day has been prepared beforehand either in Scotland or Ireland. Lord Hartington, on the occasion to which we wish for a moment to carry back the reader, spoke at some length about the Scotch Church, and referred to the 'growing sense of injustice which is felt by many members of the Free and the Dissenting Churches.' He then went on to make the following confession :—

'All I can say is that when, if ever, Scotch opinion, or even Scotch Liberal opinion, is fully formed upon this subject, I think that I may venture to say on behalf of the Party as a whole that it will be prepared to deal with this question on its merits, and without reference to any other consideration. No doubt, gentlemen, the fate of one Establishment cannot but exercise some influence upon the fate of another. In the case of the Irish Church our opponents always contended that the fate of the Church of England was inseparably connected with that of the Church of Ireland. We endeavoured to dissociate the two as far as it was possible, and we endeavoured so, in my opinion, wisely. But, gentlemen, I say that as far as I am concerned, I will be no party to stimulate agitation in this country upon that subject, nor, on the other hand, will I be a party to any attempt to repress discussion because of the influence which such discussion may have upon the future of the Church.'—*'Times' Report*, Nov. 7, 1877.

This was understood at the time, and rightly understood, to be an acknowledgment that, when the majority demanded Disestablishment, the leaders of the party would hold that they could not refuse to concede it, and it was also generally admitted that it would be 'impracticable to separate the fate of the two Establishments.'* Mr. Gladstone, in his second Midlothian speech,† followed the line taken by Lord Hartington. The question of Disestablishment was not for him to determine. 'It is not part of my duty to keep it backward. It is not part of my duty to endeavour to thrust it forward.' At a somewhat earlier date he had been more explicit. The parochial clergy, he wrote, were often partisans, but not often 'on the side of labour.' This fact had tended to 'stimulate a feeling in favour

* *'Times'*, Nov. 13, 1877.

† Nov. 26, 1879.

of the Disestablishment of the Church.' The agricultural labourers looked to Nonconformists for help, and 'Nonconformity, which still supplies to so great an extent the backbone of British Liberalism, is now largely intent on effecting Disestablishment.'* No man knows better than Mr. Gladstone how to scatter seed of this kind by the wayside. If he did not proceed to argue in favour of Disestablishment, he was ostentatiously careful not to say a word against it. Another member of the present Cabinet has felt himself at liberty to use language more decided than either Lord Hartington or Mr. Gladstone thought proper to employ.

'The Church,' said Mr. Chamberlain, at Bradford (Nov. 14, 1877), 'has been a hindrance to all political and intellectual progress. Its character was the character of an institution which had been a protracted and happily fruitless struggle against beneficial reform. When they found that the institution was a political-manufactured, State-made machine, he said the Liberal party was blind to the teachings of the present and deaf to the evidence of the past, if they did not take the first opportunity to remove that perpetual stumbling-block in the way of progress. . . . Though there were many who did not think the time had yet come, though there might be a few who hoped it never would come, yet the great majority of the Party were in favour of Disestablishment. If those who were not with them on this question, and therefore were against them, only remained in the Liberal camp to spike its guns, their assistance would be dispensed with, and those who remained would seek their truest and best allies in the great mass of the working people of this country, who had never favoured class interests, and had always been the supporters of religious equality.'—*'Times' Report*, Nov. 15, 1877.

There is no misunderstanding this language, and we do not suppose that Mr. Chamberlain has lost faith in his cause, or that he regards Mr. Gladstone as an enemy lingering in camp to spike the guns. The question, in his opinion, is already settled. Attacked from within and without at the same moment, the Established Church is but living out its allotted days of grace. The 'party of the future' can thus turn its attention to contests, the issues of which are not regarded as quite so assured beforehand. And one of them concerns the House of Lords.

The existence of this branch of the Legislature is, we are assured, an anachronism, and something worse even than that—an injustice and a wrong to the whole nation. 'It is necessary from time to time,' says one of the Radical journals, 'to tell the House of Lords that they exist upon sufferance.' The '*Pall Mall Gazette*' adopts a very similar tone in its references to the

* '*Nineteenth Century*,' Nov. 1877.

Upper House. This journal, since it became 'translated,' has the merit of speaking out distinctly, perhaps more distinctly than some of its political associates always approve; but it may be taken as a very fair and moderate exponent of Radicalism. Men who are in office may find it necessary to be more circumspect than they were when beating about the country on the 'stump.' But a newspaper is free. It is true that of late the Radical organ does not blurt out so many secrets as it did. The warmth of early confidence is over. At first everything was disclosed in a generous gush, and we were permitted to receive the true doctrine without dilution. It was admitted, in effect, that though Revolution was idly talked about in 1832, it had in reality just begun. 'Men,' we are told, 'feel behind them the impulse of heavier masses of voters than ever backed Liberalism before.' We confess the figure seemed a little awkward; but it was forcible. The advanced Liberals, we also learnt, were for the first time really masters of the situation, though for the moment consenting to obey Mr. Gladstone. They are 'prepared to urge the maxim of "Thorough"'—not, we presume, in its old signification—but at the same time they 'know how to wait and be silent,' and these are truly great qualities. The 'Nonagenarians' of the Liberal party must be thrown overboard. 'For political force,' said the writer, 'you need the impulse of more energetic natures, and the strenuous application of a more expansive doctrine;' in short, the impulse from behind of which he had previously spoken. With these advantages, Parliament, now a 'plutocratic machine,' might soon be brought, 'by a change in its construction,' into harmony with the wishes of a great majority of Englishmen. Then came another friendly hint:—

'People will do well to prepare for more agitation in this direction. It is a great mistake to suppose that when the time comes for Mr. Gladstone to retire from the leadership of the party, that will be the signal for universal peace and quietness in English politics. On the contrary, it is Mr. Gladstone's commanding position which has made the advanced Liberals in the House of Commons into the silent phalanx that we have seen. They are not able, and we may believe are not at all anxious, to harass or withstand or press Mr. Gladstone. But if Mr. Gladstone were to withdraw from active leadership, then nothing is more certain than that the advanced Liberals, both in the House and in the constituencies, would at once begin both to speak and to move for themselves.'—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1880.

Mr. Gladstone, who has done much to merit the approval of the Radicals, is regarded as a drag upon the wheel. He has made, as all must admit, wonderful progress since he entered upon

upon public life, but he is still lagging far in the rear of the more ardent spirits trained in his school. They will take up the work when it drops from his hands; indeed, it will not be their fault if they do not take it up before. They cannot do without Mr. Gladstone, but, as the '*Pall Mall Gazette*' gives us to understand, they are quite ready to 'speak and move for themselves.' Perhaps it may be unnecessary. It is never possible to say that Mr. Gladstone will go so far and no farther, and his more 'expansive' disciples need not abandon the hope that he will yet conduct them in person to the final assault upon the House of Peers.

During the Session of 1880, a conference of Liberal 'delegates' from various districts where that potent machine, 'the caucus,' is at work, assembled together for the purpose 'of protesting against the habitual obstruction of needed reforms by the lords and squirearchy.' Mr. Cremer brought forward the following resolution:—

'That the House of Lords, having repeatedly opposed itself to the will of the people as expressed through their representatives in the House of Commons, and demonstrated its incapacity to legislate for any other than class and privileged interests, this meeting declares that a second Chamber composed of hereditary peers is an outrage on common sense, and resolves to agitate for its reconstruction on a representative basis.'

This did not go far enough for 'Mr. Nias, of Chelsea,' whose maxim, like that of the Radical evening journal, is 'Thorough.' He declared that he would not 'give a fig for any reform of the House of Lords, but would sweep it away, the foundations being rotten.' We do not quote these expressions of opinion with any idea of ridiculing them. The caucus, and the powerful delegations which represent it at meetings such as the above, are among the new agencies in political life upon which Conservatives would do well to fix a very close attention. No one can fail to have remarked that the constitutional function of the House of Lords is performed under increasing difficulties. If it rejects any measure sent up to it, it is denounced for daring to array itself against the will of the people. Mr. Forster led an outcry of this kind just before the close of last Session. The Lords had rejected his 'Compensation for Disturbance Bill,' and he warned them that their interference might 'lead many men in this House (the House of Commons) and out of it to consider that a frequent repetition of such action requires some change in the constitution of the House of Lords.' Not satisfied with uttering this threat, as a responsible Minister of the Crown, Mr. Forster went on to say:—'It cannot be forgotten that we
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are the representatives of the people, and that the power which the House of Lords possesses is simply owing to the accident of birth.* To show how opposed this statement is to the history of the House of Lords, and to the spirit of the Constitution, would be a waste of labour, for it is not to history or fact that the Radicals or their followers are disposed to pay any heed. With them, the whole of England's past is a shameful page, to be blotted out if possible; if not, to be hidden away. The Lords might show that their function in the State is as useful and important as that of the Lower House, and that their part in the Constitution is as clearly defined; but the answer would always be the same:—

‘Qui te rend si hardi de troubler mon breuvage?’

The Radical mouthpieces, indeed, begin not only to object to the Lords voting upon any public question, but to resent their presuming even to talk about it. When the surrender of Candahar was the theme of a debate in March last, the *‘Daily News’* (March 3rd) told them that the public would be *‘thinking’* about them, not about Candahar; that a *‘second chamber’* out of *‘harmony’* with the national mind was, *‘if not an evil which requires to be abolished, an inconvenience which needs to be abated,’* and that the Upper House needed *‘what mechanics call spring.’* When opponents reveal such a spirit as this, argument is thrown away. Their threats are of violence, and to that alone are they prepared to appeal. Yet the Lords may be disposed to point out that if they are to be prohibited from doing the duty which the Constitution imposes upon them, and from exercising their just and lawful functions, they might as well be *‘reformed’* out of existence altogether. In the maintenance of our ancient form of government, the nation has more at stake than individuals. Lord Russell has left us the record of his judgment that the abolition of the House of Lords would infallibly involve the fall of the Monarchy, and he might have added force to his statement by recalling the fact that, once already in this country the two institutions have fallen together. The Whig Earl, however, was one of the *‘Nonagenarians,’* and it would but provoke a burst of inerriment to quote his opinions in an assembly of Latter Day Radicals. Even the catastrophe which he predicts would have little terrors for one member at least of the present Government, who long ago proclaimed himself a Republican.

* Speech in the House of Commons, Sept. 3, 1880. Lord Granville afterwards endeavoured to explain that Mr. Forster had not quite meant what he said; but no explanation or denial was ever put forward by Mr. Forster himself.

After the introduction of the various measures which characterized the 'new departure' of 1880, the 'Pall Mall Gazette' recommended the public not to be surprised at anything they saw going on, for it was but the opening of the ball. 'These Bills, it said, were 'really elementary; they are mere rudiments in the Liberal programme.' A practical turn to this admission was given during the discussion on the Ground Game Bill, by the advice to the landowners to reserve their powers of resistance for the more arduous struggle which lay before them. Mr. Gladstone had, a year previously, uttered a similar warning. In his third Midlothian speech (Nov. 27, 1879) he discussed the land question at some length, and referred to 'those who think that if you can cut up the land, or a large part of it, into a multitude of small properties, that of itself will solve the difficulty, and start everybody on a career of prosperity.' And how did he deal with this proposition? 'Now, gentlemen, to a proposal of that kind I, for one, am not going to object, upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with the privileges of landed proprietors.' The State might 'buy out' the landlords, 'for the purpose of dividing the property into small lots.' 'I freely own,' he went on to say, 'that compulsory expropriation is a thing which, for an adequate public object, is itself admissible, and so far sound in principle.'* Then came the usual 'ifs' and 'buts,' to the effect that small holdings would not answer so well in this country as they do in France; but it is the admission that 'compulsory expropriation' may be taken as 'sound in principle' that the audience at the time doubtless regarded as the marrow of the speech. It is declarations such as these that the Revolutionary party keep before the eyes of the people; the clouds which encircle them are very soon blown away and forgotten. From many a smaller beginning than this has Mr. Gladstone advanced to measures which have startled his friends no less than his opponents. No one need suppose that, when the Radical leaders talk of 'land reform,' all that they ask for is the abolition of the law of settlement and entail, and compensation for tenants' improvements. There is something much more than this in the background, just as there is when the Irish agitator talks of 'Home Rule.' The entail which they are aiming to cut off is that of the commonwealth, hazarding, as Burke has put it, 'to leave to those who come after them a ruin instead of an habitation, and teaching these successors as little to respect their contrivances as they had themselves respected the institutions of their forefathers.' The time is probably not

* 'Collected Speeches,' first series, p. 102.

far distant when 'landlordism' will be pronounced as great an offence in England as it is now in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone admits that under certain conditions the 'compulsory expropriation' of landowners would be quite justifiable. Those who are familiar with the development of Mr. Gladstone's convictions in past years, may easily surmise that the conditions admitted to be necessary now may hereafter be subject to great modification. The most powerful member of the present Cabinet, next to its head, has invariably displayed towards the landed interest a feeling of deep animosity. It is quite true that Mr. Bright has fallen short of the mark reached by his younger allies, but they practically seek the same end that he has sought, by somewhat different means. Long ago he told the landlords that the time would come when the middle and working classes would 'have to decide between the claims of territorial magnates and the just rights of millions of our countrymen.'* The great bulk of the population, he has complained over and over again, are unjustly 'divorced from the soil of their native land.' His full meaning is not always clearly revealed, for, after all, Mr. Bright has been accustomed to conduct controversies with a touch, however slight, of the spirit hitherto common among English public men, and, in comparison with 'more energetic natures,' he roars you as gently as any sucking dove. But he does not leave us in doubt as to his intentions. What he demands, as he explained in a speech delivered at Rochdale in November 1877, is 'that the land shall be divided a little more equally among the great body of the people.' To be sure, he would not 'advocate any system of legislation which would deprive anybody of a single acre of land.' But if nobody is to lose an acre, how is the acre to be divided? At the same meeting, another powerful member of the present Government, Mr. Chamberlain, made the following statement:—

'The time, in his opinion, had come, when the scope of the landowners' duties might be somewhat enlarged, and the extent of their rights somewhat curtailed; and if the present conditions of land tenure could be shown to be unfavourable to production from the soil, it appeared to him that Parliament had precisely similar grounds for interference as in the case of a great landowner wilfully throwing his land into waste.'—*Times*, Nov. 8, 1879.

He went on to say:—

'They also wanted to bring more land into the market, for there was a vast quantity in England that was at present settled in some particular manner in perpetuity. The condition of things with regard

* Speech on the 'Distribution of Land,' Jan. 26, 1864. 'Collected Speeches,' vol. ii. p. 357.

to land caused a serious deduction from the prosperity of the country, and indirectly involved a *great injury and wrong* to the labourer employed on the soil.'

'I care little,' he added, 'which of the great questions we first attack—the Church or the Land; but, whenever we march to the assault, we shall find difficulties to conquer.' Four years have not passed away, and the speaker, from a local agitator, has become one of the three Cabinet Ministers who shape and control the policy of the country. Under all the circumstances, it is hard to understand by what train of reasoning the landlords satisfy themselves that they have nothing to apprehend from legislation guided by Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain. Do they fancy that either of these Radical leaders has changed his mind? Or do they suppose that Mr. Gladstone will move backward rather than forward when the time arrives for dealing with the land question? Their supineness astonishes even those who, as Mr. Chamberlain puts it, are marching to the assault. The leading Radical paper tells them plainly that they do not appreciate the 'relentless force which is working against them.' The idea that 'economical laws must knock the ground from under them has not yet fully entered their heads.' It is all to be done, observe, by 'economical laws'—no violence on any consideration. The writer continues:—

'A permanent reduction in the income obtained from land of, say, 30 per cent. even—a moderate estimate in view of the great and glowing development of Western farming—such a fall as that, accompanied as it must be by an equal reduction in principal, would stir any other class to its depths. If Consols, for instance, seemed likely to topple from 99 to 70, and the interest to be simultaneously lowered from 8 to 2, the sluggish fundholders would begin to inquire the ultimate why and wherefore of the unpleasant shrinkage in their principal or the woful diminution in their interest. Yet in this case no political institutions, no long-sustained aristocratic rule based on possession of a particular description of property, would be involved. But landowners, and the whole scheme of society which rests upon their existence as an easy class, are not so easily alarmed. To all appearance they are of opinion that things must come right somehow.'*

The plain fact is, that the landowners cannot yet be brought to understand the changed and changing England in which they are living. There are certain restraints upon the Revolutionary party at this moment, which they fancy will endure for ever. While men like Lord Granville and Lord Harting-

* 'Pall Mall Gazette,' Dec. 16, 1880.

ton are in the Cabinet, property of any kind, as they fondly believe, cannot be in jeopardy. But every true Radical looks forward to the golden time when men of this class will no longer be in the Cabinet. The Whigs, they anticipate, will be driven forth into the wilderness, and then a new and invincible party of the people will arise. When they have secured power in their own hands, what will they do with it? On this point we must listen, if we wish to have the whole case before us, to all sorts of Radicals, including one who has a fair claim to be regarded as representative of his party—the late junior Member for Northampton. He has explained to an American ‘interviewer’ the objects of the Land-Law Reform League, of which, it seems, he is President. All lands now uncultivated must be brought into cultivation on pain of dispossession, with payment to the owner of twenty years’ purchase. It may safely be assumed that this last provision must be held to be open to considerable amendment. The land is then to become the property of the State. The landlords may object, but ‘they were never weaker than they are at this moment.’ The next Parliament will be very differently constituted from the present, and then will dawn the morning of freedom. ‘About eighty per cent. of the artisans,’ says this authority, ‘are in favour of a Republican form of government. We shall see the end of the British monarchy in our time.’ The Royal Family might be allowed to ‘go about their business.’ It will luckily not be necessary to inflict upon them the fate which befel Charles the First. ‘The present Government might possibly last three years, and would be succeeded by one far more democratic in its constitution.’ Such are the plans for the future formed by the seer of Northampton; and we are glad that we have not been obliged to read all his published writings to get at them.* His modest colleague is less communicative, but he is not totally without the gift of prophecy. ‘When the Irish land question is solved, the English land question will be taken in hand.’ That is why, he explained, ‘the Conservatives object to upsetting the land-laws in Ireland.’ And that is why, he might have added, the Radicals are so eager to do it. Love of Ireland has never

* The quotations are from the ‘Boston Daily Globe’ of July 10, 1880. As regards the land question, the ‘programme’ here given is identical with that published by the ‘Land-Law Reform League,’ of which Mr. Bradlaugh is President, and Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. T. Burt, M.P., Mr. Ashton W. Dilke, M.P., Captain Whalley, M.P., and Mr. A. Macdonald, M.P., are members. In a largely circulated pamphlet, entitled ‘The Land, the People, and the Coming Struggle,’ Mr. Bradlaugh puts the Radical programme into a nutshell:—‘The enormous estates of the few landed proprietors must not only be prevented from growing larger, they *must be broken up.*’

been a special weakness with the party which is identified with Coercion Bills. But what is done in Ireland may be made in good time a precedent for dealing with England; or, as the writer we have just quoted puts it, 'so long as nothing is done in Ireland, nothing will be done in England.' If we remain ignorant of the scope and nature of the projected Revolution, we can never complain that its leaders, great or small, have deceived us.

Stripped of equivocation and disguise, the party of 'progress' take up the position that land belongs to the people, and ought to be restored to them. This is not a new idea, but it has never before been brought within the range of 'practical' politics in this country. In regard to Ireland, the proposition is put forward without any cloak. A landlord may indeed hold land, but he must not expect to receive rent for it. If he puts in force the means which the law provides for recovering any money owing to him, he is an oppressor of the community. A landlord is like a bandit seeking to secure his booty. Such is the view expressed by a writer in the 'Nineteenth Century' for February 1881. 'We have,' he says, 'captured this booty, touch it who dare!—is no exaggerated representation of the tone in which Conservatism too frequently approaches property discussions. . . . Because the individual has managed to be the first to get hold of something, he is entitled to keep it, as against the community, who are at the same time bound to protect him in possession. The plea comes as near as can be imagined to maintaining that property is theft and quite right too.' A man buys or inherits land, and is told that he has merely managed to be 'the first to get hold of something,' and if he talks of keeping it, he is given to understand, by a slight circumlocution, that he is defending a theft. The demand for compulsory restitution becomes simple enough after this. It may be said that these are the wild theories of a few enthusiasts, and that the projects involved in them are impossible. Many things, however, that would once have been pronounced impossible have come to pass of late years. It was deemed impossible that Mr. Gladstone would ever lead an attack in any form on the rights of private property, but he has done it. It was held to be quite impossible that a politician who had avowed Republican principles, and attacked the Sovereign for not paying her fair share of taxes, should occupy an important post in the Government, and equally impossible that another politician should gain a place in the Cabinet for securing an English patent for the 'caucus;' and yet these events have happened without anybody's special wonder. The laws which the land-leaguers, English and Irish, propose to change, can undoubtedly

undoubtedly be changed by Parliament, and the first step to bring that about is to secure a majority in the House of Commons. Now the arrangements for obtaining this majority are constantly kept in the most perfect working order, and they will be strengthened and enlarged before the next General Election. Moreover, the Ministry, unless all accounts err, and unless it disregards the repeated pledges of its most powerful members, will strive to secure the agricultural vote by introducing household suffrage into the counties, so that the landlords and all their class may be swamped. Already Associations for removing the 'land grievance' have been formed in many counties where nothing of the kind existed before, and these Associations are not asleep. We see or hear of their proceedings in every direction. The farmers are told that if they will only support the Radicals, the repeal of the Malt-tax and the passing of the Ground Game Bill will prove but the slight precursors of more substantial benefits to come. In fact, as a Radical journal plainly says, these concessions must only be regarded as 'an earnest of greater measures in the future.' It is absurd to suppose that such promises make no impression in the rural districts. The well-known argument, so much and so justly dreaded at election time by old campaigners, 'this party has done nothing for us—let us try the other,' is becoming a sort of watchword among tenant-farmers. They complain—and it would be mere folly to turn a deaf ear to their complaints—that the last Conservative Ministry showed an utter indifference to their interests. If they submitted their grievances to those who were high in authority, they were told mysteriously to 'take no precipitate steps.' Farmers never do take precipitate steps, and they were not dreaming of taking them then, and therefore this advice did not seem in any way to apply to them or their case. They spoke of American competition, and were bidden 'not to enquire into it too curiously.' The United States market would some day be destroyed by Canada, though how that was to help the farmers in England was never satisfactorily explained. The policy, indeed, of developing our trade with our own colonies might be used as a formidable weapon against the hostile tariffs which operate injuriously against us, and some day this will become a vital question of the hour. But it has never yet been taken up by any party in an earnest and a statesmanlike spirit.

The agriculturists, thus discouraged, soon found a vehicle for the expression of their grievances in the 'Farmers' Alliance,' an organization to which many old members of the Conservative party belong, and which is spreading rapidly in all parts of

the country. The labourers are also uniting together through the medium of the 'Agricultural Labourers' Union,' founded in 1871, and already becoming a considerable power. The deputations which it has managed to get up, in accordance with Hyde Park precedents, have been seen more than once in the streets of London. When the labourer sees how much has been gained in Ireland by agitation and clamour, he would be much more thick-witted than he really is if he did not set about trying what agitation will do for him. There are not wanting leaders to encourage and cheer him on. He can be useful to them, and they to him. The 'squirearchy' believe that no serious discontent is to be found in the country districts. They would not have to go far from their own doors to discover good cause for altering their opinion. The farmers are not satisfied, for they have had of late years to face a competition which is too strong for them, combined with a proportion of three bad harvests to one of a fairly average standard. Their rents were raised in very prosperous times, and as a rule they have not been lowered to meet the vicissitudes of these days, although liberal abatements have in many instances been made. Even for foreign competition, the land laws are saddled with the blame. 'They have rendered the soil unremunerative,' says a journal which circulates largely among the poorer classes, 'by giving the foreigners immense advantages over us. Where they have enriched one person they have made hundreds and thousands paupers and criminals.' The writer asks:—

'Will the heartlessness, the luxury, the extravagance displayed by the upper orders of Society in England, bring down upon their heads the terrible retribution that fell on those of the French aristocracy at the end of the last century? Possibly those it most concerns take little heed of the matter, as the majority of them know as little of history as of humanity.' *

Hundreds of farms are daily being offered in the market, which a few years ago would not have remained unlet a single day; but now no one applies for them. If the landlord attempts to work them himself, he generally does so at a loss. In Kent, Hampshire, Essex, Suffolk, Sussex, and throughout the Midlands, Societies under various names have been formed, demanding 'land reform' in accordance with the Radical programme. Cheap 'tracts' and newspapers are widely circulated, and, if many of the labourers cannot read them, they learn the gist of them at public-houses and benefit clubs. At a meeting of the East Sussex Farmers' Alliance, held at Tunbridge Wells on the

* 'Reynolds's Newspaper,' July 24, 1880.

4th of February last, one of the speakers made the following remarks :—

‘There was no doubt that the action taken by the tenant-farmers in Ireland had urged the consideration of this land question; that the action of the Irish tenant-farmers had had the effect of pressing this question upon the attention of Parliament, and not only upon the attention of Parliament, but also the attention of the country at large, to an extent it would not have otherwise received. The example set by the Irish tenants had taught their English brethren that they too must act—more loyally, but still act for themselves.’

It is the beginning, not the end, of the land agitation upon which we are now looking in Ireland. All that the Radicals prize most is to come afterwards. Ireland is but the outwork to the main citadel. No wonder that some impatience is manifested to get the preliminary work done, and it is an impatience which to some extent at least is shared by Mr. Gladstone, if we may judge from the following announcement, which appeared in the newspapers on the 9th of March :—

‘The farmers of North Hants recently passed a resolution at Alton on land questions. Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the resolution, says that he is very sensible of the urgency of questions connected with land in England and Scotland, and he much regrets that they have been for the present thrust back from the immediate front of public affairs.’

At a meeting of the Farmers’ Alliance, held in London, on the 9th of December last, a Sussex farmer declared that they ought to ‘take a lesson in organization from the Land League in Ireland.’ The questions which affected the Irish tenant-farmers also pressed upon the same class in England. They wanted the three ‘F’s’ as much as the Irish; ‘they wanted some reasonable powers of purchasing their holdings when they had lived upon them for some considerable length of time.’ As a Radical organ very truly remarked at the time, ‘this sort of talk from a farmer in Sussex has a significance which can hardly be mistaken.’ And yet it is still mistaken by the landed interest, which clings to the belief, so dear to Englishmen who have anything to lose, that all things will go on for ever as they have done in the days gone by. Their labourers will be true to the ‘good old cause.’ But which is the good old cause? The protection of self-interest is one of the oldest causes known, and the agricultural labourers, advised by sharp delegates from Birmingham and London, may perhaps regard that as the one they are called upon to defend. They are constantly assured that if they will work hand in hand with the Radicals, their lot in life will be made much easier and brighter

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than it now is. And that there is room for improvement no one can doubt. The general condition of labourers' homes is not such as to inspire the occupants with perfect happiness or content. They are not by any means placed beyond the reach of professional agitators. Opinion and thought move more slowly in the country than in town, but in these days they do move. Almost every really alert and energetic agency for controlling this movement is at present in the hands of the Radicals. And yet, in spite of that, it is imagined that the agricultural labourers, when they get a vote, will give it to Conservatives and landlords. Why should they do so? Is not all the temptation on the other side? 'Your enemy,' says the delegate and the caucus-monger, 'is the landed system; by your votes you can break it down, and we will confer upon you the power of voting; after that, it is for you to decide how long you will go on working as a drudge without the slightest hope of ever becoming your own master. If everybody had his own, the land upon which you slave would be divided among your class; put your shoulders to the wheel, and see what will happen.' Human nature being what it is, doctrines such as these, preached incessantly, will produce some effect. That they are false and delusive all well-informed people know; but the majority of people are not well informed. It is useless to tell them that, if land were all divided into small allotments to-morrow, an 'inevitable law' would instantly be set in motion towards its accumulation in a few hands once more. Their answer is: 'Be it so; we shall at least have our turn first, and you have had yours quite long enough. Give us what we want now; never mind about "inevitable laws," or what may happen afterwards.' 'Sooner or later,' Mr. Ruskin has told the landlords, 'within the next few years, you will find yourselves in Parliament in front of a majority resolved on the establishment of a Republic and the division of lands.'^{*} It cannot be said that no progress has been made since the utterance of the prediction towards its fulfilment. The work goes on apace, and those who are pressing it forward are well satisfied to find that the enemy looks upon them with contempt. Prince Metternich held the belief that, of all the revolutions hanging over Europe, the most destructive would be witnessed in England, for there the Church and the aristocracy had immense revenues still untouched, ready 'to be the spoil of the ravenous democracy which was working its will over the European monarchies.'[†] But forebodings of this sort, it is said, were entertained in consequence of the political changes of 1832, and

^{*} 'Fors Clavigera,' letter xlv. p. 200, 1874.

[†] Mentioned in Earl Russell's 'Recollections and Suggestions,' chap. iv.

nothing has happened. We venture to think that a good deal has happened. The Democratic movement has been steadily rolling on, gathering new force year by year. It is true that it has occasionally been checked, but careful observers will not fail to notice that after every such check the tide has washed in further than before. And it must in all candour be admitted that even these very checks have sometimes been rather apparent than real. More than once, the period of office assigned to the Conservatives has been marked by what Mr. Disraeli himself called 'truly Liberal' legislation. Since 1832, the Liberals have held power nearly thirty-four years, and the Conservatives little more than fifteen. It cannot fairly be maintained that these fifteen years represent a period of successful opposition to the progress of Democracy. We need not enter into details; any one who is properly acquainted with the political history of the last half-century will find no difficulty in remembering them. To assert that the events of 1830-32 led to nothing which need occasion disquietude with regard to the institutions of the country, is to take a very limited and superficial view of the subject. The history of the French Revolution has to be begun from the year 1740, not from 1789. The future historian of the English Revolution will feel himself compelled to begin at a period not later than 1830. But power was not yielded to the majority under the first Reform Bill; in reality, the number of new voters admitted to the suffrage was comparatively small. In the first Parliament after the Reform Bill, the Radicals, all told, did not number fifty. 'They found,' as Sir Erskine May says, 'no welcome to the gay saloons of the Courtly Whigs; but were severed, by an impassable gulf, from the real rulers of the people, whose ambition they promoted, but could not hope to share.'* Well, we have changed all that. The Radical is a power in the State—very nearly the greatest power. At least a fair proportion of coveted offices falls to his lot, and he may, if so minded, frequent 'Palladian palaces,' and recline on 'brilliant sofas' with Zenobias and Berengarias to his heart's content. The apprehensions of sweeping changes in 1832 were doubtless premature; and many causes—not the least among them being the strength which the Whigs long retained in the country—tended to retard the advance of revolutionary ideas. But those ideas were always growing in strength, and the last barrier to their progress within the old Liberal party is crumbling to pieces. Whig

* 'Constitutional History,' ii. p. 62.

ascendency is in its grave, and Whig influence is quickly following it.

But the landed interest will always be safe. We should like those who think so to explain what it is that they expect to make it safe. The 'spirit of the age' does not afford them much encouragement. The legislation foreshadowed even by the comparatively moderate Government now in office affords still less. The balance of power nowadays is not with the middle-class, which was always regarded as a sure ally of the landlords. It is with the artisans, and the only change at present suggested is that they should share it with a class below them in intelligence and education—the rural labourers. Both classes will then unite, as Mr. George Potter and other popular leaders have long foretold. 'The labourers,' says Mr. Potter,* 'will clearly see, when they get the franchise, they will owe it to the townsmen of their own social rank. . . . There will therefore grow up a solid and cemented union between the two.' Mr. Arch gives forth his battle cry in the words, 'We mean to have the vote,' and his confidence is justified by the promises already made by the recognized party leaders. The present Government will not go out of office, if it can help itself, till the agricultural labourers are enfranchised, and Sir Stafford Northcote calculated, a few years ago, that this measure would admit at least a million and a half to the suffrage. The interests of property, and all other interests, will then be at the final disposition of a count of heads. Now, Mr. Gladstone has himself admitted that the labouring classes are ill fitted to assume this responsibility. 'The working man,' he writes,† 'or *popolano*, will very frequently come to the polls with his mind in rather a negative state,' easily accessible to injurious influences. 'His little bark will carry no great breadth of canvas, and the puff of factitious adulation will act upon its equilibrium like a squall.' Surely if any man has tested the truth of these words, in more ways than one, it is Mr. Gladstone himself. The first results of the new system of government are already before us, and they can be judged by any man who cares to look into them. A foreign policy, which is framed by *doctrinaires* and the '*popolano*,' is not likely to exhibit either wisdom, firmness, or a wise regard for the future of the nation. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find that the policy of universal surrender, the attitude of humiliation, and the language of apology, are becoming habitual with us. England is instantly adjudged to

* 'Nineteenth Century,' January 1878, p. 65.

† Ibid. July 1878.

be in the wrong whenever she finds herself involved in difficulties abroad, and those who call upon the country to defend her possessions are pleasantly described as 'the drunken helots of Imperialism.' The surrender of Candahar was so glorious a victory in the eyes of the Radicals, that their emotions broke through the ordinary restraints of prose, and overflowed in a song of triumph. The following is one stanza of what appears to be intended for a new national anthem, specially adapted to the England of the future:—

'Then lay aside the flaunting flag
Which led us on to plunder.
In silence fold the glorious rag,
And bottle England's thunder.
Great Jingo's power is broken,
They've hurled him from his car;
His last commands are spoken,
He sleeps at Candahar! '*

There is some good to be said for every nation or tribe under Heaven, but ourselves. In Africa, we are merciless oppressors; in India, bloodthirsty despots; in Ireland, cowardly tyrants. Such are the tidings of great joy carried by Radical speakers and journals to all parts of the globe. Their delight when they have found some new pretext for heaping dirt upon their own country knows no bounds. England, alone among nations, has no friends:—

' . . . The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanch, and Sweetheart, see, they bark at me.'

No matter by whom England is accused, judgment is forthwith given against her. This is a peculiarity of which English Democrats enjoy the monopoly. We do not find the American people eagerly joining with foreigners in dishonouring their country. For examples of gross injustice towards England, of wild and reckless calumny, we must go, not to foreign critics, but to English politicians and journalists. Should rebellion be threatened in any part of our dominions, or violence be rife close to our own doors, the law must not be invoked for the preservation of order. During the Reign of Terror in Ireland—and there was no extravagance in so describing it—the Radical journals had little or nothing to say in condemnation of the perpetrators of outrages. Their indignation was reserved for the victims, who ought to have rendered it 'unnecessary'—to use Mr. Parnell's word—for Irishmen to cut the tongues out of horses, and shoot men from behind hedges and walls.

* 'Pall Mall Gazette,' March 28, 1881.

Not by these signs alone may we mark our transition from the old order to the new. The change which characterizes all revolutionary eras, and which is to be seen and felt rather than described, is passing over every phase of public life. On one point Mr. Gladstone may again be summoned as a witness. He perceives in the 'public institutions' of the country a 'sad tendency to decline.' 'It seems to me that, as a whole, our level of public principle and public action was at its zenith in the twenty years or thereabouts which succeeded the Reform Act of 1832, and that it has since perceptibly gone down.'* And again he speaks of the 'decline in the average quality of the *personnel* of the Representative House, which has, I fear, unquestionably taken place since the first Parliament met under the Reform Act.† Mr. Gladstone would probably be the last to affirm that there are any symptoms of a change for the better in the House which has been elected since he wrote these words. Concurrently with the demand for the abolition of the House of Lords, it is being conclusively proved that the Lower House is incapable of carrying on properly the business of the country. The tactics which the Liberals encouraged when they were in Opposition have been turned against them in power, and they are obliged to acknowledge that, without the aid of the party against which they employed every unfair device yet invented, the commonest details of legislation must be brought to a deadlock. 'Obstruction,' says Mr. Cowen, the Radical member for Newcastle, 'was fostered by articles in magazines over distinguished signatures, and by the action of the prominent members of the Opposition, who came down and lent the light of their countenances to the Irish members in their struggles with the Treasury Bench.‡ Further light was thrown upon this statement in the same debate by Mr. T. P. O'Connor.

'When they indulged in obstruction,' he said, 'Liberal members came and told them how the game was to be played. Their greater skill was ready to aid the ruder ignorance of the Irish body. Their higher prestige came to the assistance of the beleaguered Irish forces. Some who had become right honourables came in at the tail of the hunt.'

At this interesting point in the narrative, the Speaker interfered, and Mr. O'Connor was silenced. But those of us who have memories may at least fill up the blanks left by Mr. Cowen. We know what he meant by the defence of obstruction 'over

* 'Nineteenth Century,' November 1877, p. 554.

† Ibid. p. 557.

‡ Mr. Cowen's Speech in the House of Commons, February 25, 1881.

distinguished

distinguished 'signatures.' Let us turn to the 'Nineteenth Century' for August 1879. There, with the usual qualifications, Mr. Gladstone declared that 'to prolong debate even by persistent reiteration on legislative measures is not necessarily an outrage, an offence, or even an indiscretion. For in some cases it is only by the use of this instrument that a small minority with strong views can draw adequate attention to those views.' Even where it is an offence, it can hardly be punished 'in cases where the subject in debate is wide, and of real public moment.' The Irish obstructionists may well have felt that they needed no stronger defence than this, backed up as it was by the demeanour of Mr. Gladstone in the House when a Conservative Ministry was the object of attack. When the engineer was 'hoist with his own petard,' he had no hesitation in appealing to the Conservative party to come to his rescue. First overthrow a party by arts which are subsequently admitted to be unscrupulous, and then call upon it to enable you to govern. Such is the policy of the modern apostles of liberty, and in their opinion, doubtless, its success more than justifies its adoption.

Mr. Gladstone, as one of the oldest members of the House of Commons, deploras the decline in its *personnel*. It would be very difficult to see any hope of improvement under the system which reinstated him in office. The business of politics, the 'machine,' is managed more and more in secret conclave by wire-pullers. A man who has independent opinions on public questions, and ventures to express them, will soon find it beyond the range of possibility to obtain a seat for any constituency. The candidate will be chosen by a local committee, and the constituency will have but a secondary kind of choice. No one who does not bear the magic stamp of the 'two hundred' upon him will stand a chance of success. The subservient candidate who receives the approval of the caucus must be content to take sealed orders from his masters. The pressure even now brought to bear upon a member of the House of Commons would have astounded the sturdy representatives of the nation in days which were certainly not less glorious than these. If a man is thought to be wavering, his constituents are communicated with by some central organization, and they in turn send an imperious 'mandate' to him. Go where he may, he is followed by commands to 'vote straight,' or by resolutions denouncing him as a traitor. The face of a *suspect*, as he opens his sheaf of telegrams in the Lobby, during a time of excitement, presents an interesting study for the artist. The 'machine' is equally useful for turning out public meetings to order, either by wholesale or retail. If a government is to be
weakened

weakened during a difficult negotiation with a foreign Power, the hue and cry against it may be raised in the course of a very few hours, and from nearly all parts of the country at once, for these details of party work are despatched with a promptitude unknown in the dark ages. As one of Her Majesty's present advisers condescended to explain, some little time ago:—

‘The nature of the influence exerted may be gathered from a consideration of recent proceedings in connection with the debate on the Eastern Question, when nearly one hundred and fifty public meetings were held all over the country at a few days' notice in response to a suggestion from the Birmingham Liberal Association alone, and as many more on the recommendation of other political associations.’*

This instrument, commonly known as the ‘caucus,’ is unworthy of all the truly great traditions of English public life, but it is not inappropriate to the new phase into which it is passing, or to the statesmen of the future, of whom Mr. Chamberlain is a type. The caucus restrains men of high character from entering public life, or shuts them out from it altogether; but it does the work for which it is designed—that is to say, it ‘rolls up’ large party majorities. Like every American invention—like the reaping-machine or the sewing-machine—it largely or altogether supersedes old-fashioned contrivances. When one party has it in effective operation, and the other party refuses to adopt it, the contest will always end pretty much as the last General Election indicated—namely, in the triumph of the caucus. No combination ever yet formed in the United States has been strong enough to break down the caucus when working at what may be called its full power; and we do not know that such an event has been heard of for half a century past as a candidate for anything or anywhere, from a tide-waitership to the Presidency, at ‘a primary meeting’ or a National Convention, succeeding in getting even nominated on a thoroughly independent footing. The caucus must put its imprimatur upon him or he is a lost man. We need not now undertake to explain the harm which this system has occasioned: personal independence is abolished, but the ordinary machinery of party is strengthened tenfold. The control of constituencies gradually falls into the hands of a few men, as was soon found out in Birmingham after its introduction there, to the astonishment and somewhat ludicrous dismay of many of the onlookers.† We may object to the caucus as much as we please,

* Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., in the ‘Fortnightly Review,’ July 1, 1877.

† In August 1878, a resident of Birmingham wrote to the ‘Times’ to complain that Mr. Chamberlain's caucus had destroyed ‘all independence of action and of opinion

please, but there is one thing which no party can afford to do, and that is to underrate its power and efficiency, or to suppose that, when one side has it and the other has it not, an even contest may be counted on. It is as if we were to expect the bow and arrow to hold its own against the breechloader.

We have presented an outline of the programme which has been adopted by the party in office. Let it be observed that it is the evidence of the Radicals themselves that supplies us with the materials for properly understanding their future schemes. Out of their own mouths are they to be judged. From their opponents we have quoted nothing—they alone have supplied the large body of facts which show beyond a doubt that political changes or reforms, such as might be reasonably asked for under the Constitution, are now looked upon with contempt. What they are working for, and what is actually making substantial and visible progress, though at present without great excitement or turmoil, is a Revolution. There may be persons who are frightened at the word, but it is the thing, not the name, against which it behoves them to be on their guard. We have brought together a mass of evidence, which is at once undeniable and irresistible, in proof of the fact that the rights of property are threatened, that the principles of justice are repudiated, and that the word of doom has gone forth against an essential part of the Constitution. If these schemes are not Revolutionary, then we must hold that nothing Revolutionary happened in France during the last decade of the eighteenth century. It is quite likely, indeed, that many moderate Liberals and survivors of the old Whig party are unaware of the dangers they are bringing upon their country; or perhaps they flatter themselves that they will be able, at the critical moment, to prevent the explosion for which the train has been laid. Their ignorance of the objects openly and boldly proclaimed by their allies can only arise from wilful blindness, for almost every

opinion throughout the governing bodies of the town.' He went on to say:—'It has obtained and governs the majority on the School Board, which, as such, refuses even Bible reading and prayer in the Board Schools. It has manipulated a large majority on the local Board of Guardians. It elects a coroner, decides who is to succeed an alderman or a councillor, and nominates persons to act as governors to the grammar school. Its influence is felt everywhere; it appoints to almost every position of importance in the public offices of the town, which are filled with its partisans. If a stipendiary or school inspector offends its members, they seek the removal of the one and actually obtain that of the other. As to the independent men of a lower degree, they dare not express an opinion, fearing lest they should incur the anger of their masters and procure their own dismissal. Thus the twelve members of this management committee govern Birmingham. And it is said that Mr. Chamberlain manages this committee, so that "Mr. Chamberlain is Birmingham," and Birmingham is thus in the hands of a "political dictator."'

paper they take up, or every popular speech which is made on their side, would suffice at least to set them watching their fiery allies with a little suspicion. As for their ability to keep a Revolution in check, or to control the now 'silent phalanx' when it begins to move and act, we might as well expect a child's sandhills to prevent the advance of the sea. They have lent the weight of their influence and authority to the party of destruction, and if we had nothing more to depend upon now than their power to stop its progress whenever they thought proper, it would be wise to make up our minds that all was over, and to say with Emerson, when he once contemplated the decay of the English nation, 'the elasticity and hope of mankind must henceforth remain on the Alleghany ranges, or nowhere.' For there Democracy has grown with the people; the customs, the laws, the traditions of a thousand years had not to be violently rooted up to make room for it. The conditions of life, the boundless resources of a vast Continent, are all favourable to its success, and the people who live under it are the most Conservative of mankind—steadfastly resisting all great changes, regarding their Constitution as an almost sacred instrument, and setting their faces resolutely against empty demagogism and disorder. We may imitate all the faults and weaknesses in their political system, as we are doing with restless haste, but the strong and wise features of that system, and especially the invaluable device of State Governments, which is thoroughly Conservative in its effects—these cannot be imported like the ballot and the caucus. We borrow only the evil. With us, the final triumph of Democracy would inevitably mean the loss of everything which as a nation we have hitherto been proud of, the sacrifice of every institution under which we rose to greatness. To fancy that such a calamity can never happen, is to live in a castle in the air. The forces which are at work all over Europe are active here also, for no miracle has been wrought to keep them out of England. They have existed before, no doubt, but never in a highly organized form. Therein lies the difference between former times and our own. There may have been discontent with the accidental and unequal distribution of property, but we never till now have said to the discontented, 'There it all is—do with it as you please.' Nor, when English statesmen were more intent upon practical business than upon making 'great' and 'brilliant' speeches, and displaying 'eloquence,' and 'firing' the 'popular heart,' would it have been supposed that such an opportunity could be offered to the multitude without their making speedy use of it.

The Whigs tell us that they will be able to prevent any serious mischief

mischief arising from the present tendencies in politics. We wish they would also tell us how they mean to do it. They have had an opportunity of trying their influence upon the Chamberlains of their party: are they satisfied with the result? The whole country can see that they are tolerated only so long as they are prepared to give way before the unceasing pressure of the Radicals. The more they yield, the heavier grow the demands upon them. They seem to be thoroughly convinced that their Radical allies are not in earnest; forgetting that the Radicals have every inducement to be in earnest, and none whatever to trifle with the masses who sent them to office. The delusion, that the 'expansive' brethren will show forbearance and moderation when their hour of victory comes, has something in it which is almost pathetic, especially if we examine it in the light of some historical parallels. The gentlemen who are now crying out 'Thorough' have no thought of fashioning their principles upon the maxims of Somers or Burke, or even upon those of Lord Granville and Lord Hartington. They intend to stand where the Whigs themselves formerly stood, at the head of the party; and in our opinion nothing can now prevent their success. It is a question for all to consider whether a more important success than this, one of infinitely greater consequence to the country, can by any means be hindered. Much time has been lost through the besetting sins of every party after its third or fourth year of power—carelessness, over-confidence, contempt of the adversary. At the time of the last General Election, the Conservative organization had, as a general rule, grown old and rusty, and, from various causes, almost all the effective speaking was left to be done by the other side. Indeed, it seemed to have been taken for granted that none of the usual means of impressing the public mind were necessary for the Conservatives; their cause was strong enough in itself to carry all before it. The heads of the Ministry were so popular, that they were certain to sweep the whole country. Of what use, then, were speakers or newspapers? The younger men of the party were repulsed, and the press was alienated or discouraged. Everything was left to the marvellous 'inspiration' of the chiefs. No intimation was given when the action might be expected to begin; in the country, the farmers, who had been solemnly entreated to 'take no precipitate steps,' had quieted themselves down, and were waiting patiently to see what Providence would send them. It sent them a dissolution just as they were hard at work on their land. The Napoleonic policy of surprise took everybody at a disadvantage, except the enemy. The Radicals had been working
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ing for six years at their organizations, and could at least depend upon the action of the caucus to prevent those divisions at the polls which had cost them so many seats in 1874. Long exile from power had sharpened their wits and their appetites, and they went into the struggle determined to render themselves the governing party of England. It was thought that a solemn 'manifesto' or two and a handful of epigrams would more than counterbalance Radical ardour and discipline. We need not recal what happened.

The plain truth is—and it is the worst of injuries to the Conservative party to conceal it—that we had no organization fit to cope with our opponents then, and we have none now. We are content to fight with the weapons which the Radicals have thrown away. In a large town at no great distance from London there may be seen a somewhat spacious room, with three windows, and on each window an inscription. There is a desolate and melancholy air about the building; the inside shutters are nearly always shut, and dust and cobwebs have gathered over the sign-boards, which inform the passer-by that this is the '—— Conservative Association.' It presents, in many respects, a too faithful emblem of the general condition of the party. Here and there activity is being shown, and excellent associations exist; but the present law of Conservative existence is apathy—'keep quiet; do nothing; take no precipitate steps.' It is, as every man who understands politics must know, a fatal policy; a policy against which Sir Robert Peel always threw his influence, and in that respect his example was copied by his eminent and unsparing critic, Mr. Disraeli. For many years together, the Conservative organization was always ready for any demand upon it; but to place it in that condition again will require a vigorous effort, combined with a willingness to take a lesson even from our foes. Mr. Chamberlain, in the article which we have already quoted, boasted that the Conservatives never could imitate what he called his 'Federation,' because 'the popular element is not the one in which the Tories are strong, and in their manifestations the leaders are everything and the followers nothing.' Mr. Chamberlain is evidently speaking of only very recent times—probably he is ignorant of the history of the Conservative party till within the last few years, when he has himself begun to take an interest in politics. That the followers have complained of coldness and neglect, and that the leaders have shrouded themselves in that attitude of 'artificial reserve,' which was deemed so great a blunder when Sir Robert Peel practised it, are statements which we do not hear for the first time from Mr. Chamberlain. 'From their point of view,'
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he goes on to say in his article, 'the bulk of their party are a class to be governed and managed, and are not entitled to share freely in the direction of their own affairs.' In this case, we hope that Mr. Chamberlain has mistaken his own ideas for facts; if he has not, so much the worse for the Conservatives. For no party can be managed in these days from the ground of unapproachable superiority; there must be a good understanding between leaders and followers, such as can only arise from the existence of mutual sympathy, confidence, and respect. Without the infusion of fresh blood from time to time, without the constant endeavour to make recruits of new and rising men of ability, any party must be driven hopelessly and steadily on the downward road. The Conservative leaders cannot afford to shut their eyes to the lessons of 1880. In every direction the local organizations should be cleansed of the rust and mildew which will generally be found lying thick upon them, and their working should be entrusted to the most efficient hands that can possibly be employed. It is not always the best cause which wins at elections, but it is tolerably safe to count on the victory of the best organization. The principles for which the Conservative party are still prepared to fight must be dear to every man who has learnt to understand and prize the Constitution of his country; but they will go for nothing against the drilling of the 'two hundreds' unless there is some drilling on our own side too. It will not do to sit down and say that we may safely trust the common-sense of Englishmen to reject Revolutionary theories. We do not disparage their common-sense, but to bring it out properly during a General Election requires a great deal of organization, and organization of a much better kind than anything we have to show at present. If we go into the next contest trusting only to the righteousness of our cause, and scornfully leaving the mustering of 'big battalions' to others, we shall come out of it a spectacle to gods and men.

Let it not be supposed, however, that it is a mere question of party supremacy which is at stake. The issue before us is one of a much more momentous kind. It is, in a few words, simply this—whether the present Constitution of England shall be retained or destroyed. Upon this we have a right to appeal to the Conservative instincts of men of all shades of political opinion. There are thousands of Liberals who look with alarm on the course pursued by their leaders, new and old, but they have not yet been able to make up their minds to give their thoughts free expression, and to act with independence and courage. A little more delay, and it will be too late to save anything of value. Not one inch of ground which has been
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won by the Radicals will be given up again without a far more arduous contest than that which was carried on last year. There must be new life displayed, energy where there is now inertness, boldness where there is timidity, confidence in the place of despondency. Causes of dissension within the party must be removed, so far as it may be possible to remove them, and the people should be made to comprehend thoroughly the true nature of the purposes which their present leaders are pursuing. If a majority of them wish for a REVOLUTION, they must have it. At present their opinions are being influenced almost entirely by the class which believes that it is time we imitated the form of government now existing in France—for that which prevails in the United States, as we have briefly shown, we cannot possibly imitate. The defence of our present institutions is but feeble and languid in comparison with the energetic propaganda of the Revolutionists. Even the landed interest, which is more immediately at peril than any other section of property owners, is steeped in lethargy. The danger must be faced now, or not at all. When all is done that can be done, it will be no easy task to restore a strictly constitutional party to power. The undertaking must at the best be an arduous one, and it would require a sanguine disposition to feel absolutely confident that it can be accomplished. But a stake so vast must not be lost from want of zeal, nerve, and intrepidity. We are entitled to ask for the hearty co-operation of all who desire to preserve the ancient laws and government of England, whether they call themselves Conservatives, Whigs, or moderate Liberals. With such a combination, wisely and vigorously directed, the rapid advance of the anarchists may at least be arrested; without it, the English Constitution, once the glory of our own nation and the envy of all others, will become merely a theme for the disputes of historians and the plaintive elegies of poets.

ART. II.—1. *The Political Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.* Published by David Mallet. London, 1754.

2. *The Philosophical Works of the late Right Honourable Henry St. John.* Five volumes. London, 1754.

IN our last number we left Bolingbroke on the eve of that tremendous struggle, which continued for fifteen years to agitate the public mind in England, which was to end in the downfall of Whig tyranny, which was to revolutionize the creed of
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of the Two Factions, and which was to establish new dynasties with new principles in party politics. To that great revolution no one contributed more powerfully than he. The more closely we follow its history in his *Essays and Correspondence*—and nowhere is its history written so fully and so legibly—the more obvious will this appear. Almost every manœuvre on the part of the Opposition we find traceable in the first instance to his suggestion. From him emanated the theories and sentiments which, promulgated at one time by the Whig and at another time by the Tory section of the minority, matured into the gospel of the Patriots. It was he who had the sagacity to discover where Walpole and his colleagues were most vulnerable. It was he who shook England with the tempest of 1733. It was he who barbed and aimed the deadliest of the bolts which Pulteney and Wyndham winged from the Opposition benches. Of all this we have ample evidence in such of his writings as have been given to the world. But his influence on political history during these years would, we suspect, be found to be even more considerable than we know it to have been, if his unpublished correspondence, now mouldering in the archives of Petworth, Hagley, and Hemel Hemsted, were properly examined. His biographers appear to have made no effort to obtain access to these collections. They have contented themselves with such extracts as have been given by Coxe, Phillimore, and the editor of the ‘*Marchmont Papers*.’

But the period of Bolingbroke’s literary activity has another side. Between 1726 and 1752 he was not merely the leader of the Patriots and the most indefatigable of political controversialists, he was the centre of other and calmer spheres. It will be our pleasant task to follow him thither, and our readers will doubtless be as glad as ourselves to exchange Pall Mall for Dawley, to quit Walpole and Townshend for Pope and Voltaire, and to escape from Excise Bills and Secessions to discuss the ‘*First Philosophy*,’ and the ‘*Essay on Man*.’

At the beginning of 1726 the position of Walpole and Townshend appeared impregnable. They stood high in the favour of the King and in the favour of the people. The removal of Carteret had relieved them of their only formidable rival in the Cabinet. The disgrace of Atterbury, four years before, had completed the paralysis of the Jacobites. The Opposition was too divided in its views, and too heterogeneous in its composition, to afford any grounds for apprehension. The clouds which had for many months obscured the horizon of foreign politics had been dispersed. The Treaty of Hanover had defeated the hostile designs of Spain and Austria. Tranquillity at last

reigned in Scotland and Ireland. But a great change was at hand. A new era in Parliamentary history had already begun.

Of all the enemies of Walpole the most active and the most malignant was Daniel Pulteney. He had been the friend and confidant of Sunderland during the whole period when the feud between Walpole and Sunderland was deadliest. When Sunderland fell in 1721, Pulteney had borne a principal share in those cabals by which his patron sought to recover office. As the price of this co-operation he had, in the event of success, been promised the Seals, and he had therefore distinguished himself by his hostility to Walpole, for on the ruin of Walpole depended his own advancement. But the death of Sunderland dashed all these hopes to the ground. From this moment he became a soured and gloomy misanthrope. The prejudices which he had inherited from Sunderland, aggravated by his own bad passions, inflamed his animosity against Walpole to such a pitch that it resembled monomania. But he was a monomaniac of a very dangerous character. For with solid parts and with methodical habits he united no small skill in the tactics of intrigue. His energy was indefatigable. As a speaker he was clear and weighty. His acquaintance with affairs was extensive; his Parliamentary connection considerable. He was now toiling night and day to form out of the scattered elements of the Opposition a coalition against Walpole. He lacked, however, the qualities necessary for organization; and though he was eminently fitted for the duties of a subordinate, he was by no means competent to lead. What Daniel Pulteney lacked, that his kinsman William possessed. No politician of those times filled a larger space in the public eye than William Pulteney. He had entered office while still a very young man; his family was influential; no stain rested on his character; his private fortune was immense. His parts were so brilliant, his genius so versatile, that in whatever walk of life his lot had been cast, he would in all probability have achieved eminence. His political pamphlets and his papers in the 'Craftsman' remain to testify his abilities as a writer. One of his songs was for many years among the most popular in our language; and Pope has in a celebrated verse expressed his opinion that, had Pulteney chosen to cultivate light literature, he would have rivalled Martial. As a wit and a sayer of good things he was considered not inferior to Chesterfield, and many of his bon-mots still hold a distinguished place in literary annals. The extent and variety of his attainments moved the wonder of all who knew him. With the masterpieces of ancient and modern literature he was equally conversant. His familiarity indeed
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with the Greek classics was such as was in that age very unusual, even with professed scholars. But no rust of pedantry dimmed the keen and brilliant intellect of William Pulteney. In practical sagacity and in official experience he was scarcely inferior perhaps to Walpole, and he needed only Walpole's equanimity and self-control to become as autocratic and successful. As an orator he had, till the appearance of Pitt, no equal among contemporary statesmen. He shone alike in exposition and in debate, in set orations and in extempore speeches. At this moment, indeed, he had not yet arrived at that degree of excellence which, at the head of the Opposition, he shortly afterwards attained. Ever since his entrance into public life, he had distinguished himself as a firm and consistent Whig. When the schism took place in 1717, he had attached himself to Walpole, had resigned a valuable place, and had followed the fortunes of his friend. When Walpole returned to power, Pulteney was not invited to fill a seat in the Cabinet. An angry discussion between the two friends ensued. Walpole proposed an indemnity in the shape of a peerage. This Pulteney regarded as an aggravation of the slight. For some time he continued to remain a vexatious and irritable member of the Government. At last, in April 1725, he was dismissed from a post he held in the Household, and openly went over to the minority. Walpole, fully aware both of the influence and of the abilities of the man who had now declared war against him, made a desperate attempt to bribe him back. But affairs had gone too far. Nothing would satisfy Pulteney but the ruin of his old colleague. He had, he said, been grievously wronged, and he would have his revenge.

While the two Pulteneys were thus brooding over their grievances, and waiting for an opportunity of vengeance, another malcontent, not less rancorous and even more formidable, was similarly engaged. For two years Bolingbroke had submitted to every indignity that he might regain his seat. He had lacquyed and flattered Walpole, whom he hated. He had lacquyed and flattered Walpole's brother, whom he despised. He had been lavish of his money, of his energy, and of his time; and he had, after a long and weary struggle, been forced to accept a compromise, which rendered him capable of possessing fortune and incapable of enjoying it. For this restriction in his happiness he had been indebted to Walpole; and he now resolved, not merely to obtain the removal of this restriction, but to make the Minister who had imposed it feel the full effect of his resentment. The Pulteneys and himself soon came to an understanding. The plan of operation was simple. It was obvious

that the security of Walpole could never be shaken as long as his opponents remained disunited. At this moment the minority consisted of three distinct bodies of men : a large section of discontented Whigs, a large section of Tories who had abandoned Jacobitism, and a small section of Tories who still adhered to it. Could these factions be induced to coalesce? Could they be induced to bury minor differences in common hostility against a common foe? The co-operation of the Jacobite contingent was not indeed a matter of much moment; but the co-operation of the Hanoverian Tories was of the last importance. Now, the leader of this faction was Sir William Wyndham, and with Wyndham Bolingbroke lived not merely on terms of intimacy, but on terms of affection. Sir William was at once taken into the confidence of the conspirators, and in a very short time the party at the head of which were the Pulteneys, and the party at the head of which was Wyndham, had, by the mediation of Bolingbroke, consented to act together. Such was the origin of that famous Coalition, which continued for so many years to keep this country in a state of perpetual agitation, which inspired politics with new principles, and literature with a new spirit; which brought into being a new school of politicians, which destroyed Walpole and created Pitt, which numbered among its ranks in Parliament the most accomplished public men, and in its ranks out of Parliament some of the most distinguished men of letters then living; for among the first, in addition to the Pulteneys, were Wyndham, Carteret, Chesterfield, Argyle, Pitt, Polworth, Doddington, Lyttelton, and Barnard; and among the second, in addition to Bolingbroke, were Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Gay, Fielding, Akenside, Brooke, Thomson, Paul Whitehead, Glover, and Johnson.

Having concluded their arrangements for embarrassing the Government within the walls of St. Stephen's, Bolingbroke and Pulteney now proceeded to consider in what way they could rouse and engage the passions of the country. A few years before these events occurred, an undergraduate at Oxford, named Amhurst, had been expelled from his college on a charge of libertinism and insubordination. Since that time he had been engaged in libelling the University. He was now pushing his fortunes in London. Though his habits were squahid and profligate, he was, as his writings showed, a man of parts and wit; and as he possessed, in addition to these qualifications, an empty purse, loose principles, and a facile pen, he had already risen to distinction among journalists. Pulteney proposed, therefore, that negotiations should be opened with Amhurst, and that he should be invited to undertake the management of a periodical.

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This periodical was to be the mouthpiece of the Opposition. It was to demonstrate to the whole nation the tyranny, the insolence, and the rapacity of Walpole. It was to assail his foreign and domestic policy, and to point out that the one was a tissue of blunders, and the other a tissue of corruption. It was to charge him with making the King his dupe, that he might make him his tool, and the Cabinet his parasites, that he might make the people his slaves. There was little difficulty in inducing Amhurst to occupy a post for which he was so well fitted; and on the 5th of December, 1726, appeared the first number of the 'Craftsman.' It is not now, we believe, possible to recover the names of all the contributors to this famous publication, which continued for upwards of ten years to exercise an influence on public opinion without precedent in journalism. By far the largest, and beyond question the most valuable portion, is to be ascribed to Bolingbroke. Many papers were contributed by Pulteney; many by Amhurst; and many by Amhurst and Pulteney in conjunction. The circulation was, for those times, enormous. Indeed, it is said at one time to have exceeded ten thousand copies a week.

Bolingbroke was now all fire and hope. In the spring of 1727, in addition to his Essays in the 'Craftsman,' he produced, under the title of the 'Occasional Writer,' three papers, so acrimonious and personal, as to ruffle even the imperturbable temper of Walpole. Into the particulars of these altercations we cannot enter; but as a specimen of the decency with which political controversy was, in the days of our fathers, occasionally conducted, we will transcribe a few sentences of the First Minister's rejoinder:—

'Though you have not signed your name, I know you: you are an infamous fellow, a perjured, ungrateful, unfaithful rascal . . . of so profligate a character, that in your prosperity nobody envied you, and in your disgrace nobody pities. You were in the interests of France and of the Pope, as hath appeared by your writings, and you went out of the way to save yourself from the gallows. You have no abilities; you are an emancipated slave, a proscribed criminal, and an insolvent debtor. You went out of the way to save yourself from the gallows, and Herostratus and Nero were not greater villains than you. You have been a traitor and should be used like one. And I love my master so well that I will never advise him to use you, lest you should jostle me out of my employment.'

This was not exactly the style of Bolingbroke, and Walpole never afterwards ventured, we believe, to confront his adversary on paper. While the press was thus hard at work, Bolingbroke was busy also in another quarter. It was well known that the
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Duchess of Kendal and her niece, Lady Walsingham, were by no means favourably disposed towards Walpole. It was notorious also that the King and the Prince of Wales were at open war, and that the affections of the Prince were divided between his wife and Mrs. Howard. By assiduously cultivating the Duchess and her niece, Bolingbroke sought, therefore, to gain the ear of the King, and by assiduously cultivating Mrs. Howard to secure the favour of the heir-apparent. This double intrigue was, however, a matter of considerable difficulty. He conducted it at first with consummate tact. In the first part of it, indeed, he was successful. The Duchess became his advocate. She even risked a large pension to serve him. He drew up an elaborate statement, enumerating the blunders of Walpole, enlarging on his unpopularity, incapacity, and corruption, and offering, if the King would grant an interview, to demonstrate at length the truth of what he had asserted. This document the Duchess placed in the King's hands. He perused it and sent it on to Walpole. Walpole advised the King to grant the interview, and the interview was granted. On this critical occasion Bolingbroke acquitted himself with far less dexterity than might have been expected from so accomplished a diplomatist. He began with a florid eulogy of his own merits and abilities. He then went on to assail, in general terms, the character and the conduct of his opponent; and when the King, interrupting, asked for proofs and particular illustrations of what he was advancing, he merely proceeded to recapitulate in other words the same general charges. Walpole was notoriously unfit for his post: he was despised abroad: he was hated at home: he was involving affairs in inextricable confusion: he would, if he continued in power, make his Royal master as unpopular as himself. 'Is this,' said the King, becoming impatient, 'all you have to say?' And with these words Bolingbroke was curtly dismissed. It seems, indeed, quite clear that nothing that Bolingbroke had said had made any serious impression on His Majesty, as the King afterwards spoke of him as a knave, and of the statements he had made as bagatelles. But it is equally clear that Walpole was, in spite of the King's assurance, greatly alarmed. The favour of princes was, as he well knew, a perishable commodity. He was surrounded by enemies; almost all those enemies were the coadjutors of his rival: his influence with the King was great, but the influence of the Duchess was greater; and with the Duchess the cause of Bolingbroke had now become in a manner her own. Indeed, Walpole is said to have been so convinced that his rival would ultimately supplant him, that he was on the point of resigning the Seals and of accepting a seat in
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in the Upper House. The chances of Bolingbroke at this singular crisis have doubtless been exaggerated, but there is, we think, ample reason for supposing that, had the King lived a few months longer, a revolution, of which it would have been difficult to foretell the consequences, might have ensued. Whether Bolingbroke would have succeeded in replacing Walpole, as he confidently anticipated, is, we think, very problematical; that he would have succeeded in regaining his seat in the Upper House is highly probable. 'As he had the Duchess entirely on his side,' said Walpole to Etough ten years afterwards, 'I need not add what must or might have been the consequence.' At the beginning of June the King set out for Hanover. On the fourteenth a despatch arrived announcing his death.

In an instant everything was in confusion. Nothing seemed certain but the fall of Walpole. The new King ordered the First Minister to receive his instructions from Sir Spencer Compton. Two of his creatures were dismissed from their employment, his parasites abandoned him, his antechamber was a desert. Ten days afterwards all was changed. The deplorable incompetence of Compton, Walpole's own tact, and the favour of the Queen, saved the Ministry. Bolingbroke and Pulteney, who had placed all their hopes on Mrs. Howard, soon found that Mrs. Howard was as helpless as themselves. Judging as men of the world would be likely to judge, they had concluded that the mistress would have more authority than the wife, and that the King, as a lover, would be more amenable to persuasion than the King as a husband. But they were as yet imperfectly acquainted both with the strange character of the new sovereign, and with the still stranger character of the woman who shared his throne. In truth, the relation between a husband habitually uxorious and habitually unfaithful, and a wife who, to maintain her supremacy, condescends to superintend the amours of her consort, might well be misinterpreted even by the most penetrating observer. Before her accession the Queen had been the friend of Walpole, and had in strong terms expressed her aversion to Bolingbroke. After her accession she entered into the closest alliance with her favourite Minister, and became even more emphatic in her hostility to his opponent. Against such a coalition—for the secret of the Queen's power was soon known—Bolingbroke saw that it would be idle to contend. He abandoned, therefore, all hopes of making his peace with the King. Fortune had again played him false. His defeat had been complete and ignominious.

But he was not the man to despair. If victory had been lost on one field, it might be gained on another. If he could not
appeal

appeal to the King, he could appeal to the country, and to make that appeal he now bent all his energies.

The Parliamentary history of the next twelve years is one of the most scandalous chapters in our national annals. At the head of the Government stood a Minister, experienced, indeed, moderate, skilful, and sagacious, but selfish beyond all example of political selfishness, and ready at any moment to sacrifice his convictions to his interests, and his country to his place. At the head of the Opposition stood a body of malcontents, whose conduct was on all occasions dictated by motives of mere personal animosity, and whose policy, if policy it could be called, consisted simply in opposing whatever their rivals advocated, and in advocating whatever their rivals opposed. In neither party can we discern any of those qualities which entitle public men to veneration. The vices of Walpole were gross and flagrant. The virtues so ostentatiously professed by his opponents consisted of nothing better than a pompous jargon of words. By both parties the welfare of the country was, in the exigencies of their ignoble struggle, regarded as a matter of purely secondary consideration. To embarrass Walpole, the Opposition united to defeat measures the soundness and utility of which must have been obvious to a politician of the meanest capacity. To maintain himself against the Opposition, Walpole was often compelled to resort to expedients by which, as he well knew, temporary advantages were obtained at high prices and at great risk. The sole object of Walpole was at all costs to maintain his place. The sole object of the Opposition was to dislodge him. This they endeavoured to effect, not so much by grappling with their enemy in his stronghold, as by organizing an elaborate system of counter-manceuvres. Thus, when Walpole, though nominally the leader of the Whigs, became in everything but in name a Tory, the leaders of the Opposition, though they were for the most part Tories, became in everything but in name Whigs. When Walpole played the autocrat, the Opposition played the demagogue; Walpole harangued against factious incendiaries, and the Opposition harangued against Royal parasites. But it was not on these points that the minority took their principal stand. It was no secret that to secure his majority Walpole practised corruption on a very large scale, and that to control Parliament he filled all places of honour and emolument with his creatures. We have not the smallest doubt that every member of the Opposition, with the exception perhaps of Barnard and Shippen, would, had he been in Walpole's place, have acted in precisely the same manner. But Walpole was in and the Opposition were

were out. To combat him with his own weapons was impossible. The Royal favour, boundless patronage, a venal Senate with ample means for purchasing its votes, venal constituencies with ample means for buying their electors, gave him an immense advantage over opponents whose only resources lay in eloquence and in the fortunes of private gentlemen. One course and one course alone was open to them. In such contests the ultimate appeal lies to the people. To the people, therefore, the Opposition determined to address themselves, and they prepared at the same time to endeavour to educate their judges. This was not difficult. The principles on which Walpole governed were, when interpreted by skilful rhetoricians, capable of being rendered peculiarly odious to a proud and high-spirited nation. It is one thing for a man to pocket a bribe, it is another thing for a man to feel himself a slave. No Englishman however degraded was insensible to the tradition of a great and splendid past, or would submit to see public morality systematically outraged, and the national honour sullied. No Englishman however selfish would consent, even at the price of material prosperity, to connive at tyranny, or to allow the slightest of his privileges to be tampered with. The old war-cries were still efficacious. The spirit which brought Strafford to the block and set the Deliverer on the throne still burned in the breasts of thousands. The King was unpopular, and was, like his predecessor, suspected of making the interests of England subordinate to the interests of Hanover, and in this unpopularity Walpole soon found himself involved.

In 1730 the retirement of Townshend left Walpole in the possession of power more absolute than any English Minister had enjoyed since the days of the two first Stuarts. This soon became a fertile theme with his enemies. The invectives of Bolingbroke, Pulteney and Amhurst, increased every day in audacity and vehemence. Were the countrymen of Hampden and Sidney, they cried, to become the prey of a despotic parasite? Would the descendants of men who had vindicated with their blood the rights of Englishmen consent for a few guineas to barter away the most sacred of all inheritances? Had Buckingham and Strafford been forgotten? Whose blood should not boil to see the benches of the House of Commons crowded with the puppets of a Royal minion, and the House of Lords teeming with the lacqueys of a base upstart? While these themes, so admirably adapted to catch and inflame the multitude, continued to fill the pages of the 'Craftsman' week after week, the Opposition were not idle within the walls of Parliament. Every measure which the Minister brought forward was traversed.

Every

Every scheme which could be devised for embarrassing him was essayed. They had already interpreted the Treaty of Hanover as a base and impolitic concession to the Throne, and on this subject they continued for many sessions to harp. They then opposed, and on this occasion opposed with justice, the proposal for maintaining a large body of Hessian troops with English pay. Then they pretended that, in spite of the sinking fund, the public burdens had increased, and demanded an explanation. A loud and angry controversy ensued. They were beaten. Upon that they requested to know to what uses a large sum of money which had been charged for secret service had been applied. They were answered. Next they attacked the Government on the question of Gibraltar. The Ministers had, they said, pledged the honour of the nation that that fortress should be ceded to Spain, and they assailed them for not keeping their promise. But the cession of that fortress would, they contended, be detrimental to the interest of England, and they assailed them for having made it; taunting them with falsehood on the one hand, and with treachery on the other. As soon as the Treaty of Seville had set this question at rest, they shifted their ground, and struck at Walpole on another side. They moved for leave to bring in a Bill which should disable all persons who had any pension, or any office held in trust for them from the Crown, from sitting in Parliament, and they proposed that every member should, on taking his seat, make oath that he enjoyed no such preferment. Defeated on this point by a skilful manœuvre on the part of Walpole, they raised a cry that the French were repairing the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk. A long and singularly intemperate debate followed.*

But it was not till the spring of 1733 that the ascendancy which the Opposition had by degrees been gaining over the public mind became fully manifest. In that year they succeeded in shaking the Government to its very foundations; in that year they all but succeeded in driving Walpole in ignominy from

* At this debate Montesquieu, then on a visit to England, was present, and has left in his *Notes sur l'Angleterre* a curious account of it. As the passage appears to have escaped the notice, not only of Bolingbroke's biographers, but of Coxe and Lord Stanhope, we will transcribe it:—'J'allais avant-hier au parlement à la chambre basse: on y traita de l'affaire de Dunkerque. Je n'ai jamais vu un si grand feu. La séance dura depuis une heure après midi jusqu'à trois heures après minuit. M. Walpole attaqua Bolingbroke de la façon la plus cruelle, et disait qu'il avait mené toute cette intrigue. Le Chevalier Windham le défendit. M. Walpole raconta en faveur de Bolingbroke l'histoire du paysan qui, passant avec sa femme sous un arbre, trouva qu'un homme pendu respirait encore. Il le détacha et le porta chez lui: il revint. Ils trouvèrent le lendemain que cet homme leur avait volé leurs fourchettes. Ils dirent: il ne faut pas s'opposer au cours de la justice; il le faut rapporter où nous l'avons pris.'

power. It is now generally allowed that the Excise scheme was one of the wisest and most equitable measures which ever emanated from a British financier. It infringed no right, it introduced no innovation. Its burden fell lightly, and it fell equally. There is not the smallest reason for supposing that Walpole contemplated extending its operation further than the duties on wine and tobacco. That, indeed, he expressly stated. The benefits accruing from it would have been immense. It would have enabled the Government to check the frauds by which, in the tobacco trade alone, the revenue was annually robbed of half a million sterling. It would have enabled the Exchequer to dispense with the Land Tax. It would, by converting the duties on importation into duties on consumption, have been greatly to the advantage of the merchant importer. It affected in no way the scale of prices either in the wholesale or retail markets. But the Opposition saw at a glance that it was a measure peculiarly susceptible of distortion, a measure which, in their controversy with the Minister, might, by dint of a little sophistry, be turned to great account, and to great account they turned it. Aggravating the prejudices which already existed against this mode of taxation, and boldly assuming that the proposed excise on wine and tobacco was the prelude to a general excise, they drew an appalling picture of what would, they said, in a few years be the condition of the English people. Food and raiment, all the necessities as well as all the luxuries of life, would be taxed. These taxes would be collected by armed officers who would constitute a standing army, and this odious body would be empowered to enter and ransack private houses. Trade would be ruined, liberty would be at an end. The rights of a free people would be the laughing-stock of a tyrannical Monarch at the head of a tyrannical Ministry. Magna Charta would be repealed, the Bill of Rights would be a dead letter, and the House of Commons would be abolished. While this monstrous rhodomontade circulated among the vulgar, other arguments less extravagant, but scarcely less absurd, were addressed to politer politicians. In a few weeks the object of the Opposition had been gained. From the Peak to the Land's End, and from the Wrekin to the Humber, the whole country was in a blaze. Petitions came pouring in. The Press and the Pulpit teemed with philippics. Every street and every village resounded with cries of 'No Slavery, No Excise, No Wooden Shoes.' One fanatic swore that he would have Walpole's head. A turbulent mob forced their way into the Lobby and into the Court of Requests, and on the night on which the Bill passed the First Minister was in imminent peril of
encountering

encountering the fate of De Witt. The measure became law, but the temper of the nation was such that, if the provisions of the Bill had been carried out, they could only have been carried out at the point of the bayonet, and Walpole was therefore reduced to the ignominious necessity of abandoning his scheme. Elated by this triumph, the Opposition now moved for the repeal of the Septennial Act, a question eminently adapted to embarrass the Government, and eminently calculated to please the mob. A debate ensued, distinguished even in those agitated times for its acrimony and intemperance. One episode in that debate is still remembered. The onslaught made by Wyndham on Walpole, and the reply in which Walpole, ignoring Wyndham, struck at Bolingbroke, are perhaps the finest specimens of vituperative oratory which have come down to us from times anterior to Burke. But the attempt failed; the Act remained unrepealed. Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved, and Walpole, with a majority slightly impaired, weathered the elections, and in the following January resumed office for another seven years.

During the whole of the period of which we have been speaking, the period, that is to say, extending from the Parliament which met in January 1728 to the Parliament which met in January 1735, Bolingbroke was the soul and author of almost every movement on the part of the Opposition. It was Bolingbroke who pointed out in what way the affair of Gibraltar might be utilized. It was Bolingbroke who originated the outcry about Dunkirk. It was Bolingbroke who directed the attack on the Excise scheme. It was Bolingbroke who suggested the repeal of the Septennial Act. Popular report assigned to his dictation the ablest of Wyndham's speeches. So notorious, indeed, was the influence exercised by him on the councils of the Opposition, that Walpole constantly taunted them with being his mouthpieces, his creatures, and his tools. Nor was this all. With his pen he was indefatigable. His first contribution to the 'Craftsman' appeared on the 27th of January, 1726. It was entitled 'The Vision of Camelick,' and is, under the disguise of an Eastern fable, a virulent attack on the despotism of Walpole, on the complete subserviency of the King to his unprincipled favourite, and on the venality of electors. At the beginning of the summer of 1730 he produced a singularly luminous and powerful pamphlet—'The Case of Dunkirk considered.' In this pamphlet he discusses at length the negotiations relative to the demolition of that harbour, demonstrates how necessary it was to the interests of England that the stipulations made at Utrecht should be carried
out,

out, and not merely taunts the Ministry with criminal negligence in permitting the infringement of such stipulations, but attributes their conduct to a base desire to play into the hands of France. With contemporary events these works ceased to interest; but between September 1730 and June 1731 there appeared in the 'Craftsman,' under the signature of 'Humphrey Oldcastle,' a series of essays which have long survived the controversy which inspired them. These were the 'Remarks on the History of England.' Bolingbroke here gives a bold and graphic sketch of English Constitutional history, from the Conquest to the meeting of the Long Parliament. In the course of his work, he broaches several ingenious theories which were not lost on Hume and Hallam: his occasional reflections are suggestive and happy, and his pages teem with those acute observations which have, in the 'Discorsi' of Machiavelli and in the 'Réflexions' of Montesquieu, delighted succeeding generations of thoughtful men. But it is not as serious contributions to political philosophy that these Essays were intended to be judged; their didactic value was a value purely accidental. The immediate purpose with which they were written was not to trace the history of Constitutional government, but to convey satire under the form of analogue. Particular epochs, and particular incidents in the history of past times, become, in the hands of their skilful delineator, counterparts of the history of the present: the Court of the Plantagenets, of the Tudors, of the Stuarts, reflects the Court of the House of Hanover; and the Ministers, who invaded popular rights in the reign of Richard or Charles, transform themselves into the Ministers who are invading these rights in the reign of George II. In the person of Wolsey and Buckingham, for example, he paints and assails Walpole. In the person of Elizabeth Woodville, he draws Queen Caroline; in the person of Richard II., he depicts her husband. In his pictures of the reigns of Edward III. and Elizabeth, he satirizes by contrast, as in his pictures of the reign of Richard II. he satirizes directly, the character, conduct, and Court of George II. The virulence and audacity of these diatribes, which their author had the front to define as 'a few inoffensive remarks on the nature of liberty and of faction,' alarmed the Government, and were of immense service to the Opposition. Their sentiments delighted the vulgar, their inimitable style fascinated the polite.

It was soon known that Bolingbroke was the author. The incidents of his public life were still fresh in the memory of thousands, and, in the paper war which these Essays excited, his character was very severely handled. But against his polemical skill, his impudence, and his mendacity, truth was powerless.

The

The juster the charges advanced, the more ridiculous they seemed to become. The stronger the case against him, the more unanswerable appeared his apology. A very favourable specimen of this unscrupulous dexterity in controversy is to be found in his 'Final Answer to the Craftsman's Vindication,' a pamphlet in which he reviews and defends those circumstances in his career which had justly exposed him to the taunts of his adversaries. In September of the following year, he wrote three papers on the Policy of the Athenians, in which he drew a series of ingenious parallels between portions of Greek and portions of English history, on the same principle and with the same objects as the 'Remarks on English History.'*

The nation now began to show, by very unequivocal symptoms, that these writings had not been without effect. The popularity of Walpole visibly decreased. His foreign and home policy were sharply criticized. Many who had up to this time pocketed their bribes and held their peace, grew moody and scrupulous. Young men talked republicanism, and old men grumbled. At last, popular discontent became articulate. The tremendous storm, which convulsed the country during the period of the Excise Bill, gathered and burst. The Government tottered to its base, and, before Walpole could recover himself, his indefatigable opponent was again in the field. The 'Dissertation upon Parties,' commencing in October 1733, and ending in December 1734, is, with the exception of the 'Letters of Junius,' and one or two pamphlets of Burke, beyond question the finest series of compositions which the political controversies of the eighteenth century have transmitted to us. Nothing equal to it had ever appeared before, nothing superior to it has ever appeared since. Its diction is magnificent, its matter rich and various, its method admirable. Seldom have the baser passions caught with such exquisite skill the accents of their nobler sisters; seldom has satire, even in verse, assumed a garb so splendid. In a series of nineteen letters, preceded in their collected form by an ironical dedication to Walpole, he traces the history of the two great parties which, since the days of the Stuarts, had divided English politics; points out how, on the accession of William III., those two parties ceased to represent principles, how, since then, they had degenerated into mere factions, and how these factions would, but for the arts of men whose interest it was to keep them alive, have long since

* These papers constitute Nos. 324, 325, and 326 of the 'Craftsman,' and have been reprinted in the 'Political Tracts.' We may here take the opportunity of observing that the papers contributed by Bolingbroke to that periodical were marked 'O': those contributed by Pulteney were marked 'C.'

been extinguished. The whole work, under the disguise of a patriotic protest against misgovernment, is a malignant and ferocious attack on Walpole and on Walpole's coadjutors. But the spirit it breathes is so noble, the principles it advocates so exalted, that we seem, as we surrender ourselves to the charm of its eloquent rhetoric, to be listening to the voice of one not unworthy to be the prophet of Virtue and Liberty. The Dedication is superb. It is in the best vein of Chatham and Junius, but it is, in declamatory grandeur, superior to anything which has descended to us from Chatham, it is in polished invective equal to anything which could be selected either from the Letters to Grafton or the Letters to Bedford. From a polemical point of view, the value of this work was inestimable. It not only dealt Walpole a series of blows, which fell with fearful precision on those parts where he was most vulnerable, but it furnished his opponent with new elements of strength. The Opposition was composed, as we have seen, of advanced Tories, of moderate Tories, of a few Jacobites, of a large and discontented clique of Whigs; of bodies of men, that is to say, whose political creeds were entirely at variance, and whose sole bond of union was hostility to Walpole. These malcontents were therefore perpetually torn with schisms. Their alliance was radically and essentially unnatural. They were friends by accident, they were enemies on principle. A common feud held them together, and mutual feuds kept them apart. In these differences lay the security of Walpole, and to compose these differences was one of the chief objects of Bolingbroke's political writings. Hence arose his anxiety to obliterate party prejudice, hence his tirades against faction, hence those magnificent doctrines which were first promulgated in the 'Dissertation upon Parties,' and afterwards developed in the 'Patriot King,' doctrines which constituted the creed of the so-called Patriots, and which, as we shall presently see, were destined to exercise no small influence on political opinions during several generations.

But it is now time to contemplate Bolingbroke in another character. We enter his country-house at Dawley: the scene changes as if by magic; we are in a different world. The restless and acrid controversialist is transformed into the most delightful of social companions. The opponent of Walpole disappears in the friend of Pope and Swift. The coadjutor of Pulteney and Amhurst is lost in the generous and discriminating patron of wit and genius. We are no longer in the midst of men who have been indebted to history for a precarious existence in the annals of biography, but in the midst of men
whose

whose names are as familiar to us as the names of our own kindred. Tradition has, in truth, left us few pictures more charming than the life of Bolingbroke at Dawley. In this beautiful retreat, the site which may still be discerned, he endeavoured to persuade himself and his contemporaries that he had at last attained what the sages of antiquity pronounced to be the climax of human happiness, and, if happiness could consist in what is external to the mind of those who court it, Bolingbroke had assuredly every reason to congratulate himself. He divided his time between his studies, his friends, and the innocent recreations of country life. He planted and beautified his grounds, he shouldered a prong and assisted his haymakers. He subsisted on the plainest fare. He amused himself with covering his summer-houses, as he had done before at La Source, with texts from the Latin Classics, and, to keep up the illusion, he contracted with a painter to cover the walls of his entrance-hall with pictures of rural implements. His correspondence—and his correspondence at this period forms one of the most pleasing portions of our epistolary literature—is that of a man at peace with himself and at peace with fortune. So studiously has he concealed the political schemes in which he was, as we have already seen, simultaneously engaged, that it would, we believe, be difficult to find in these letters a single hint either of his manœuvres against Walpole, or even of his connection with the ‘*Craftsman*.’ How closely he concealed his political writings is shown by the fact that Swift, in a letter to Pope, dated May 12, 1735, did not know that Bolingbroke had written the ‘*Dissertation upon Parties*.’ It is, indeed, scarcely credible that, at a time when his philippics against the Government had arrived at their climax of intemperance and malignity, at a time when he was straining every nerve for a place on the Opposition benches, he could address Swift in a strain like this :—

‘We are both in the decline of life, my dear Dean; we shall, of course, grow every year more indifferent to it and to the affairs and interests of a system out of which we are soon to go. The decay of passion strengthens philosophy, for passion may decay and stupidity not succeed. Is it a misfortune, think you, that I rise at this hour refreshed, serene, and calm? that the past, and even the present affairs of life, stand like objects at a distance from me, where I can keep off the disagreeables so as not to be strongly affected by them, and from whence I can draw the others nearer to me.’

At Dawley Bolingbroke appears to have kept open house. On his arrival he had at once hastened to renew his acquaintance, not only with those who had shared with him the responsibilities

sibilities of public life, but with those literary friends whose society was perhaps even more acceptable to him. Indifference to wit and genius had, in truth, never ranked among his faults. He had been always ready, even when party strife was raging most violently, to forget political differences in the nobler amenities of human intercourse. The generous hospitality, which he had before extended to Prior and Philipps, was now extended to those eminent men whose genius has cast a halo round the annals of the two first Georges. At Dawley, Arbuthnot forgot his ill-health and his onerous duties. There he poured out in careless discourse the fine wit, the delicate humour, the learning, the mellow wisdom, which have, in his correspondence and satires, been the delight of thousands. There Gay's artless laugh rang loudest. Hither, in 1726, with the manuscript of 'Gulliver's Travels' in his pocket, came Swift, and hither, in the autumn of the same year, arrived a more illustrious guest. At Dawley Voltaire was, during his long sojourn among us, a frequent visitor. In Bolingbroke's library he studied our poetry, our science, and our philosophy, revised the proof-sheets of the 'Henriade,' sketched the finest of his tragedies, and learned to write our language with purity and vigour. In the drawing-room at Dawley he was introduced to a society not less brilliant than he had been accustomed to see assembled in the Temple, for he was Bolingbroke's visitor during those happy months in which for the last time Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay, met together under the same roof. Of Voltaire's more important obligations to his English patron we have already spoken. He had himself so lively a sense of what he owed to the philosopher of La Source and Dawley, that he originally intended to inscribe the 'Henriade' to him. This intention was never carried out, but on his return to Paris he dedicated to him, in very flattering terms, the most spirited of his tragedies. But there was another friendship cemented at Dawley, the effects of which will be appreciated as long as British literature shall endure. The relations between Bolingbroke and Pope form one of the most interesting episodes in the literary history of the eighteenth century. They appear to have been brought together for the first time by Swift, either in the winter of 1713 or in the spring of 1714. They were apparently on intimate terms when Bolingbroke left England in 1715. On his return, in 1723, their acquaintance was renewed. When Bolingbroke, in the March of 1725, established himself at Dawley, the two friends became almost inseparable. The genius of Pope had at that time arrived at maturity. His intellectual energy was in its fullest vigour.

Vol. 151.—No. 302. 2 A The

The 'Essay on Criticism' and the 'Rape of the Lock' had placed him at the head of living English poets. The proceeds of his 'Homer' had put him beyond the reach of pecuniary embarrassment, and had thus, by removing the most galling of all obstacles, enabled him to compete for the most splendid of all prizes. He was now busy with his 'Miscellanies;' the 'Miscellanies' led to the 'Dunciad,' and the 'Dunciad' involved him in feuds which unhinged his mind and dwarfed his powers. His temper, always irritable, grew every day more inflamed. The baser emotions of his sensitive nature were in a continual state of malignant activity. To revenge himself on a rabble of scribblers, whose opinions were not worth the quills which inscribed them, became the serious business of his life. His satire, loaded with ephemeral scandal and noisome with filth, degenerated, in spite of its brilliant execution, into a mere Grub-street Chronicle. Indeed, it seemed at one time not unlikely that the most popular poet of the eighteenth century would encounter the fate of Regnier and Churchill. From this degradation he was rescued by Bolingbroke. By Bolingbroke his genius was directed to nobler aims. By Bolingbroke his poetry was inspired with loftier themes. It was he who raised him above the passions of the hour, and encouraged him to aspire to a place beside Lucretius and Horace. It was he who sketched the plan of that magnificent work, of which the 'Essay on Man,' the 'Moral Essays,' and the fourth book of the 'Dunciad' are only fragments—a work which would, in all probability, had the health and energy of Pope been equal to its performance, have been the finest didactic poem in the world.

The exact extent of Pope's obligations to Bolingbroke it is now impossible to ascertain. They were in all likelihood more considerable than any scrutiny, however minute, of what remains of the writings and correspondence of the two friends would reveal. For the influence which Bolingbroke exercised on his contemporaries was, as we have already observed in speaking of his relations with Voltaire, exercised for the most part, like that of the philosophers of old, in conversation. From the very first, the attitude of Pope towards his brilliant companion was that of a reverent disciple. From the very first, Bolingbroke's extraordinary powers of expression, his fiery energy, his haughty and aspiring spirit, his robust and capacious intellect, his wide and varied acquaintance both with the world of books and the world of men, his romantic history, his singularly fascinating manners, his magnificent presence, cast a spell over the delicate and sensitive poet. The first fruit of their intimacy was the
'Essay

'Essay on Man.' That Pope owed much of the subject-matter of this poem to Bolingbroke is notorious. If we are to believe Lord Bathurst, he owed all. 'Lord Bathurst,' says Joseph Warton, 'repeatedly assured me that he had read the whole scheme of the Essay in the handwriting of Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions which Pope was to versify and illustrate.' It is possible that this document may have perished among the papers which were, we know, destroyed by Pope a few days before his death. Mr. Mark Pattison, in his 'Introduction to the Essay on Man,' is inclined to identify the work to which Bathurst alluded with the manuscript of the 'Fragments' or 'Minutes of Essays,' which occupy the fifth quarto volume of Bolingbroke's philosophical works. This is not probable. For we learn from a letter in Boswell's 'Johnson' that Bathurst made the same statement on another occasion, in the presence of Mallet, and that Mallet himself drew attention to it as a singularly interesting piece of information which was altogether new to him. Now, as Mallet was the editor of Bolingbroke's works, and had himself printed these Minutes from Bolingbroke's own manuscript, it is clear that the document to which Bathurst alluded could never have been identical with documents with which Mallet must of necessity have been familiar. The connection of the Minutes with the Essay—and the Minutes had, it should be remembered, been printed ten years before this conversation was held—is, moreover, so obvious, that Bathurst, interested in everything that concerned Pope, could scarcely have failed to inspect them, or at all events to have been apprised of their contents. Had they been identical with the manuscript which he had seen on Pope's desk, the circumstance must at once have struck him, and he would have hastened to corroborate his assertion by pointing to the proof. Pope may therefore have received more assistance from Bolingbroke than the extant writings of Bolingbroke indicate. However this may be, the Minutes suffice to show that Pope received from his friend by far the greater portion of the subject-matter of the poem—the general outline, the main propositions, the reasoning by which these propositions are established, the ethics, the philosophy, several of the illustrations. Indeed he sometimes follows his master so closely that he copies his very words and phrases.* Bolingbroke was indefatigable in stimulating

* It is somewhat surprising that none of the commentators on the 'Essay on Man' should have taken the trouble to point out to what extent Pope has availed himself of the 'Minutes.' The parallel passages, for example, collected by Warton and Wakefield, and reproduced by Mr. Elwin, by no means exhaust Pope's obligations. The germ, indeed, of almost every doctrine and of almost every idea in the

lating Pope's genius. He was always at his side. He covered reams of paper with disquisitions intended for his guidance. He directed his studies; he held interminable conversations with him. While the 'Essay on Man' was still incomplete, he hurried him on to the 'Moral Essays,' and while the 'Moral Essays' were in progress, he suggested the 'Imitations of Horace.' These attentions Pope returned with a devotion half pathetic, half ludicrous. The genius of his friend he had long regarded with superstitious awe. This awe, unimpaired by nearer communion, was now mingled with feelings of gratitude and friendship. His mind, naturally little prone either to credulity or illusion, became the prey of both. His reason, on ordinary occasions shrewd and penetrating, was completely subjugated. When he spoke of Bolingbroke, it was by no means unusual with him to employ language which ordinary men would never dream of applying to any but the Supreme Being. For the writings of his friend he predicted a splendid immortality. Indeed he observed more than once that his own title to a place in the memory of the world found its best security in his association with his patron. 'My verses,' he writes in one of his letters to Bolingbroke, 'interspersed here and there in the noble work which you address to me, will have the same honour done them as those of Ennius in the philosophical treatises of Tully.' So complete, indeed, was the ascendancy which Bolingbroke had gained over him, that it would be difficult to find ten consecutive pages in his correspondence and poetry between 1729 and 1744 in which a discerning eye could not detect traces of Bolingbroke's influence.

the Essay, more or less developed, will, on careful inspection, be found in them. Let the student turn, for example, to the following references, and compare them with the corresponding passages, which will at once suggest themselves, in Pope's poem. 'Bolingbroke,' vol. iii. pages 384, 400, 401; vol. iv. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 51-53, 159, 173, 316, 320, 324, 326, 327, 329, 366, 379, 388, 389, 391, 398; vol. v. 9, 36, 37, 49, 55, 94, 95, 115. The passages describing the state of Nature; the origin of political society; the origin of civil society; of government; of religion; of the corruption of religion (*Essay*, Epistle iii. 146-318); the harmony of the universe and the scale of being (Epistle i. 234-294); man's place in the Creation; (Epistle i. 33-130), how man's imperfections are necessary for his happiness; (Epistle i. 190-232); the mutual dependence of men on each other (Epistle ii. 240-260, and Epistle iii. 308-318); the operation of self-love and reason (Epistle ii. 53-100); of reason and instinct (Epistle iii. 79-108); God's impartial care for his creatures (Epistle iii. 21-48); the nature of human happiness (Epistle iv. 77-372); are all from Bolingbroke's sketches or suggestions. We cannot stop to enter further into this most interesting question, but we may notice that the famous quatrain which ends 'And showed a Newton as we show an ape,' was derived not from Palingenius, as all the commentators suppose, but from Bolingbroke. 'Superior beings who look down on our intellectual system will not find, I persuade myself, so great a difference between a gascon petit-maitre and a monkey, whatever partiality we may have for our own species.'—*Philosophical Works*, vol. iv. p. 3.

In the spring of 1735, to the surprise of all his friends, Bolingbroke suddenly quitted England. His motives for taking this step are involved in great obscurity. Whatever they may have been, it seems pretty clear that they were never explained to the satisfaction of those who were most intimate with him. It was conjectured by some that he was again in communication with the Pretender. It was conjectured by others that he had during his residence at Dawley been intriguing with foreign Ministers; that these intrigues, having come to the ears of the Government, had furnished them with a handle against the Opposition, and that the leaders of the Opposition had in consequence suggested the propriety of his ceasing to act with them. Grimoard is inclined to think that he had received a secret order from the King to leave the country. Coxe and M. Rémusat attributed his exile to Walpole, who had, they make no doubt, obtained conclusive evidence of treasonable conduct. From his own correspondence all that can be gathered is this, that he did not leave England—we are quoting his own words—till some schemes were on the loom which made him one too many even to his most intimate friends; that he considered he had been treated with disingenuousness and ingratitude, and that he had had some misunderstanding with Pulteney. ‘My part,’ he wrote to Wyndham, ‘is over, and he who remains on the stage after his part is over deserves to be hissed off.’ Our own impression is that, in his usual theatrical spirit, he perplexed with mystery what really admits of a very simple interpretation. In leaving England he wished to figure as a patriot-martyr, voluntarily departing into honourable exile. His real motives were, we firmly believe, baffled ambition, ill-health, and pecuniary embarrassment. He was weary, he was disappointed. The results of the general election had just proved that he had nothing to expect from popular favour. The retirement of Lady Suffolk had recently deprived him of his only hope at Court. The Whig section of the Opposition were, in spite of his great services, regarding him with marked disfavour. He had recently brought down upon them two scathing philippics. Indeed, Pulteney had frankly told him that his presence served rather to injure than to benefit the common cause. Nor was this all. His expenditure at Dawley far exceeded his income. He was already involved in debt, and had been reduced to the ruinous expedient of having recourse to usurers, and to the disagreeable necessity of appealing to private friends. To the Marquis de Matignon, for example, he owed two thousand pounds, which had been advanced without security. That Pulteney attributed his departure to pecuniary difficulty is certain.

certain. Writing to Swift in November 1735, he says: 'You inquire after Bolingbroke, and when he will return from France. If he had listened to your admonitions and chidings about economy, he need never have gone there.' In addition to this, his wife's health was bad, and his own was breaking, and a change to a milder climate was desirable. Such is, we venture to think, the solution of what Mr. Croker used to say was the most difficult problem in Bolingbroke's biography.

Angry with the Government, angry with the Opposition, Bolingbroke now resolved to take no further share in the controversies which were raging between them. He had, he said, fulfilled his duty; he had borne his share in the last struggle which would in all probability be made to preserve the Constitution; he feared nothing from those he had opposed, he asked nothing from those he had served. Till the end of the spring he was in Paris; at the beginning of the autumn we find him settled at Chantaloup, in Touraine. This delicious retreat had, Saint-Simon tells us, been built by Aubigny, the favourite of the Princess Orsini, who had herself superintended its erection. Here Bolingbroke at last found what he had during so many troubled years been affecting to seek. At Marcilly his studies were interrupted and his repose disturbed by obloquy. At La Source he had been on the rack of expectancy; at Dawley his life had been the prey of fierce extremes. Here there was little to tempt him from his books and his dogs. The firm alliance between Fleury and Walpole forbade any cabals with the Cabinet of Versailles. The Stuarts were no longer in France; his old allies were impotent or dead.

Under these favourable circumstances he determined to dedicate the rest of his life to the completion of two works, which he had long been meditating, and on which his fame was to rest. The first was to be a work which should establish metaphysical science on an entirely new basis. It was to embody in a regular system what he had hitherto communicated only in detached fragments. It was to define the limits of the Knowable, to strip metaphysics of jargon and empiricism, and to make them useful by making them intelligible. The other was to be a History of Europe, from the Treaty of the Pyrenees to the conclusion of the negotiations at Utrecht. Neither design was carried out; portions of both survive. His time was, however, well employed, for he produced during this period of his life the most popular of his writings. At the beginning of the winter of 1735, he began the 'Letters on the Study of History.' These Letters, eight in number, were addressed to Lord Cornbury, a young nobleman, whose unblemished character and faultless taste have been

been the subject of the happiest compliment Pope ever paid. The work divides itself into two parts. The first five Letters point out that history, to be studied to advantage, must be studied philosophically; that its utility lies not, as pedants and antiquaries suppose, in the investigation of details and particulars, but in the lessons which it teaches, the hints which it gives. Its value is a practical value. It should enable us to anticipate experience. It should teach us to profit from experiment. It should illustrate historical phenomena in their ultimate effects, and in their mutual relations; for in the brief span of our individual existence we can view events only in course of evolution, incomplete, isolated. He then discusses the credibility of the early history of the Greeks and the Jews, concludes that the authorities for both are equally untrustworthy, and hurries on, after some desultory remarks on the falsification of historical testimony, to treat of the annalists of later times. The diction of these five Letters is copious and splendid. They abound in precepts to which the student of history may still turn with profit, and they are enriched with observations always lively, often suggestive, and sometimes new. Their worst fault is a tendency to redundancy and vagueness, their principal deficiency lack of learning, their radical vice superficiality. In the last three Letters he sketches the course of events in Europe between 1500 and 1714. The eighth is an elaborate defence of the Treaty of Utrecht, and is composed with extraordinary energy and eloquence. It bears, indeed, little resemblance to a letter. It is a magnificent harangue, instinct with fire and passion. Excise a few paragraphs, substitute My Lords, for My Lord, and the reader is perusing a masterpiece of parliamentary oratory. He has before him the relic for which Pitt and Brougham would have sacrificed the lost books of Livy: he has before him in everything but in title a speech of Bolingbroke. No one who peruses the work with any care could, we think, doubt this, and assuredly no one after perusing it would say that when tradition placed Bolingbroke at the head of contemporary orators, tradition erred in its estimate of his powers. In our opinion it is, read as a speech, superior to any speech which has come down to us from those times. While he was still busy with these works, he addressed to his friend, Lord Bathurst, the 'Letter on the true Use of Study and Retirement,' a short treatise on the model of Seneca when Seneca is most tedious, a treatise in which all that is new is false, and all that is true is trite.

Of a very different character was the 'Letter on the Spirit of Patriotism.' This fine declamation was inscribed to Lord Lyttelton, who had recently become a conspicuous figure at
Leicester

Leicester House, and was the rising hope of that section of the Opposition, whose political creed had been learned from the 'Craftsman.' In none of his works are the peculiar beauties of Bolingbroke's diction more strikingly displayed. In none of his works do the graces of rhetoric and the graces of colloquy blend in more exquisite union. The passage in which he points out the responsibilities entailed on all who have inherited the right to a place in the councils of their country has often been deservedly admired, and we are not sure that it would be possible to select even from the pages of Burke anything finer than the famous dissertation on Eloquence.

Meanwhile the pleasures of retirement were beginning to pall on him. He continued, indeed, to assure his friends that, dead to the world, he was dead to all that concerned it; but his friends soon discovered that his sublime indifference oddly co-existed with the keenest curiosity about public affairs. It was observed that though nothing was worth his attention, nothing escaped him, and that though he continued to indulge in lofty jargon about Cleanthes and Zeno, he was in constant communication with the malcontents of Leicester House. The truth is, that the passion which had during forty years tortured his life still burned as fiercely as ever. Philosophy had left him where it found him; but political ambition had never for one instant relaxed its grasp. It had been his tyrant at twenty; it was destined to be his tyrant at seventy; it had filled his middle age with unrest and unhappiness; it was to fill his old age with bitterness and disappointment. At the end of June 1738 he was in England. His hopes were high. His prospects had never looked so promising since the spring of 1723. The death of the Queen had removed one of the most influential and implacable of his opponents. The popularity of Walpole was waning. The health of the King was precarious. The heir-apparent, at open war with his father and with his father's Ministers, was at the head of the Opposition. Every week that young and ardent band, on whose minds the doctrines of the 'Dissertation on Parties' had made a deep impression, were gaining strength. Of these enthusiasts, there was, with the exception of Pitt, scarcely one who did not regard Bolingbroke with superstitious reverence. The majority of them were, indeed, his acknowledged disciples. He was not, it is true, on cordial terms either with Pulteney or Carteret, but no man stood higher in the favour of the Prince of Wales, and on the Prince of Wales all eyes were now turning with eager interest.

It would, we believe, be impossible to find in the writings of those who have illustrated the private life of Princes, from
Suetonius

Suetonius to Mr. Greville, a character so completely despicable as that of Frederick Lewis. One who had for many years observed him narrowly, has told us that he was unable to detect the shadow of a virtue in him. His kindred regarded him with horror and disgust. He had even exhausted the forbearance and long-suffering of maternal love, and the fact that he had survived infancy was considered by both his parents to be the greatest calamity which had ever befallen them. Assuredly no man observed the infirmities of his fellow-creatures with a more indulgent eye than Walpole, but Walpole could never speak of Frederick without a torrent of invectives. 'He was,' he said, 'a poor, feeble, irresolute, false, lying, dishonest, contemptible wretch.' In temper he belonged to that large class who are governed entirely by impulse, men of weak judgment and strong sensibilities. But with all the defects, he had none of the virtues, which such people frequently display. The evil in his nature was, if we are to credit Hervey, without alloy. He exhibited a combination of vices such as rarely meet in the same person, and it was observed that in Frederick every vice assumed its most odious shape. He was a wastrel without a spark of generosity,* and a libertine without a grain of sentiment. When anger possessed him, its effect was not to produce the emotions which such a passion usually produces on our sex, but to excite emotions similar to those which a slight awakes in the breast of a superannuated coquette. He became charged with petty spite. He watched with patient malice for every opportunity of ignoble retaliation. His face wore smiles, his tongue dropped venom. In mendacity, poltroonery, and dirtiness, he was not excelled either by his late secretary, Bubb Doddington, or by his recent under-secretary, Mallet. Even that part of his conduct in which traces of better things would seem at first sight to be discernible, will be found on nearer inspection to be of the same texture with the rest. He patronized literature because his father and his father's Minister despised it; he became a Patriot, to fill his pockets; he supported popular liberty, to vex his family. Ambition in its nobler forms was unintelligible to him. Of any capacity for the duties of public life he never, so far as we can discover, evinced a single symptom. His mind was jejune and feeble, his parts beneath contempt. Indeed, both Nature and education had done their best to make this unhappy youth an object of pity to those who wished him well, and a subject for perpetual rejoicing to those who wished him ill.

* Horace Walpole (*Memoirs of George II.*, vol. i. p. 77) tells us that 'generosity was his best quality.' Could contempt go further?

Such was Frederick as he appeared to impartial observers, but such was not the Frederick of Bolingbroke and the Patriots. By them he was held up to public veneration as a being without blemish, by them he was proclaimed to be the Messiah of a political millennium. Under his wise and beneficent sway, corruption, misgovernment, and faction, were to disappear: in his person an ideal ruler was to be found at the head of an ideal Ministry; for the splendour of his character would be reflected on all who came in contact with him. Every week his levee at Norfolk House became more crowded; every day his vanity and insolence became more outrageous. At last his head was completely turned. He set his father openly at defiance. He appealed to the people. All this was the work of Bolingbroke. From the very first he had laboured to widen the breach between Frederick and the King. It was he, indeed, who suggested the measure which made their breach public; it was he who now laboured to make it irreparable. And his policy was obvious. It was to detach Frederick, not only from Walpole and from Walpole's adherents, but from that section of the Opposition which was led by Pulteney and Carteret. If, on the event of the King's death, Pulteney and Carteret stood first in the estimation of the successor to the throne, Bolingbroke had, as he well knew, nothing to gain, for both those statesmen had long regarded him rather as a rival than as an ally. But if at that crisis he had succeeded in gaining the ascendancy over Frederick, as he had already gained the ascendancy over Frederick's counsellors, it required little sagacity to foretel that in a few weeks he would in all probability be at the head of affairs. He took care, therefore, to improve every advantage. He courted the Prince with unvaried assiduity, both in public and private. He descended to the grossest adulation. Indeed, his language and his conduct frequently bordered on the abject. To this period in his career is to be assigned the composition of the 'Patriot King,' a work written with the threefold purpose of exalting himself in the eyes of his young master, of making the Government odious in the eyes of the nation, and of furnishing the Patriots with a war-cry and a gospel.

Of all Bolingbroke's writings this treatise was the most popular. It was, on its publication in 1749, perused with avidity by readers of every class. Poets versified its sentiments and reflected its spirit. Allusions to it abound in the light literature of those times. On oratory and journalism its effect was in some degree similar to that which the Romance of Lyly had, a hundred and seventy years before, produced on
prose

prose diction during the latter years of Elizabeth. It created a new and peculiar dialect. To parley patriotism became an accomplishment as fashionable in Grub Street as in St. Stephen's. The public ear was wearied with echoes of Bolingbroke's stately rhetoric. Scarcely a week passed without witnessing the appearance of some pamphlet in which his mannerism, both of tone and expression, were copied with ludicrous fidelity. But it is not on style only that its influence was apparent. For some years it formed the manual of a large body of enthusiasts. From its pages George III. derived the articles of his political creed. On its precepts Bute modelled his conduct. It called into being the faction known to our fathers as the King's Friends. It undoubtedly contributed, and contributed in no small degree, to bring about that great revolution which transformed the Toryism of Filmer and Rochester into the Toryism of Johnson and Pitt.*

If this famous essay be regarded as a serious attempt to provide a remedy for the distempers under which the State was labouring, it is scarcely worth a moment's consideration. It is mere babble. Its proposals are too ridiculous to be discussed, its arguments too childish to be refuted. Where had the sublime and perfect being, whom Bolingbroke proposes to invest with sovereignty, any counterpart in human experience? How is the power of the Crown to be at once absolute in practice, and limited in theory? How can Parliamentary Government possibly exist without parties, and when did parties ever listen to the voice of wisdom? Is it within the bounds of reason that a King, who is potentially an absolute monarch, will consent to consider himself absolute only so long as he acts with the approbation of the national council, and that the moment the national council pronounces him to be guilty of error, he will confess that his prerogative is limited? These absurdities become, if possible, the more monstrous when we remember that the ruler contemplated by Bolingbroke was no other than his miserable disciple,

* It is curious to observe how exactly the political creed of Johnson coincides with the doctrines preached by Bolingbroke. 'He asserted,' writes Dr. Maxwell, in an account of some conversations he held with Johnson in 1770, 'the legal and salutary prerogatives of the Crown, while he no less respected the Constitutional liberties of the people: Whiggism at the time of the Revolution, he said, was accompanied by certain principles; but latterly, as a mere party distinction under Walpole and the Pelhams, was no better than the politics of stock-jobbers, and the religion of infidels. He detested the idea of governing by parliamentary corruption, and asserted that a Prince steadily and conspicuously pursuing the interests of his people could not fail of parliamentary concurrence. A Prince of ability might and should be the directing soul and spirit of his own Administration; in short, his own Minister, and not the mere head of a party; and then, and not till then, would the royal dignity be respected,' &c. See the whole passage, Croker's 'Boswell,' royal 8vo. edit. p. 216.

Frederick Lewis, the more shameless when we remember that he had himself been the first to acknowledge that in a Constitution like ours the extinction of party would involve the extinction of popular liberty. But if, as a didactic treatise, the 'Patriot King' is a tissue of absurdities, as a party pamphlet it is a masterpiece. No flattery was, as Bolingbroke well knew, too gross for Frederick. No theories were too visionary for those hot-headed and inexperienced youths who were in the van of the Patriots, and to those fanatics Bolingbroke was particularly addressing himself. This was not, however, his only aim. Much of the work is, like the Utopia of More, satire under the guise of extravaganza. The picture of Bolingbroke's political millennium is an oblique and powerful attack on Walpole's foreign and domestic policy. In depicting the character of his ideal monarch, he ridicules by implication the character of the reigning monarch. In elevating Frederick into a demigod, he degrades George into a dotard, and Walpole into a scheming knave; every allusion which reflects honour on Norfolk House is so contrived as to reflect infamy on the Court. Every reform which is to mark the new dispensation brands by allusion some abuse in the old. On the composition of the 'Patriot King,' Bolingbroke took more pains than was usual with him. It is perhaps, in point of execution, his most finished work. But style, though it will do much for a writer, will not do everything. Indeed, Bolingbroke's splendid diction frequently serves to exhibit in strong relief the crudity and shallowness of his matter, as jewels set off deformity. To the 'Patriot King' he afterwards appended a 'Dissertation on the State of Parties at the accession of George I.,' and this dissertation, if we except the unfinished 'Reflections on the Present State of the Nation,' written a few months afterwards, concludes his political writings.

He had now attained the object for which he had during fourteen years been incessantly labouring. The 'Craftsman' had done its work. Bolingbroke had at last succeeded in making his enemy odious in every city and in every hamlet in Britain. He could hear the cries which he had set up—cries against corruption, cries against Ministerial tyranny and Royal impotence, cries against standing armies, cries against the exportation of English wool, against Septennial Parliaments—echoing, savagely emphasized, from the lips of thousands. He had at last the satisfaction of seeing the Government tottering to its fall, the nation blind with fury, clamouring for war, clamouring for reform, clamouring for everything which could embarrass its rulers. He could see that the Patriots were now pressing onwards to certain victory.

Before

Before leaving England at the beginning of the summer of 1739 for his château at Argeville, he had suggested the famous secession of the Opposition which followed the debate on the convention with Spain, and during the next two years he appears to have been regularly consulted by Wyndham and by Wyndham's coadjutors. He affected, indeed, to be absorbed in metaphysics and history, but every page of his correspondence proves with what keenness and anxiety he was following the course of events in England. In February 1742 the crash came. The Opposition triumphed. Walpole sent in his resignation, and all was anarchy. But Bolingbroke was again destined to be the sport of Fortune. He arrived in London just in time to find his worst fears realized. Carteret and Pulteney in coalition with Newcastle and Hardwicke, the prospects of the Patriots completely overcast, the Tories abandoned by their treacherous allies, and the Prince of Wales half-reconciled with the King. So died his last hope. He had now, in his own melancholy phrase, to swallow down the dregs of life as calmly as he could; and little, indeed, but the dregs were left.

What remains to be told may be told in a few words. The death of his father relieved him from pecuniary embarrassment, and enabled him to settle down in comparative comfort at Battersea. But the infirmities of age, aggravated perhaps by early excesses, soon weighed heavily upon him. Every year found him more solitary. Of that brilliant society which had gathered round him at Dawley and at Twickenham, scarcely one survived: Congreve, Gay, Arbuthnot, Lansdowne, all were gone. Swift was fast sinking into imbecility. Wyndham was no more. In May 1740 he was summoned to Twickenham to weep over the wreck of that noble genius which had so often been consecrated to his glory, to close the eyes which for thirty years had never rested on him without veneration and love. And well, indeed, had it been if on that sad day the world had been called to mourn the master as well as the disciple. We should then have been spared one of the most melancholy episodes in literary annals. It is shocking to find that there are not wanting writers who attempt to justify Bolingbroke's subsequent conduct with regard to Pope. In our opinion, his conduct admits of no extenuation. In our opinion, a man of honour would never, even in self-defence and under the strongest provocation, have been guilty of such atrocity. But what are the facts? On the completion of the 'Patriot King' Bolingbroke had forwarded the manuscript to Pope, requesting him to have a few copies printed, with a view to
distributing

distributing them among private friends. A limited number of copies were accordingly printed and circulated; and so for a time the matter rested. But on the death of Pope it was discovered that, in addition to the copies for which he had accounted, he had ordered the printer to strike off fifteen hundred more. Of this, however, he had said nothing to Bolingbroke. That Pope, in thus acting, acted with disingenuousness, must be admitted, but his disingenuousness on this occasion originated, we are convinced, from motives very creditable to him. It was notorious that he entertained exaggerated notions of Bolingbroke's merits as a writer. It is notorious that in conversation he frequently commented on his friend's indifference to literary distinction. In his letters he was constantly reminding him of the duties he owed both to contemporaries and to future ages. He had, for example, recently appealed to him in emphatic terms to publish both the 'Essay on the Spirit of Patriotism,' and the 'Patriot King,' but in vain. Afraid, therefore, that the precious treatise thus entrusted to him might, either by some sudden caprice on the part of the author, or by some carelessness on the part of the few who were privileged to possess it, be lost to the world, he determined to render the chance of such a catastrophe as remote as possible. He resolved to deal with Bolingbroke as Varius and Tucca dealt with Virgil—to save him in his own despite. Hence the surreptitious impression. It is remarkable that even to so ill-natured an observer as Horace Walpole, Pope's conduct at once presented itself in this light. Pope may, it is true, have acted in the mere wantonness of that spirit of trickery, which entered so largely into his dealings with his fellow-men. But whatever may have been his object, it is perfectly clear now, and it must have been perfectly clear then, that he had no intention either of injuring Bolingbroke or of benefitting himself. Assuming, however, for a moment, the existence of some less creditable motive, does the grave afford no immunity from insult? Was a single equivocal action sufficient to outweigh the devotion of a whole life? Had Bolingbroke no tenderness for the memory of one whose friendship had for near a quarter of a century been his chief solace in obloquy and misfortune, who had loved him with a love rarely found to exist between man and man, whose genius had elevated him above Memmius and Mæcenas, on whose dying face his tears had fallen? It is lamentable to be obliged to add, that the motives which prompted Bolingbroke's libel were almost as derogatory to him as the libel itself. He had been annoyed at Pope's intimacy with Warburton. He had been still more irritated when he learned that Pope had appointed Warburton his editor.

editor. While this was rankling in his mind, the discovery relating to the 'Patriot King' was made. On inspecting Pope's copy, it was found that he had inserted several alterations, had rearranged much of the subject-matter, and had in other ways presumed to tamper with the text. At this, Bolingbroke's smouldering resentment burst into a flame. We very much question, however, whether rage would have carried him to such lengths, had it not been aggravated by that bad man who was now always at his elbow.

Into Bolingbroke's relations with the cur Mallet we have no intention of entering. To the influence of that unprincipled adventurer is, we believe, in a large measure, to be attributed almost everything which loaded his latter years with reproach—the assault on Pope, the unseemly controversy with Warburton, the determination to prepare for posthumous publication what he had not the courage to publish during life.*

Biography has few sadder pages to show than those which record the last days of Bolingbroke. From the Past he could derive no consolation, for he could look back on nothing but failure; in the Present his portion was pain, obloquy, and solitude. In the Future he saw only what the strongest mind cannot contemplate without horror, for his stern creed taught him to expect that the stroke which terminates suffering terminates being. A complication of disorders, soon to culminate in the most frightful malady to which man is subject, racked his body. His temper became irritable, even to ferocity. His noble intellect remained indeed unimpaired, but was clouded with misanthropy. He was at war with all classes, and all classes were at war with him. Though he still aspired to direct the counsels of Frederick, he had the mortification of perceiving

* It is, we think, highly probable that the most obnoxious of Bolingbroke's writings would never have travelled beyond the circle of his private friends had it not been for the sordid cupidity of Mallet. Mallet, it is well known, anticipated enormous profits from the sale of his patron's works, and did all in his power to swell their bulk. It is dangerous to predicate anything of a man so inconsistent as Bolingbroke, but it is remarkable that he had several times expressed in the most emphatic terms his anxiety not to appear publicly among the assailants of the national faith. Indeed, he went so far as to caution Pope against heterodoxy. See his Letter to Swift, Sept. 12, 1724: his Letter to Pope, 'Works,' quarto edit., vol. iii. p. 313, and again, p. 330. See also 'Marchmont Papers,' vol. ii. p. 288, and Cooke's 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 252. It was said, also, that he had promised Lady Harlington that these works should never be published. See Cooke's 'Life,' vol. ii. p. 252. The theory that he deceived Pope and Swift as to his real opinions is too absurd to be repeated. Is it likely that three such men as Bolingbroke, Pope, and Swift, would, in the freedom of familiar intercourse, discuss such topics with reserve? Is it likely that their opinions would materially differ? The truth probably is that Bolingbroke shrank, like Gibbon, from identifying himself with a clique whom he detested as a philosopher, and despised as a patrician. Among his vices we cannot number either cowardice or hypocrisy.
that

that he was an oracle whom few consulted, many ridiculed, and none heeded. Visitors to Battersea grew less and less frequent. Even his disciples began to fall off. 'Je deviens tous les ans,' he wrote in that language which had in happier days been so dear to him, 'de plus en plus isolé dans ce monde.' In March 1750 the only tie which bound him to life was severed. His wife had long been ailing; for several weeks she had been on the point of death. The blow was therefore not unexpected, but when it came it came with terrible force, for he had loved her with a tenderness which seemed scarcely compatible with his cold and selfish nature. He laid her among his ancestors at Battersea, and he commended her virtues and accomplishments in an epitaph which is a model of graceful and dignified eulogy. He was not long in following her. For some time he had been troubled with a humour in his cheek. As it had caused him no inconvenience, he had paid little attention to it. But in the middle of 1751 it began to assume a malignant character, and at the end of August his physician pronounced it to be cancer. It was at first hoped that an operation might save him. He refused, however, to listen to those who were most competent to advise, and insisted on placing himself in the hands of a popular empiric. Unskilful treatment served only to aggravate his distemper. His sufferings were dreadful. He bore them with heroic fortitude, and he took his farewell of one of the few friends whom Fortune had spared him with sentiments not unworthy of that sublime religion which he had long rejected, and on which he was even then preparing to heap insult. 'God who placed me here will do what He pleases with me hereafter, and He knows best what to do. May He bless you.' These were the last recorded words of Bolingbroke. On the 12th of December 1751 he was no more.

A little more than two years after his death, his literary executor, Mallet, gave to the world in five stately quartos his literary and philosophical works. With most of the former the public were already acquainted. Of the latter they knew nothing. To the latter therefore all readers at once turned. Their first emotion was eager curiosity, their second astonishment and anger. Never before had an Englishman of Bolingbroke's parts and genius appeared among the assailants of the national faith. The whole country was in a ferment. The obnoxious works were denounced from the pulpit. The Grand Jury of Westminster presented them as a nuisance. The press teemed with pamphlets. Warburton attacked them with characteristic vigour and acrimony; and Warburton was at no long interval succeeded by Leland. But it was not by theologians

logians only that the task of refutation was undertaken. Poor Henry Fielding, then fast sinking under a complication of diseases, commenced an elaborate reply, a fragment of which may still be found in his works, a fragment which seems to indicate that the prince of English novelists might, had he so willed it, have held no mean place among philosophical controversialists.

The writings which caused so much consternation among our forefathers have long since passed into oblivion. In our day they are rarely consulted even by the curious. Nor is this surprising. They satisfy no need, they solve no problem, they furnish little entertainment. What was worth preserving in them has been presented in a far more attractive shape by Pope. What was most daring in them is embalmed in the wit and grace of Voltaire. We shall therefore despatch them without much ceremony. Their object was threefold. It was to demolish theological and philosophical dogma, to purify philosophy from mysticism, and 'to reconstruct on an entirely new basis the science of metaphysics.' Bolingbroke's qualifications for the work of demolition consist of boundless fertility of invective, a very imperfect acquaintance with the works which he undertakes to condemn, and a degree of technical ignorance which is sometimes almost incredible. The writings on which he is most severe are the Old Testament, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Platonic Dialogues. The first he pronounces, without any circumlocution, to be a farrago of gross and palpable falsehoods: in the second he discerns only the jargon of a fanatical visionary, perplexed himself, and perplexing everything he discusses. To Plato he can never even allude without a torrent of abuse. He is the father of philosophical lying, a mad theologian, a bombastic poet, the master of metaphysical pneumatics. Having thus disposed of those whom he regards as the earliest sources of Error, he next proceeds to deal, and to deal in a similar spirit, with their followers—with 'superstitious liars' like Cyprian, with 'vile fellows' like Eusebius, with 'chimerical quacks' like Leibnitz, with 'nonsensical paraphrasers of jargon' like Cudworth, with 'orthodox bullies' like Tillotson, with 'foul-mouthed pedants' like Warburton. To say that Bolingbroke has in all cases failed in his attacks, would be to give a very imperfect idea of his character as a polemic. The truth is that he knew, as a rule, little or nothing of what he professes to confute. It is obvious that he has frequently not even taken the trouble to turn to the works on which he passes sentence. What he knows of the philosophy of antiquity is what he has picked up from Cudworth and Stanley. What he

knows of modern speculation is what he has derived from Bayle, Rapin, and Thomassin. Of the relative value of authority he appears to have no conception. The trash which has descended to us under the name of Orpheus is in his eyes as authentic as the History of the Peloponnesian War. He speaks with the same ignorant contempt of the statements of writers like Josephus, and of the statements of writers like Herodotus and Diodorus. He classes Plato with Plotinus, and Aristotle with Iamblicus.

But however ludicrously he fails in point of knowledge, he fails, if possible, still more ludicrously when he attempts to reason. His logic is the logic of a woman in anger. He is not merely inconsistent, but suicidal. What he asserts with ferocious vehemence at one moment, he denies with ferocious vehemence the next. What is assumed as undeniably true at the beginning of a section is assumed to be undeniably false at the end of it. We will give one or two samples. One of his principal arguments against the authenticity of the Mosaic Writings is the *à priori* argument that, as man has no need of a revelation, no revelation has been conceded; and this argument he has been at great pains to establish. In the Essays he tells us that a revelation has undoubtedly been granted, and that this revelation is to be found in the Gospels. In the Letter on Tillotson's Sermon he informs us that one of the strongest presumptions against the veracity of Moses is the fact that none of his assertions are supported by collateral testimony. In the Essays he tells us that the Pentateuch 'contains traditions of very great antiquity, some of which were preserved and propagated by other nations as well as the Israelites, and by other historians as well as Moses.' Of Christianity he sometimes appears as the apologist, and sometimes as the opponent. In one Essay it is the authentic message of the Almighty, in another it is bastard Platonism. In the Minutes it is 'a continued lesson of the strictest morality;' in the Essays it is the offspring of deliberate deceit. In the 'Letter to Pouilly' he rejects, he says, any revelation which is not confirmed by miraculous evidence, because it lacks authority. In the 'Letters to Pope' he rejects, he says, a revelation which is accompanied by miraculous evidence, because it shocks his reason.

Such is Bolingbroke's philosophy on its aggressive side, the side on which it is at once most offensive and most impotent. In the construction of his own system—we are speaking merely as critics—he has, it must be admitted, been more successful. The main features of that system are familiar to us from the poem of Pope. Pope, however, only followed his friend's theories

theories so far as they were consistent with orthodox belief. Bolingbroke carried them much further. His philosophy, extricated from the rank and tangled jungle of the *Essays and Minutes*, may be briefly summarized: That there lives and works, self-existent and indivisible, One God; that the world is His creation; that all we can discern of His nature and His attributes is what we can deduce from the economy of the Universe; that what we can thus deduce is the quality of infinite wisdom coincident with infinite benevolence, both operating not by particular but by general laws; that any attempt to analyse His attributes further is blasphemy and presumption; that the Voice of God spoke neither in the thunders of Sinai, nor from the lips of Prophets, but speaks only, and will continue to speak only, in the Harmony of the Universe; that one of the most striking proofs of that harmony lies in a sort of fundamental connection between the idea of God and the reason of man, and that it is this bond which ennobles morality into something more than a conventional code; that man's faculties are, like his body, adapted only for the practical functions of existence; that all his knowledge is derived from sensation and reflection, and that though he is the crown of created beings, he has no connection with Divinity. There are, he contends, no grounds for supposing, either that the soul is immortal, or that there is a world beyond the tomb, for everything tends to prove that the soul is woven of the same perishable material as the body, and a future state is not only logically improbable, but essentially superfluous. Man's life is in itself complete; virtue constitutes as a rule its own reward, vice constitutes as a rule its own punishment. Where inequalities exist, they exist only in appearance. Whatever is, is right; but whatever is must be contemplated, not in its bearings on individuals, but as an integral portion of the vast and exquisite mechanism of the Great Whole. It will be at once perceived that this was not new, and that Bolingbroke, though he aspired to the glory of an original thinker, laid under contribution not only the writings of contemporary Deists, but the speculations of Shaftesbury, Leibnitz, Wollaston, Clarke, and Archbishop King. This portion of his philosophic works is, to do him justice, not without merit. His reasoning is, it is true, more specious than solid, more skilful than persuasive: frequently contradictory, still more frequently inconclusive. But what he states he usually states with force, with perspicuity, and with eloquence. His illustrations are often singularly happy, his theories suggestive, his reflections shrewd and ingenious. We could point to fragments in which noble ideas are embodied

bodied in noble language; we could point to paragraphs as fine as anything in Cicero or Jeremy Taylor. But they are rare and far between; they are oases in a wilderness of unmethodical arrangement, of prolix digressions, of endless repetitions.

We must now take our leave of this brilliant but most unhappy man, the glory and the shame both of our history and of our literature. If in the course of our narrative we have commented with severity on his many errors, we would fain in parting with him remember only his nobler traits. We would do justice to his splendid and versatile genius; to his manly and capacious intellect; to his majestic eloquence; to the vastness and grandeur of his aspirations; to his invincible spirit; to his superhuman energy; to his instinctive sympathy with the exalted and the beautiful. We would think of him as the discriminating patron of science and literature. We would dwell on his superiority to those base passions which are too often found among men of letters, on his entire freedom from everything paltry and sordid, on his placability, on his openhandedness. With all his blemishes he is a magnificent figure; with all his failures he left the world in his debt. As we close with mingled feelings of wonder and pity, of admiration and sorrow, the chequered story of his life, we are insensibly reminded of the solemn words in which the Abbot passes sentence on Manfred:

‘This should have been a noble creature! He
Hath all the energy which would have made
A goodly frame of glorious elements
Had they been wisely mingled; as it is,
It is an awful chaos—light and darkness,
And mind and dust, and passions and high thoughts,
Mixed and contending without end or order,
All dormant or destructive. He will perish.’

ART. III.—*The Speaker's Commentary on the New Testament*;
Vols. i. and ii., containing the Four Gospels and the Book of
the Acts of the Apostles. London, 1878, 1880.

IT throws some discredit upon either the candour or the thoroughness of modern sceptical critics that the two first volumes of the ‘Speaker's Commentary upon the New Testament’ have not received more attention. They constitute the most important contribution which has yet been made in this country to the chief theological controversy of our day; and we

we have also no hesitation in saying that none of the critical works which have been published abroad afford more valuable materials for forming a sound judgment on that controversy. The learned and conscientious labour of Canon Cook, alike as Editor and as contributor, appears, we think, nowhere to so much advantage as in this portion of his great undertaking, and it is a matter for congratulation that his share in it has, from causes in other respects to be regretted, been larger than was originally contemplated. In addition to his general supervision, he is solely responsible for the notes on the two last chapters of St. Matthew, and on the whole of St. Mark's Gospel. The Bishop of St. David's, moreover, was unable, owing to the pressure of his episcopal duties, to prepare for the press his 'Commentary on St. Luke;' and Canon Cook consequently had to revise that portion of the work, and he accepts the ultimate responsibility for it. He has also furnished the Introduction to the Acts of the Apostles. The other portions of these two volumes have been contributed by scholars of the highest distinction. The Introduction to the first three Gospels is written by the Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomson; the Commentary on St. Matthew is by the late Dean Mansel; the Introduction to St. John's Gospel, with the Commentary upon it, is by Dr. Westcott, the learned Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; and the Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles is by the Bishop of Chester, well known as one of the ablest of recent Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford. No body of scholars of equal distinction has yet been associated together for the purpose of commenting on the Evangelical and Apostolic History.

A work which possesses the authority of such names would on that ground alone claim the best attention of critics; and a survey of its contents should be sufficient to command for it at once the careful study of any impartial reader. The first point to be observed is that it is very much more than a commentary. At the present moment, on the eve of the publication of that Version of the New Testament on which the Company of Revisers has been so long engaged at Westminster, it deserves to be remembered that, from the first, it has been a leading principle of the 'Speaker's Commentary' to furnish in the Notes all requisite corrections both of the text and of the authorized translation. In fact, it led the way in the work of revision, and when the new Version appears, the English reader will find in this Commentary a very useful standard for testing the variations from the old Version. But this is an incidental advantage. The consideration of chief importance is that, in the Introductions to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, these volumes furnish a masterly and comprehensive

comprehensive review of that controversy respecting the origin and trustworthiness of the Scriptures of the New Testament which during the last two generations has prevailed abroad, and which M. Renan and the author of 'Supernatural Religion' have recently popularized in this country. Canon Cook, in particular, is perfectly acquainted with every turn in this long and intricate debate; he is as familiar with its philosophical as with its purely critical aspect; and it may be doubted whether there is any scholar similarly competent to review its chequered course and its general results. In their special fields, Dr. Thomson and Dr. Westcott are pre-eminent; and in their respective Introductions the reader may rely on due account having been taken of all important contributions to the subject by Continental scholars, from the opening of modern criticism at the commencement of this century, to the last phase of the chameleon-like ingenuity of M. Renan. These Introductions, indeed, possess both the substance and the interest of independent works on these momentous topics. They are of very considerable extent. Combined, they would form an ample octavo volume, and their value is independent in a great measure of the detailed commentary on the text. Dr. Thomson's Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels has, indeed, already been reprinted in an interesting and instructive volume of 'Collected Papers,' recently published under the title, 'Word, Work, and Will;' but at a time when so much attention is attracted to this subject, it might be very serviceable to reprint those of Canon Cook and Dr. Westcott, and to combine them with that of the Archbishop; so as to deprive the public of all excuse for not applying some sober English sense and sound learning to check the wild speculations now prevalent. But M. Renan may come to London, and puzzle and perplex fashionable audiences by his arbitrary and reckless paradoxes; the newspapers may hasten to give summaries of his lectures, and to disperse his last new theories among a public wholly incapable of forming a judgment upon them without assistance; and all the while no attention is paid to the invaluable stores of learning and historic argument to be found in the pages before us. With the mass of readers this indifference may be charitably ascribed to the old and simple preference of what is new to what is true. But critics like M. Renan, or the author of 'Supernatural Religion,' or the German writers who notice in their numerous 'Zeitschriften' every fugitive production of their own Professors, are not similarly excusable.

It is more than time, indeed, to observe that there has hitherto been something quite incomprehensible in the inattention paid by

by the modern school of German critics to the work of English scholars in the field of Church History and of criticism. For example, it is a kind of regulation that every manual of Church History in Germany should commence with a notice of all previous works of any consequence on the same subject. But it is extremely rare to find in such introductory notices any mention whatever of the great works of Dean Milman—works which, alike in their research and their historic power, stand in the front rank of their class, and which, for their part, exhibit a thorough and candid study of all the important productions of German scholars. No Text-book of Church History enjoys a higher reputation in Germany than that of the venerable Dr. Karl Hase. Its tenth edition appeared in 1877, and it records up to the latest date the appearance of both German and French works on the subject of any consequence. But the latest English contribution to Church History mentioned in it is the pious but antiquated work of Milner, and neither Milman nor Robertson are named. From an article, indeed, which we shall notice further on, published last month by a leading German scholar, calling attention to the most important discovery made for many years in the field of New Testament criticism, we may indulge the hope that this indifference to the work of English and American divines is passing away. But as yet, it would seem as if on all subjects connected with Christian History, especially that of early times, German and Continental thought had for the last generation been unable to move in any other groove than that of the speculations set on foot by Baur and his school. Even this does not excuse the neglect of Milman, for the last edition of his 'History of Christianity' contains, both in the Preface and in the body of the work, most instructive observations on the views of the Tübingen divines and of their followers. But the chief point of interest to German scholars seems to have been the theories which are at stake, not the sacred writings or the facts of ecclesiastical history themselves. Among Englishmen, on the other hand, whatever their occasional defects from the point of view of technical knowledge, a sounder instinct has been predominant. They have been concerned in the first instance with the vital truths and facts of Christian history, and they have very properly allowed their apprehension of these realities to determine, in many instances, the weight to be allowed to theories manifestly inconsistent with them. We have undoubtedly learned very much from German criticism, and shall learn much more. But German writers, as some of the ablest among them are beginning to acknowledge, have also much to learn from the solid

solid historic sense of Englishmen. The leading scholars in this country are certainly not liable to the accusation of neglecting German learning, and it is time the Germans paid some similar attention to the results of English thought.

It is from this point of view, as a rare combination of the strong religious and historic sense of Englishmen with all the results of recent investigations abroad, that the volumes before us deserve to be so warmly commended to the reader. It is sometimes said in disparagement of this and similar publications in England that they are 'apologetic.' If it be implied, that the writers feel bound to maintain foregone critical conclusions, the insinuation is unjustifiable. But so far as it is meant that they are written with a conscious realization of truths which the more prominent class of foreign critics disregard, it is but a recognition of what we have just indicated as the chief merit of English thought on such subjects. Putting aside, indeed, the question of acquaintance with dogmatic theology, we have no hesitation in saying that it is the characteristic advantage of Biblical scholars in England, that they generally possess a more vivid apprehension of the spirit and practical meaning of the Scriptures than is usual abroad, even among the learned. M. Renan, for instance, speaking in his last work, '*L'Eglise Chrétienne*' (pp. 50, 51) of the defects of the 'fourth Gospel' mentions '*la prolixité, l'aridité, résultant d'interminables discours pleins de métaphysique abstruse, et d'allégations personnelles.*' An English divine, and we may add any intelligent English reader, must needs approach such a work as St. John's Gospel from a directly contrary point of view; and the mere fact of a critic like M. Renan expressing such an opinion cannot but be regarded by thoughtful Englishmen as disqualifying him from forming any trustworthy judgment on questions of internal evidence relating to the Gospels. An English clergyman, for instance, knows as a matter of fact that, so far from the discourses in St. John's Gospel being 'arid,' 'prolix,' or 'metaphysical,' they are among the portions of the Gospels which are the best appreciated by the simplest members of his flock; he knows that in visiting poor sick people, in suffering and in death, there are no words which come more home to their hearts, or give them greater comfort, than those utterances of our Lord which so offend M. Renan's critical taste. We are disposed to attribute a good deal of this divergence between the points of view of the scholars of the two nations to the far greater prevalence in England of a general popular acquaintance with the text of the Holy Scriptures. A remarkable testimony to the advantage we possess in this respect has recently
been

been borne by a most competent and unprejudiced witness. One of the most useful of recent German contributions to the study of the Scriptures is the 'Dictionary of Biblical Antiquities,' now being issued under the editorship of Dr. Riehm, in conjunction with other distinguished scholars in Germany. In the Preface to that work this learned writer says that—

'Germany may claim the honour of being the pioneer and guide of the theologians of other nations in the scientific and learned examination of the Bible. But this,' he adds, 'has been of little practical service to our own German national culture. A knowledge and understanding of the Bible, which constitutes so essential a part of religious culture, remains by far its weakest side. In this respect we Germans stand far behind the English.'

This remarkable result is doubtless due, in the main, to the unique privilege which Englishmen have enjoyed of hearing the Bible incessantly read to them in the public services of the Church. Its words have been stamped upon their minds by constant oral repetition, and the deep import of the sacred language has thus penetrated into their inmost thoughts and feelings. Among the wonderful achievements of the English statesmen and reformers of the sixteenth century, this perhaps is one of the very greatest. By one grand act of legislation they stamped the words and the leading ideas of the sacred writers upon ten successive generations of Englishmen, and upon the whole English-speaking world. No other nation whatever has been similarly imbued with the spirit of the Scriptures, and none other feels and thinks to an equal degree in the language of the Bible. The consequence is that English scholars instinctively deal with the Scriptures under a vivid apprehension of the living meaning they bear to the hearts of the people at large; they are forced, by the very atmosphere in which they have been brought up and in which they live and work, to start, in all their Biblical studies, from this point of view. German scholars, on the contrary, being sensible of no such popular feeling around them, and not having been educated in such an atmosphere, are able to approach questions of Scriptural criticism in a spirit which is too much removed from practical life, and too purely intellectual. To an Englishman the minute and unsparing analysis of the Scriptures to be found in many foreign works seems a kind of vivisection; to the German it is too often like the mere dissection of a dead product of antiquity. In this sense, no doubt, the English scholar and divine has an apologetic instinct about him; but, instead of being deprecated, this ought to be regarded as one of his strong points. He knows something

thing of the living force of the documents with which he is dealing, and he has a deep suspicion of critical speculations which are insensible to it. In approaching the subject in this spirit, he appears to us to be altogether in the right, and to possess an unquestionable advantage over a critic who is more concerned with the form than with the matter of the sacred writings. The designation of 'The higher criticism' is too frequently claimed for a mere technical and philological acuteness in analysing the text of the Scriptures. But in reality the substance is superior to the form, and the highest criticism is that which is the most capable of entering into the spirit of a writer, and of interpreting the details of his work by the light of his main purpose and of his animating ideas. In this respect English scholars and divines may with confidence challenge comparison with the leading writers of Germany and France.

In approaching the question of the authenticity of the books ascribed to the four Evangelists, and of the general credibility of the history of the New Testament, this really high criticism is eminently necessary. The first point to be considered is that which is too often the very last to be taken into account by the negative speculation which has of late been so popular. What is the general character and purpose of the four books which are commonly known as 'The Four Gospels'? If it be assumed at the outset that they were intended for narratives of the Life of our Lord, they may be estimated and contrasted in proportion to their fulfilment of this function, and their agreement or difference in points of chronology, of incident or of language, may become the main subject of interest. But, as the Archbishop of York begins by pointing out,* this is obviously a misconception. Not a little obscurity, perhaps, has been cast over the matter by the habit into which people have long fallen of applying the word 'Gospel' as a designation of the book which contains the Evangelical message, and thus of speaking in the plural of 'The Gospels.' In the mind of the Evangelists there is but one Gospel, and they are each expounding it from their several points of view. 'The Gospel' is 'the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God,' which He commissioned His Apostles to preach to every creature.

In other words, the four 'Gospels,' as we now call them, claim to be regarded, in the first instance, as records of the oral teaching of the Apostles and Evangelists; and it is remarkable that they closely correspond in this respect with the examples of that teaching presented in the Acts of the Apostles. Take,

* Introduction, pp. vii, viii.

for instance, St. Peter's summary of the Gospel message to Cornelius :

'The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ . . . that word, I say, ye know, which was published throughout all Judæa, and began from Galilee, after the Baptism which John preached ; how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power : who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil ; for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all things which He did, both in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem, whom they slew and hanged on a tree : Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly.'—*Acts* x. 36–40.

A more accurate summary of the general purport of any one of the four Gospels could not have been given. They are not therefore literary works, produced in study and retirement, designed simply to give a historical account of the events of our Saviour's life. They arose out of an immediate practical purpose, and they were designed to bring home certain practical convictions to those who read or heard them. In this respect they conform to the character of nearly all the books of the sacred volume—those, at all events, of the New Testament. They are struck out, as it were, by the necessities of actual life, and they are instinct with the vital energy thus infused into them.

Any criticism, therefore, which discusses the so-called four Gospels as mere biographical narratives, will be likely to miss the real causes of their origin, and of their several peculiarities. The numerous efforts which have been made of late years to compose a 'Life of Christ' out of the records of the Evangelists have had at least one unfortunate tendency—that of casting the colour of a similar design over the Gospels themselves. It is indeed very questionable whether so much as an approach to success in such attempts can ever be made. It is very well to undertake to write the life of a man like ourselves, or even of a man like an apostle, who was under supernatural influences. Such a task is always one of the most difficult to execute with any justice. In any case it is supremely hard to preserve the right proportion between the several influences which determine the course of a man's life, to estimate the relative force of motives and the real significance of acts, so as to paint a true picture, with the lights and shadows duly assigned. But still, in all other cases, the motives, the words, and the deeds are somewhat on a level with ourselves. They may be far greater and better than our own, but we are capable of a sufficient approach to them to allow of our forming some fair conception of their nature. But who can venture, with any confidence, to estimate the proportions, the significance, and the real order of a life at once human and divine ? One of the most remarkable

remarkable characteristics, in fact, of the Gospels themselves is that, so far from offering a Life of Christ, they would rather appear deliberately and scrupulously to abstain from any attempt to describe that life. What they profess to give us is the Gospel—the Gospel which He preached, and those words and acts of His which constituted or revealed the gospel. But He Himself is treated with a reverent reserve, and details are continually withheld on which a natural curiosity would have desired satisfaction. Notoriously, the Evangelists are silent respecting by far the greater part of His life on earth—a part of it which, as might well have been thought, would have had a profound interest for us. Their reserve is not less remarkable in their abstinence from placing their own interpretations on His words and acts. They report them, and leave them to speak for themselves; as though knowing that they would be infinite in their significance, and would possess an ever-varying application to different minds and different ages. A criticism which attempts to judge such narratives by a merely literary standard, and by the mechanical tests of verbal analysis, is foredoomed to failure.

Now this being the character of the Gospels, it seems singularly unfortunate that to the first three there has, throughout all recent criticism, been given a designation which of itself tends to withdraw attention from their more vital characteristics. They have been designated ‘The Synoptic Gospels,’ as though they were in the first instance to be regarded as constructed on the same general plan, and were to be judged and criticized with reference to it. They have consequently been compared most minutely with each other, not simply with a view of contrasting their individual purpose and spirit, but with that of analysing the details of their structure, and accounting for their formal and mechanical variations; and on this comparatively barren problem the labours of German critics have to an incredible extent been absorbed and exhausted. Attention having been once withdrawn from the essential spirit which animates the Evangelists, and concentrated on textual peculiarities, an unlimited field has been opened to the ingenuities of verbal criticism, while the balancing influence of larger historic considerations has been sacrificed. There is, of course, room for infinite speculation in detail on the reasons by which variations of language in the narratives of the Evangelists are to be explained. Of such speculations Archbishop Thomson gives a striking illustration by comparing the two following parallel passages from St. Mark and St. Luke:—*

* Introduction, p. xviii.

MARK i. 35.

And in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed.

36. And Simon and they that were with him followed after him.

37. And when they had found him, they said unto him, All men seek for thee.

38. And he said unto them, Let us go into the next towns, that I may preach there also: for therefore came I forth.

39. And he preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee, and cast out devils.

LUKE iv. 42.

And when it was day, he departed and went into a desert place: and the people sought him, and came unto him, and stayed him, that he should not depart from them.

43. And he said unto them, I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also: for therefore am I sent.

44. And he preached in the synagogues of Galilee.'

Now, says the Archbishop—

'these words of Mark contain several striking points. St. Luke says that the multitude sought Jesus; St. Mark mentions that Simon and the disciples pursued Him, told Him of the multitudes seeking Him, and pressed Him to return. The verb "followed" is in the singular in the best MSS., as though Peter followed, with the rest as mere companions; but these, summed up as "the rest," were James, John, and Andrew. The very early rising, and the prayer which was the object of it, are in Mark alone. The proposal to make a circuit in Galilee, the completeness of the circuit, rests on St. Mark's narrative. Mark is very graphic and distinct. Luke more general, yet clear. Matthew is wholly silent. How will criticism deal with these differences? Holtzmann regards this as one of the most decisive proofs of the originality of Mark. He points out how the several points have been obscured in Luke. Wittichen regards the passage of St. Mark as original, omitted by St. Matthew as being needless after the Sermon on the Mount. Godet can understand all the differences on the supposition that the two narratives had a common origin in traditional preaching, but not on the supposition that one copied from another. Ernest Bunsen has no doubt that St. Mark copied from St. Luke, adding a few touches from St. Matthew. Bleek, quite gratuitously, casts a doubt on the accuracy of St. Mark, as though he made the next miracle, of healing a leper, take place in one of the synagogues; for which we cannot find a word in St. Mark's text. He is confident that in the passages which precede and follow this, the healing of Simon's wife's mother and the cleansing of the leper, Mark had before him the two other Gospels, and used them both. Meyer sees in the mention of Peter's name, the singular verb, and the omission of the other names, the ground of the idea of Peter's pre-eminence; but refuses to see in it any sign of a "Petrine" tendency in the Evangelist. Lastly, Weiss sees an involuntary indication, in this mention of Peter, of the source whence the Evangelist drew his information; while he finds clear tokens of the reflecting editor in St. Luke, who passes over the pursuit of the disciples, intensifies the expression

expression of duty, "must preach," and substitutes for the more ambiguous "came I forth," the clearer reference to the heavenly commission, in the words "am I sent."

The Archbishop naturally asks what we are to think of these varieties of opinion, but that the so-called science which arrives at them is founded on no sure principles? All that is certain is, that of two accounts, completely in harmony with each other, one is graphic and full of detail, the other more general and with less minuteness of handling. One critic concludes that the more general has been formed by throwing off something from the more full; another thinks that in St. Mark we have a later hand, with more literary skill, filling up with skilful touches a narrative that requires this treatment for its literary interest. One hears the voice of Peter, a living witness of the scene. Another detects some mere epitomizer or editor, making the best of the materials at his command. All these conjectures cannot be true; and it may be confidently said that common-sense would in any other case at once condemn any such elaborate inferences from such slight variations of expression.

It is only natural that the general conclusions which German critics have drawn from premisses of this kind should prove conflicting and mutually destructive. We take, for instance, the Archbishop's summary* of the dispute respecting the relation of St. Mark's Gospel to the others. Hilgenfeld, one of the acutest of the disciples of Baur, thinks the thoroughgoing dependence of the Gospel of St. Mark on the Gospel of St. Matthew is undeniable. Reuss, another very learned and acute writer, thinks he has shown that St. Mark bears everywhere the stamp of originality, whilst St. Matthew presents numerous and various signs of the revision of a second hand. Keim considers that the Gospel of St. Mark aims at uniting the two great Gospels; and that, while in the first part of his work St. Mark follows St. Luke, in the second he follows St. Matthew. Volkmar regards St. Mark's Gospel as a work of a Pauline spirit and tendency, aimed against the Judaic tendency of the Apocalypse. Hilgenfeld strongly denies this, draws attention to the Jewish side of the Gospel, and considers that, far from its being the expression of either a Petrine or a Pauline tendency, it represents the harmony and conciliation of the two principles. What conclusion can be drawn from this mass of contradictory speculation, but that the evidence on which such writers rely affords them no solid ground for the conclusions they deduce, and that their whole method is untrustworthy?

* Introduction, p. xxxvi.

We regret to say, however, that one of the wildest and most presumptuous examples of this style of criticism has been recently put forward in an important publication in this country. The theory of an original Gospel from which our three first Gospels were derived has been advocated by many writers; but it has been reserved for an English scholar to reduce it unconsciously *ad absurdum* in an attempt to restore this original Gospel by a mechanical, not an intellectual, process. In an article on the Gospels, which has unfortunately been admitted into the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,'* Dr. Abbott has started the theory of the existence of a 'Triple Tradition,' as he is pleased to call it, which can be recovered from the texts of the three first Gospels. He picks out all the words and bits of words—literally portions of words—which they have in common, and then practically assumes that these must all have formed, not merely a part of an original tradition which they all used, but all that was of importance in it. This 'triple tradition' has the advantage, from his point of view, that 'it omits the genealogies, miraculous incarnation, and the picturesque details of the infancy,' and that it 'suddenly terminates without any record of the appearance of Jesus to His disciples.' 'However we may regret this, it is,' we are told, 'perhaps what may be naturally expected on the hypothesis that we have before us an early tradition,

'originated at a time when the numerous manifestations of Jesus after His death were still attested by living witnesses; when as yet it had been found impossible to reduce the experiences and impressions of those who had seen Him—impressions necessarily variable and transient, blended with fear and with an excitement bordering on ecstasy—to a consistent and historical shape; and when it had not yet been found necessary to define and harden the narrative so as to adapt it for the purpose of meeting doubts and objections.'

The motive for thus eliminating from the only trustworthy record the elements characteristic of the several Evangelists is sufficiently evident. But the baselessness of the theory needs little exposure, and it is very well demolished by Dr. Salmon, the eminent divine and mathematician of Trinity College, Dublin, in an interesting volume of Sermons he has just printed.† Such a process, as Dr. Salmon observes, involves the assumption that, on the supposition that one original tradition existed and that

* Although we are obliged to express our regret in reference to this article, we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity to call the attention of our readers to the satisfactory progress of this most valuable Encyclopædia under the able editorship of Professor Baynes. The twelfth volume, recently published, comes down to the middle of the letter I, and fully maintains the reputation acquired by the earlier volumes.

† 'Non-miraculous Christianity and other Sermons,' p. 11.

from subsequent accretions of legend. But, as Dr. Salmon forcibly argues in the Sermon to which we have already referred, no such attempts can get rid of the fact that the belief in one stupendous miracle, at all events, lies at the root of the whole history of the Church. If there ever existed a Gospel which did not contain the miraculous, it must certainly have been earlier than the Epistles of St. Paul; for in St. Paul's mind our Lord's resurrection is one of the most certain of facts, and is the key-stone of his whole preaching:—‘If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen; and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.’ But it is unnecessary to come down to even so comparatively early a date as that of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. For whether men believe or disbelieve in our Lord's resurrection, there can be no doubt at all about the date at which such a belief arose. To quote again from Dr. Salmon:—

‘If a year had elapsed, if six months had elapsed, from the time at which our Lord had died on the cross the death of shame, and if during all that time no sign had clouded over the completeness of the triumph of his enemies; if his followers had for so long a time been forced to acquiesce in the conviction that He who had saved others had been unable to save Himself, we may say with certainty that it would have been impossible to revive their crushed expectations, and that one who should then first come to them with the story of a resurrection would find them in no state of mind to give it credence. Or, take the thing another way. They who denying a real resurrection of Jesus attempt to explain the rise of a belief in it, appeal to the fact that there often remains on the mental retina the image of a luminous object after the object itself has been withdrawn. The face long familiar and long loved refuses to vanish from our mental vision, or is ever starting up unbidden. So the minds of those to whom Jesus was inexpressibly dear, and who had built on Him all their hopes, could not let His image go. Their prophet could not die. Thus, whether or not Jesus of Nazareth actually did rise again, it was inevitable that His followers should believe that He did. I shall not discuss whether or not this explanation is sufficient; but it is evident that the exaltation of mind which it assumes on the part of our Lord's disciples only belongs to the time when their loss was still fresh. It is not conceivable after the time when that first poignancy of grief, which refuses to realize its loss, is succeeded by that dull pain which confesses that life has got to be lived on after all that made it dear has gone.’

Thus, as Dr. Salmon puts it, ‘if we are forbidden to hold the article of the present creed of Christians, On the third day He rose again from the dead,’ we shall be compelled to substitute, ‘On or about the third day it came to be believed that He rose

again from the dead.' It follows that the facts of chronology allow no place at all for a non-miraculous Gospel. At the very earliest date at which our Lord's life and death can have been put into writing, the story of the resurrection must have formed an essential part of it. No criticism, therefore, can help us to eliminate this miracle from any conceivable record. But if so, then certainly nothing is gained in point of credibility by paring down records of secondary miracles in other portions of the narrative. The plain truth of the matter is, that we must either accept the narratives of the Gospels as they stand, or we must confess ourselves practically reduced to ignorance respecting the momentous subjects with which they are occupied. It is conceivable, certainly, that criticism of a higher type than we have been discussing—a criticism which does not seek the living among the dead by expecting to discover the relation between great writers in the number of syllables common to two or more of them—may some day achieve the feat of detecting in our Gospels fragments of older documents. The Preface to St. Luke's Gospel renders it unquestionable that such documents existed, and it is no way improbable that they were used. But we have certainly no greater guarantee for the truth of the older document than of the later ones. Such a document is by the hypothesis anonymous, and we have no means of ascertaining either its date or its authority. If we give up the authenticity of the Gospels in their present form, we may amuse ourselves, like M. Renan, with writing as many romances on the subject as we please, picking out whatever facts we like, some at one time and some at another, no matter whether consistently or not; but we have no means of constructing an account of the life of our Lord, or of the labours of His Apostles, which can lay any claim whatever to a historical character.

Accordingly, the real question at issue in the present day, for all sober-minded persons, is practically the same as in the last century—in the days of Lardner and Paley:—Have we adequate reason for believing that the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were written by the persons whose names they bear, and that the testimony of these persons is to be trusted? On the second question we apprehend there will practically be no dispute nowadays. The veracity and the good sense of the first preachers and teachers of Christianity is beyond question with any persons with whom it is now worth while to argue. The only difference between our day and that of Paley is, that the weight of the argument has been shifted to the prior question—whether St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John

St. John did really write the books in question. It is for the admirable way in which this plain question is handled, that we recommend the Commentary before us so strongly to public attention. But it may not be amiss to offer a few observations upon the order in which the problem may be most conveniently approached. Perhaps, for the purpose of establishing the authenticity of the early history, it is advantageous to commence with the Acts of the Apostles. There is no practical question that this book was written by St. Luke. Of course, it is only too well known that Baur and his school have endeavoured to make out that it is a production of later date than Apostolic times, designed to facilitate a reconciliation between the antagonistic sections of the Christian Church who adhered to the special views of St. Peter and St. Paul respectively. But it is not sufficiently well known, perhaps, by those who are inclined to welcome the destructive effect of these views, that the theory is now abandoned even by Renan. After a full consideration of the objections by the school of Tübingen, Renan says, 'Je persiste à croire que le dernier rédacteur des Actes est bien le disciple de Paul qui dit *nous* aux derniers chapitres' *—in other words, as he himself goes on to argue, no other than St. Luke. But there is also no practical question that the author of the Acts is also the author of the third Gospel—and of that Gospel, moreover, in the form and with the essential characteristics which it now possesses. As Canon Cook says with justice, both points—the identity of authorship of the Gospel and the Acts, and the authorship by a companion of St. Paul—

'are now generally received both in Germany and France, and that not only by scholars who accept unreservedly the statements and notices of Holy Writ, but by those who subject all its contents to a searching and jealous scrutiny, even by many who reject without scruple any facts involving the recognition of supernatural interposition, and who readily admit attacks upon the character and authority of the chief representatives of early Christendom.'

The names of Credner and Bleek in Germany, and of Renan in France, are sufficient to bear out this statement. Renan's conclusion, in 'Les Apôtres,' p. x, is again worth quotation :

'Une chose hors de doute, c'est que les Actes ont le même auteur que le troisième Evangile, et sont une continuation de cet Evangile. Les Préfaces qui sont en tête des deux écrits, la dédicace de l'un et de l'autre au Théophile, la parfaite ressemblance du style et des idées, fournissent, à cet égard, d'abondantes démonstrations.'

* 'Les Apôtres,' p. xiv.

Credner similarly says that the common peculiarities of the Gospel and the Acts 'prove irrefragably that the author of the third Gospel, the physician Luke, must on no account be separated from the author of the Acts of the Apostles.'

Now let it be observed to what these confessions amount. In the first place, they involve the admission, that the whole Apostolic history contained in the Acts of the Apostles was in its present form—Renan says, as we have seen, in its last redaction—written and revised by one of the most faithful companions of St. Paul, by one who was an eyewitness of a great part of the events he relates, and who consequently was in full communication with other Apostles and contemporaries of Apostles. If this were all, one important conclusion would seem to follow at once. The old account of the origin of the Church, which Christians have hitherto accepted on the faith of the Acts of the Apostles, has all the authority of the strongest contemporary evidence, and of a witness who, as Paley argued, staked his life on the truth of his testimony. The whole fabric of the Tübingen school collapses if the admission, or rather the contention, of their most eminent pupil be admitted, and we are back again within the long-standing traditions of Christendom. But it is surprising that a further consequence, equally cogent, is not perceived by those who make these admissions, or who are aware of their having been made. If the Acts of the Apostles be a genuine book, then the Gospel of St. Luke is also genuine, and it was written before the Acts. In other words, in St. Luke's Gospel we have a narrative of all the essential parts of our Lord's life and ministry, written by a person who was a contemporary of St. Paul and of the other Apostles. The claim of the author in the Preface is completely justified :

'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word, it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order.'

We may go back another step. This introductory statement of St. Luke proves that before he wrote the Acts, and before he wrote the Gospel, 'many' had taken in hand to reduce to writing, and to set forth in order, the narrative of our Lord's ministry, of His birth, death, and resurrection. Within the lifetime, therefore, of our Lord's own companions and contemporaries, the facts in question were formally recorded at the mouth of eyewitnesses. Even supposing that St. Luke's Gospel stood alone,

alone, with this evidence of its genuineness, and this appeal to contemporary persons and contemporary documents, it appears to us that no stronger testimony could be adduced in vindication of the real occurrence of the events which it narrates—from the miraculous Conception to the miraculous Ascension.

But it will at once be seen that this consideration leads to still further consequences of the greatest possible weight in the argument. If St. Luke's Gospel be the record of the testimony of eyewitnesses, there is certainly nothing in the contents of St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels inconsistent with their being also the record of similar testimony. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that they are, and moreover that they belong to the same early date as St. Luke's own work. Had they been written after St. Luke's Gospel had been long enough in existence to be generally known, and by any persons of less authority than their reputed authors, it is improbable they would have deviated, as they do, from St. Luke's method, and have omitted so much that he relates. But if all the three Gospels were written within the same generation, at the instance of different Apostles, and to illustrate the aspects of our Lord's life which were of chief importance to those for whom they were intended, their combined harmony and independence is perfectly natural. From this point of view, we confess we see no real difficulty—little more, in fact, than a curious and probably insoluble riddle—in the problem which has occupied so much attention—that of their combined agreement and difference.

'As regards the virtual agreement of the three writers,' says Archbishop Thomson, 'it may be said that in no other case would it be possible to find three writers so independent as to their matter, who showed such minute and abundant coincidences of expression; and that no other three writers have shown such a careful adherence to the very same forms of expression, who have also shown so great an independence in the selection and omission of subjects.'—*Introd.* p. ix.

But when it is further observed that 'by far the larger portion of this verbal agreement is found in the recital of the words of others, and particularly of the words of Jesus,' a sufficient explanation seems to us at once apparent. It is enough to say, that in no other case would it be possible to find three writers who were dealing, and who were profoundly conscious that they were dealing, with words of such supreme moment and of such Divine import. It might be sufficient, indeed, from a Christian point of view, to refer to our Lord's express promise of Divine assistance to His disciples in recalling His words. But it appears unnecessary to
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to call in this assistance to account satisfactorily for the phenomenon. Our Lord attached to Himself a select body of disciples, whose express mission it was to listen to His words, and to be able to bear witness to His deeds. Those words and deeds would be impressed upon their minds by the most solemn of all convictions; and the people to whom they belonged were peculiarly tenacious of words. Add to this, that the words themselves are the most pregnant and vivid ever spoken among men, and the problem which so much perplexes that mechanical criticism of which we have spoken seems to vanish. The broad result remains, that we have three independent and harmonious accounts of our Lord's life and work, with respect to one of which even hostile criticism is forced to admit that it was written by a contemporary and perfectly competent authority; while with respect to the other two, all internal difficulties vanish with this admission.

Such are the general conclusions which appear to us so effectively brought out in the Introduction to this Commentary; and to any one desirous of apprehending the full force of the argument, we would recommend a perusal, first of Canon Cook's Introduction to the Acts, and then of Archbishop Thomson's Introduction to the three first Gospels. The Introduction of Canon Cook is admirable for the thoroughness, the fairness, and the historic grasp with which he discusses every detail of the problem before him, and he incidentally throws most interesting light on the characteristics of St. Luke's work in the Gospel as well as in the Acts. The theories of the leading German writers and of M. Renan are dealt with point by point, though in no mere controversial spirit. The internal and external evidences of authorship, the historical character of the book as a whole, and particularly of the discourses it records, the numerous points of minute accuracy which it exhibits—all are illustrated with equal learning, lucidity, and moderation. Archbishop Thomson's Introduction is marked by merits of a somewhat different kind. There is apparent throughout it the impatience of a vigorous common-sense with the subtle and inconsistent schemes he is discussing: as, for instance, when he summarizes the results of criticism on St. Matthew's Gospel. 'Perhaps,' he says,

'... if the work is so much as what it cannot do, and here its witness agrees not together. According to divers writers, Matthew is the chief writer and not the least: a Greek writer, but a Hebrew; he took the substance of the Gospel of Mark, but drawn from that source, and so forth: it is the work of an Apostle, but there are points of evidence against regarding it as from an Apostle's hand. Its
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line of teaching is clear and consistent; yet with skilful knife we can dissect out the various fibres of tendencies which make it so manifold and so little consistent with itself. Its unity is self-evident; and yet it never continued for two decades the same, so active were the editors in making it afresh. Its inconsistencies with the other Gospels start out to careless eyes: and yet many hands were constantly at work bringing one Gospel to bear on another, and altering each by the light of the other. These being the results, we have a right to suspect the method: it is even allowable to doubt whether there can be any true principles on which results so discordant can be based.'—*Introd.* p. xxxi.

We need a little of this rough common-sense to be brought to bear on the fine-spun theories with which the world has of late been perplexed. But the Archbishop is, perhaps, strongest in bringing out the substantial life and truth which the Evangelical narratives present, and in urging the unreasonableness of imagining that such a result could have been produced by the artificial and piecemeal composition assumed by sceptical theories for the origin of the Gospels. It is one of the most remarkable facts in the case that, with all their brevity, the Gospels are proved by the experience of history to have produced the most vivid portraiture of a living person ever presented to the world. The fact that different views are taken of this Person, that His acts are differently understood and interpreted, in no way conflicts with this main result. It simply shows that the Person as thus depicted is in just the same position as if He were living among us—in the same position, in fact, as when He was upon earth. He is understood and appreciated variously in proportion to the capacity, the moral and intellectual disposition, of those who hear Him and behold Him. Accordingly, it is not too much to say that, within the first century after Christ, every view of His life and character which has since been put forward was in substance represented. But no one can doubt that, allowing for these inevitable variations, the character of Christ, as represented in the Gospels, has stamped itself upon the mind, alike of the Church and of the world, with a greater vividness and certainty than any other character in history; its life and its force have radiated beyond the circle of those to whom the Gospels are a constant companion; and it lives almost unconsciously, among foes as well as among friends, as a potent moral and spiritual agency. 'If,' says the Archbishop, 'it could be seriously apprehended that the Church and mankind would ever allow itself to be robbed of the Divine picture and presentment of Christ, because of some real or fancied discrepancy between
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the four Evangelists, that it would part with the precious substance of harmony for the sake of some shadow of harmony, never to be found in any books, and never promised to us in these; then we might tremble for the future of religion. But they have come down to us so far, not upon the strength of a historical argument that they were indeed what they are supposed to be, but upon the inward force, by which they first show us Christ, and then lead us captive to Christ. Never man spake like this man; never was love like this love; never such a life was seen on earth before; never did the dream of poet, never the instinct of hero-worship imagine such a being with such wisdom on his lips, such love in his heart, with a character so balanced and complete, with claims so outspoken and so lofty, joined to so profound a humility and so gentle a kindness towards the gainsayer. If indeed, as Geiger and others tell us, he is but a disciple of Hillel, following exactly in his master's footsteps, let us see this Hillel brought forth, that we may admire another, also divine. Every one knows, and Delitzsch has taken the trouble to show, that there is indeed no comparison possible. The two genealogies may be difficult; the taxing of Cyrenius a perpetual problem; the days of the last passover may exercise critics to the end. But do or do not the four Gospels conduct us into the presence of the same Jesus? This is the real issue. The Church has long since settled her conviction on this point; in the Gospels, each and all, 'she has known Christ.'—*Introd.* p. lvii.

These considerations furnish the best introduction to the other great branch of the controversy with which these volumes had to deal—that, namely, which concerns the Gospel according to St. John. Here, again, it is only reasonable to start from the broad fact that the consciousness of Christians has, from the earliest days of the Church to the present time, recognized a complete unity between the description of our Lord and of His teaching as presented by the fourth Gospel, and that which is presented by the three others. It is certainly a different picture—a picture drawn, as it were, from another point of view, exhibiting the character in new scenery, and in relation to other circumstances. But the instinct of the Church for eighteen centuries ought to be sufficient proof that there is no real variance between the two aspects. An assumption, however, of such a variance lies at the basis of all modern assaults on the authenticity of St. John's Gospel. As we observed at the outset, it is alleged to be full of Alexandrian metaphysics, and the discourses it attributes to our Lord are pronounced incompatible with His style of teaching, as exhibited in the
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three first Gospels. It would seem a satisfactory answer to this objection to say that the point is eminently one to be decided by the general sense of readers of all ages, and not by the private and singular opinions of a few modern critics. As we have said, such questions can only be fairly judged by those who are in sympathy with the main current of teaching in the book or books in question. M. Renan sees arid metaphysics in the discourses in St. John. The all but unanimous feeling of the Christian Church of all ages, of Christians of all classes, cultured or uncultured, has been that these discourses are neither arid nor metaphysical, but animated by the deepest and truest feeling, and that they touch the most vital chords in human nature. On any other subject, if a critic found himself conspicuously at variance with the almost uniform verdict of mankind, he would probably have the modesty to begin to suspect himself; and at all events he would hesitate to make his idiosyncrasy the foundation of a new theory respecting the origin of the writings in question. Yet this is precisely the case with the question of the trustworthiness of St. John's Gospel. It has made at least as deep an impression as either of the others upon the mind of Christians; it has entwined itself with their innermost convictions, and has furnished an integral part of all Christian thought. And they are now asked to suspect it on the ground that to a few French and German critics, and to their followers in this country, all this conviction of the unity of the four Gospels is an illusion, and all this deep interest in our Lord's last discourses is imaginary! It ought to be recognized at the outset that the whole burden of proof, and that an enormous one, lies against critics who advance such an assertion. Of course, if definite evidence can be adduced to prove the late fabrication of St. John's Gospel, there is an end of the matter, and we must accept the result—notwithstanding the tremendous shock it would give, not only to the Christian faith, but to our confidence in the trustworthiness of the moral and spiritual instincts of mankind. But it ought to be distinctly recognized that it is the negative, and not the positive evidence, of which it may be demanded in such a case that it should be irrefragable. The harmony between the traditionary, or *primâ facie*, account of the origin of St. John's Gospel and the facts of Christian thought and experience is so complete that we have a right to demand something like a demonstration before we abandon the belief which is in possession of the ground.

We dwell on these considerations because they afford us the best means of estimating the position assumed by the most prominent

of fact' (p. 58). There are traits 'which assure to the pseudo-John a superior historic value to Mark and the pseudo-Matthew' (p. 59). But we come back to the old objection, and are told that 'nothing is more fatiguing' (p. 51) than the long discussions in the Gospel. The conclusion at length reached, or suggested, is that the book may have been written by a disciple of the Apostle, who, some twenty-five years after his death, thought himself authorized to speak in his name. But once launched in this region of conjecture, M. Renan makes a still wilder venture, and actually suggests that one of the persons who were concerned with the forging of the Johannine writings was the Gnostic Cerinthus—the very heretic against whom, according to all tradition, they were written! It is surely unnecessary to say anything more in answer to such a supposition than that Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, lived till the year 155 or 156—a quarter of a century after the supposed forgery, and that his disciple, Irenæus, a strenuous opponent moreover of Gnosticism, treats the Gospel without the slightest hesitation as the work of St. John. The position of Polycarp and Irenæus really decides the question for any one who prefers definite historic testimony to his own fancies. The case is excellently summarized as follows by Canon Westcott:—

'It is, however, with Polycarp and Papias that the decisive testimony to St. John's writings really begins. Recent investigations, independent of all theological interests, have fixed the martyrdom of Polycarp in 155–6, A.D. (See Lightfoot, *Contemporary Review*, 1875, p. 838.) At the time of his death he had been a Christian for eighty-six years (*Mart. Polyc.* c. ix.) He must then have been alive during the greater part of St. John's residence in Asia, and there is no reason for questioning the truth of the statements, that he "associated with the Apostles in Asia (e.g. John, Andrew, Philip; comp. Lightfoot's *Colossians*, pp. 45 f.), and was entrusted with the oversight of the Church in Smyrna by those who were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Lord" (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 26; comp. Iren. c. *Hær.* iii. 3, 4). Thus like St. John himself, he lived to unite two ages. When already old, he used to speak to his scholars of his intercourse "with John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord" (Iren. *Ep. ad Flor.* § 2); and Irenæus, in his later years, vividly recalled the teaching which he had heard from him as a boy (Iren. l. c.; comp. c. *Hær.* iii. 3, 4). There is no room in this brief succession for the introduction of new writings under the name of St. John. Irenæus cannot with any reason be supposed to have assigned to the fourth Gospel the place which he gives to it unless he had received it with the sanction of Polycarp. The person of Polycarp, the living sign of the unity of the faith of the first and second centuries, is in itself a sure proof of the apostolicity of the Gospel. Is it conceivable that in his lifetime such a revolution was accomplished, that his

his disciple Irenæus was not only deceived as to the authorship of the book, but was absolutely unaware that the continuity of the tradition in which he boasted had been completely broken ?

M. Renan has acquired of late such unwarrantable influence in some quarters, that it would seem worth while thus to draw attention to the baselessness and the inconsistency of his speculations on one of the most vital points in this great controversy. But we are chiefly concerned with him for the reason previously mentioned. It would appear to be the main result of the long critical war, in which he is now the last and most prominent combatant on the negative side, that the issue really turns on the question of the spiritual meaning and moral force of the words and discourses attributed to our Lord in the fourth Gospel. A man need not be an 'apologist,'—he may even be a disciple of M. Renan—in order to acknowledge that every other consideration is in favour of the old tradition that the Gospel is really the work of St. John, the beloved disciple. When the question, after long debate, is thus fairly reduced to this issue, there cannot, we think, be the slightest practical doubt how the common-sense of the great majority of unprejudiced minds will decide it. There may be persons, like M. Renan, who will always remain impenetrable to the spiritual force of the discourses reported in the Gospel. But no real weight will attach in the long run to these idiosyncrasies. Objections founded on such private opinions and prejudices have, indeed, been advanced of late with inconceivable presumptuousness. Mr. Matthew Arnold, for instance, is always ready to pronounce that certain words 'were either a mistake, or they are not really the very words Jesus said' (*Literature and Dogma*, p. 151), simply because Mr. Arnold himself cannot understand them. Dr. Abbott, in the article on the Gospels already referred to, can similarly urge that 'it is difficult to believe' that our Lord uttered certain parables in their present shape; and for his part he would draw quite the opposite moral from the parable of the unjust Judge from that which is said to have been drawn by our Lord. One would think it might occur to writers of this school that, supposing the passages in question to have been really spoken by our Lord, it is possible His meaning may escape their comprehension or even be beyond it. The excellent saying which is attributed to the present Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, at a meeting of Fellows, might with advantage be recommended to such critics. 'Let us remember that we are none of us infallible—not even the youngest of us.' It is possible, to say the least of it, that the convictions of Christian divines respecting the profound significance of our Lord's

Lord's words in St. John's Gospel and elsewhere, are true. But the admission of the possibility leaves us face to face with the simple historic evidence; and, as we have endeavoured to illustrate, the result of the great critical debate of the last two generations is that the balance of this evidence is decisively in favour of the old traditions.

It was, however, of the utmost importance that, in respect to St. John's Gospel, these facts and truths should be developed in 'The Speaker's Commentary' by a master hand; and this immense service has been rendered by Canon Westcott. In a most exhaustive Introduction, he has examined minutely all the questions which have been raised respecting the Gospel. He has adduced a mass of interesting considerations from internal evidence, which show the author to have been a Jew, a Jew of Palestine, an eyewitness, and an Apostle, and that this Apostle could be no other than St. John. He has analysed in detail the plan, the style, the historic exactness of the book, and has discussed most thoroughly its relation to the other apostolic writings. He has shown the vital distinction of St. John's doctrine of the Logos from that of Philo and the Alexandrian school. Above all, both in the Introduction and in the exhaustive notes of the Commentary, he has brought out the intense vital and moral force inherent in the characteristic elements of the Gospel. In parts of this criticism, indeed, he had been in some measure preceded by Mr. Sanday, in his excellent book on 'The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel;' but the whole subject has been treated afresh with a wealth of thought, as well as learning, which it would be difficult to parallel in any other work on the same subject. Lest we should seem to be giving too indiscriminate praise, we will venture an opinion, that the analysis is sometimes too minute and over-refined; and this defect, or excess, of criticism appears, perhaps, still more strongly in the Commentary than in the Introduction. But if it be an error, it is an error prompted by profound study and by ardent enthusiasm. We do not hesitate to say that, combining the Introduction and the Commentary, the English reader is placed in a position of advantage for studying this Gospel such as has not hitherto been enjoyed by even the most learned scholars. The work must have been one of years, and Canon Westcott has placed the Church under an incalculable obligation by such a contribution to its resources for understanding the Scriptures.

Before dismissing this subject, our readers will be glad to be informed of a most important addition to our materials for New Testament criticism, to which we referred at the commencement

ment of this article, and which has only just been brought to the notice of the learned world. An American divine, indeed, Dr. Ezra Abbot—to be carefully distinguished from the English divine with a similar name, whose strange theories we have noticed above—called attention to the discovery, in a valuable summary he published last year of the external evidence in support of St. John's Gospel. But we believe that no account of it has yet been given in any English book, and it was only a few weeks ago that it was noticed as it deserves in Germany. A few words of explanation will explain its importance. The monstrous theory as to the late origin of our Gospels maintained by the author of 'Supernatural Religion' obliged him to deny, not only that Justin Martyr was acquainted with St. John's Gospel, but even with any of the other three. A great stumbling-block in the way of this theory was the fact, that Justin's pupil Tatian was not only acquainted with all four Gospels, but digested them into a single narrative, or 'Harmony,' known by the name of 'Diatessaron.' Against this difficulty the author of 'Supernatural Religion' struggled with his characteristic recklessness of assertion. There was no authority for saying that Tatian's Gospel was a harmony of four Gospels at all; the name 'Diatessaron' was not given to it by Tatian himself; no writer before the fifth century had seen the work; Tatian did not compose any harmony at all, but simply made use of the same Gospel as his master, Justin Martyr, namely the Gospel according to the Hebrews. In the 'Contemporary Review' for May 1877, Bishop Lightfoot, with his usual thoroughness, collected all that ancient writers had told us about Tatian's work, and showed how entirely opposed to the evidence were the assertions we have quoted. But even when Lightfoot wrote, new evidence had come to light, of which he was not at the time aware, removing all need for indirect argumentation as to the character of Tatian's 'Diatessaron,' by enabling us, in a great measure, to restore the work itself. It was already known that the celebrated Syrian Father, Ephraem (who died about 378), wrote an exposition of it. Of this exposition an Armenian translation has been preserved. It was even printed so far back as 1836, and was translated into Latin in 1841 by Aucher, of the Mechitarist Monastery at Venice; and this translation, amended and annotated, was published by Dr. George Moesinger in 1876. Even this translation of Moesinger has as yet attracted but scant attention. With all the rapidity of modern communication, it is strange that literary news should travel so slowly, that a new mine could be open for forty-five years and have been made perfectly accessible for five years, before any rush of scholars was made to its treasures. Moesinger's work
was

was made use of by Abbot (p. 55), as we have already mentioned; and through him it seems to have become known to Dr. Harnack, who has just published a very full account of it in the last number of Brieger's '*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*.' Our readers can easily imagine what important use can be made, both in the study of the New Testament text and of certain problems of primitive Church History, of a harmony of the Gospels written so soon as the third quarter of the second century. Harnack pronounces this to be the most important of recent discoveries, entitled to rank even above Bryennius's recovery of the missing portion of St. Clement's Epistle. We shall not attempt to decide the invidious question, with which of the newly-recovered treasures we should now be most sorry to part; but it may be owned that, in the department of New Testament criticism, for which the discovery of Bryennius did little or nothing, the restoration of Tatian's '*Diatessaron*' makes a more important addition to our stores than any gain that has been made since Tischendorf's discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript.

We must not mislead our readers, however, when we speak of the restoration of Tatian's '*Diatessaron*.' The restoration does not pretend to be perfect. What has been recovered is not the work itself, but Ephraem's commentary on it; and we only gain the '*Diatessaron*' so far as it is possible to separate text from commentary. This cannot always be done with absolute certainty, so that there are cases where we cannot be sure whether what we read is Ephraem's or Tatian's. We cannot be sure either that Ephraem does not skip, and so his silence does not warrant us in asserting that this or that verse which he leaves out was absent from Tatian's Harmony. Nor again, can we be sure, when Ephraem quotes passages not immediately before him that he does not quote from memory. But when every allowance has been made for possible inaccuracy in the inferences we draw from the testimony of our new witness, it remains that an immense flood of light has been poured on the whole subject of Tatian's Harmony; that we now know with certainty its general plan, the materials which it used, and the order which it followed.

Our readers will not be surprised to hear that the opinion is amply confirmed, which prevailed without question for hundreds of years, until in this century it first occurred to any one to doubt it, that Tatian's work was called '*Diatessaron*' because it was based on four Gospels—the same four that we venerate now. It is well in every controversy to know what admitted facts there are, which neither party ventures to dispute. In the controversy concerning the Gospels it has not been necessary to produce
any

any testimony later than the last decade of the second century, that being a period of which the Christian remains are so abundant, that there is no room for debate what was then the opinion of the Church. On this point Strauss is an unimpeachable witness. He says:—

‘Thus much is settled, that towards the end of the second century after Christ, we find the same four Gospels which we now possess recognized in the Church, and cited numbers of times by the three prominent Church teachers, Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, and Tertullian in Carthage, as the writings of the Apostles and disciples of the Apostles whose names they bear. It is true that there was a considerable number of other Gospels in circulation. There was a Gospel of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians, of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Thomas, of Matthias, nay, of the Twelve Apostles, which were not only used by heretical parties, but even occasionally appealed to by orthodox Church teachers. Nevertheless, from that time and forward these four were regarded as the specially trustworthy foundations of Christian faith. If we ask, Why only these four, neither more nor less? Irenæus supplies the answer.’—*STRAUSS, Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet.* (Page 47.)

Strauss then proceeds to quote the analogies adduced by Irenæus; there are four quarters of the world; four winds; four forms of the cherubims, therefore four Gospels; but Strauss fully acknowledges that these are not to be regarded as the reasons why Irenæus accepted four Gospels, neither more nor fewer, but only as the way in which he justifies, in conformity with the spirit of his age, a belief formed on other grounds. It is plain that this consideration pushes back the testimony of Irenæus to a period far earlier than his own age. For what a number of years must our four Gospels have been enthroned in a position of pre-eminence, out of reach of rivalry from any conflicting record of our Saviour's Life, ere it could occur to any one to regard the fourfold number as part of a divine scheme, woven into the whole constitution of the world, pre-figured in Old Testament manifestations, and followed in the whole course of God's revelations to man! But we have now direct evidence that the four Gospels held this position of pre-eminence in the generation anterior to Irenæus. Some persons, perhaps, might have hoped through Tatian's means to get a glimpse of that fifth Gospel, the traces of which the author of ‘Supernatural Religion’ discovers so abundantly where other people think that they can recognize quotations from our four, and which in particular was supposed to be Justin's chief authority for the facts of our Saviour's Life. But no; this timid and shrinking gospel keeps pertinaciously out of sight, and when Tatian sets himself to digest into a single narrative

the Gospel facts which he has learned from various sources, it is only our four which he acknowledges as authorities and whose narratives he joins together.

It is of course implied in what has been said, that the Fourth Gospel takes its due place with the others among Tatian's authorities. It had been already known that the 'Diatessaron' began with St. John's opening, 'In the beginning was the Word;' and we can now say with certainty that St. John's Gospel was with tolerable completeness woven into the work. Tatian began with the first five verses, adopting the punctuation universal among early Christian writers. 'Apart from Him hath been made no one thing. That which hath been made was life in Him.' Then followed, according to Moesinger's summary, St. Luke i., then Matt. i. 18-25; then St. Luke ii. and so on. St. Matthew's Gospel seems to have furnished the framework of the narrative, and the selections from St. John seem to have all been fitted into a single year of our Lord's ministry, the discourse with Nicodemus, for example, being placed during our Lord's last residence in Jerusalem after Matt. xxi. 19-22.

If the recovery of Tatian disposes of one controversy, it is easy to foresee that it will open up several others; and, in particular, it is plain, from Harnack's review, that the authority of Tatian will be used to cast doubts on the trustworthiness, in certain important features, of the New Testament text, as known to us by the testimony of the oldest uncials and of third-century citations. It is obviously unreasonable to attach so much weight, for this purpose, to the testimony of one who was so arbitrary in his mode of proceeding as Tatian from the very nature of his work was obliged to be, when his testimony is opposed to that of witnesses who had no other object than faithfully to reproduce what had been handed down to them. Tatian, for instance, if we may trust the silence of Ephraem as sufficient evidence, not only makes no use of the disputed verses in St. Mark, nor of the doubtful clause in Luke xxiv. 51, but not even of St. Matthew xxviii. 16-20. The narrative of the Ascension is absent. The harmony closes with St. John xxi. 19-22 and Luke xxiv. 49. It is a characteristic instance of hasty German criticism that Harnack should see in this an evidence for the early date of the harmony. Not to speak of a multitude of other proofs, the book of the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently shows that the doctrine 'He ascended into heaven' was part of the belief of the Church long before the time of Tatian: and no stress can be laid on the silence of one who, even if orthodox, was not bound to speak, and had a perfect right to close his work when he did, but who was notoriously under the influence of dogmatic views not those of Christians

in general. But the whole subject of Tatian's readings will, as Harnack admits, require long and thorough discussion, and we cannot here enter upon it.

We must return for a moment to the work which has been the main subject of this article. We can only refer briefly to the Commentary of our English divines on the sacred text, as we have been more concerned to draw attention to the general importance of these two volumes in relation to current controversy than to their exegetical details, however valuable. But we must make one reference to this branch of the subject, in order to tender a due acknowledgment to another contributor, of whose work we have not yet had an opportunity of speaking. We refer to the notes of the Bishop of Chester on the Acts of the Apostles. We are not sure that they are not, on the whole, the very best notes contained in these, or any previous, volumes. They notice every point of any consequence, and in point of learning and judgment they are of the highest order. In addition to this, they are marked by the valuable characteristic of as much condensation as is compatible with clearness: it would be difficult to find in them a superfluous word, and they are always definite and to the point. We must own we think the notes to the text of St. Matthew and St. Luke are not quite so satisfactory as the rest of the volume; but, as has been mentioned, Dean Mansel died before completing those on the first Gospel, and the Bishop of St. David's had to plead the pressure of episcopal duties for failing to give the final revision to those on the third. But Canon Cook's additions and numerous excursions supply all essential necessities, and his own work on St. Mark's text is of the excellence to be expected of him.

We deliberately abstain from discussing the principles on which the text itself has been dealt with, since this topic, again, would lead us into too many details for our present purpose. But we will venture to express our satisfaction that Canon Cook has himself by no means given way to the tendency, which has of late been predominant, to attach unique and decisive importance to the evidence of the great Uncial MSS. of the fourth century. Where we have distinct evidence that a writer of the second century used a text which differs from that of those MSS., it is a little arbitrary to override his testimony by that of a copyist of a later date. The most interesting point, perhaps, in respect to which this question arises, is that of the authenticity of the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel. Canon Cook, in a very interesting excursus, vindicates their authenticity, and his arguments appear to us decisive. Briefly, the case stands as follows. The form which includes the verses has in its favour testimony which proves it to have been accepted in the

second century. The form which omits the verses has no testimony earlier than the fourth. The testimony in their favour, moreover, is Western, while the testimony against them is Eastern; and it is generally admitted that St. Mark's Gospel was written for Western readers, and probably for readers at Rome. The fact that there is no authority for omitting the verses, earlier than that of Eusebius, would of itself seem decisive in their favour. Neither Origen nor any other writer anterior to Eusebius took notice that there was anything abrupt or unusual in the manner in which St. Mark's Gospel came to a close. In short, as Canon Cook concludes, 'the evidence of the immense majority of MSS., of ancient versions, of early Fathers, and of internal structure, is all in their favour;' while, on the other side, there is practically the single authority of Eusebius. In this, as in other instances of more moment, the first negative conclusions of foreign criticism are being steadily checked. The conclusion at which Canon Cook arrived is ably supported by Keil, in his *Commentary on St. Mark*, published in 1879; and even Hilgenfeld, whose rationalistic position we have noticed above, observes, in his 'Einleitung' (p. 513), published in 1875, that the concluding verses, 'to which testimony is borne by Irenæus, as well as by the Italic and Peschito versions, are in no case to be set aside offhand as unauthentic.'

On the whole, the English Church is to be warmly congratulated on the boon which has in these volumes been bestowed upon it in this critical juncture of religious thought. Englishmen desire, in the first instance, simply to be informed what are the historic and literary facts with which they have to deal in the Scriptures of the New Testament. They will not in the end be led away by a French romancer or a German theorist, or by a prejudiced sceptic in this country, if only they are assured that they have in their hands the materials for judging for themselves of the facts and arguments on which the controversy turns. That opportunity is presented to them in these volumes, and it is to this characteristic that we have been chiefly anxious to do justice. The reader, indeed, who seeks edification rather than controversy will find it abundantly in this 'Commentary;' but, at the same time, any one who desires to enter into such questions as we have been discussing will find all the necessary materials ready to his hand, and able and impartial guides to direct him in the use of them. The number of works in elucidation of the Scriptures which have appeared of late years is extraordinary, alike at home and abroad. But no work of the kind has, on the whole, been so satisfactory as the 'Speaker's Commentary,' and the present instalment of it deserves the highest praise.

ART. IV.—*Reminiscences by Thomas Carlyle.* Edited by James Anthony Froude. In two volumes. London, 1881.

CARLYLE'S merits and demerits have been so fully discussed, that men's minds are tolerably made up although far from agreed concerning him. It is admitted on all hands that he was a man of genius, a man of energy and earnestness, who has exercised a considerable influence on his generation, but opinions differ widely as to the amount and enduring quality of that influence, as well as whether it has been for evil or for good. His style has found no imitator—except an occasional one in Mr. Ruskin, who has or had an excellent style of his own—and it is no more likely to be reproduced than the very peculiar class of intellect that created it and indeed needed it as the fitting instrument, the eccentric exponent, of eccentricity. It was emphatically the man. But his tone of thought, his mode of viewing and estimating things and persons, the philosophy, the morality, which he preached unceasingly, have made many proselytes; and it may be well to test the soundness of his general principles and methods of judgment, before coming to the particular application of them in his '*Reminiscences*.'

In his '*Lectures on Heroes and Hero-Worship*' he professes to teach what we ought to admire, to venerate, to take as our models, and (in so far as in us lies) to emulate. He presents us with a theory of vice and virtue, a standard of excellence, which, in our opinion, is debasing instead of elevating, and starts with an assumption, calculated, if not intended, to mislead. '*We have undertaken,*' he begins, '*to discourse here for a little on Great Men, their manner of appearance in our world's business, how they have shaped themselves in the world's history, what ideas men formed of them, what work they did;—on Heroes, namely, and on their reception and performance; what I call Hero-Worship and the Heroic in human affairs.*'

Now, he may invent as many sesquipedalian words as he chooses, and get people to adopt them if he can, but he cannot be permitted to attach a fresh sense to an established word like '*hero*,' the precise meaning of which has from time immemorial been fixed by tradition and history, by custom, by legend, and by song. It is not, as he assumes throughout, synonymous with '*great*.' There have been great men who were not heroes, and heroes who were not great men. There have been men of the highest genius who were neither. Heroism must address itself to the imagination. It belongs to poetry, to chivalry, to romance. We habitually associate it with magnanimity, generosity, high sense

sense of honour, gallantry, courtesy, and inborn nobility of thought. A hero must be 'sans peur et sans reproche.' The ancient hero was almost invariably a demigod, or descended from the gods, and the modern must have something of the divine spark. He must be distinguished from the common crowd like the goddess, *O, Dea certe*. Rude force, vulgar ambition, falsehood, injustice, self-seeking in any shape, are utterly alien from the character. When Gray makes his ideal minstrel soar 'beneath the good how far, but far above the great,' he treats greatness as something very distinct from heroism. We are glad on this point to be able to refer to the high authority of Dr. Mozley :*—

'If asked what our test of heroism is, we answer simply, the poetical one. That greatness which is the legitimate object of poetical praise is an heroic one; that which is not, is not. If some great men are poetical characters, and others are not, the latter must take the consequences of the distinction; but hero is a poetical term, and none but poetical characters have a right to it. . . . Mr. Carlyle is guilty of an express abuse of language, in applying the epithet heroic to that discordant jumble of human talents and qualities to which he has applied it.'

A few familiar examples may help to render this matter clear. Wallace: Robert Bruce: The Cid: The Black Prince at Crécy: Henry the Fifth at Agincourt: Henry the Fourth of France at Ivry addressing his captains: 'If you lose sight of your banners, do not lose sight of my white plume; you will find it always on the road of honour:' Condé at Rocroi, or throwing his baton over the palisades at Friedland: Bayard dying with his cross-hilted sword held up before him at Pavia: Sir Philip Sidney in the memorable scene at Zutphen: Montrose on the battlefield or the scaffold: Wolff on the heights of Quebec exclaiming with his expiring breath, 'They run—then I die happy:' Henri de la Rochejacquelin telling the Vendéans, 'If I advance, follow me; if I turn back, kill me; if I fall, avenge me:' Nelson giving out his last signal:—these are heroes. Many who have done greater things, who have filled a larger space in the world's history, who have exercised a wider influence on thought and action, are not. Prince Bismarck, for instance, is a man after Carlyle's own heart. He is indisputably one of the two or three greatest men of his generation; yet, no one would dream of calling him a hero except in mockery.

Hardly one of the more or less illustrious characters included in Carlyle's list will pass muster, or be recognized by the popular

* 'Essays Historical and Theological.' By J. B. Mozley, D.D.

voice as heroes. They are Odin, Mahomet, Dante, Shakespeare, Luther, Knox, Johnson, Rousseau, Burns, Cromwell, Napoleon. Adopting his own criterion of power and strength of will, we are utterly at a loss to understand how Rousseau and Burns came to be admitted of the sacred band; or why, if they are qualified, any eminent writer in prose or poetry is shut out. To call Dr. Johnson a hero is preposterous. The selection of Mahomet, Cromwell and Napoleon is a distinct announcement that the proposed objects of worship, the idols before whom we are to bow down, may have been utterly wanting in patriotism, philanthropy, or what is commonly understood by virtue or goodness of any kind: that moral obligations were never meant to be binding on the self-asserting, self-appointed leaders of mankind. Only, they must be sincere: next to power and success, sincerity is the very essence, the *sine quâ non*, of heroism. 'I should say *sincerity*, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic.'

But here again language is perverted to serve a theory. The requisite sincerity does not mean truth, or truthfulness, or good faith. 'The sincere man is one who believes in himself, even when no one else believes in him. Napoleon was a sincere man because he believed in his star, although falsehood was habitual to him. Mahomet and Cromwell were sincere, because each thoroughly believed that he had a mission from on High, although each occasionally resorted to mere mundane means, to dissimulation and deceit, to forward it. 'The Great Man's (i.e. Hero's) sincerity is of the kind he cannot speak of, is not conscious of, nay, I suppose, he is conscious rather of *insincerity*; for what man can walk accurately by the law of truth for one day?' Strange doctrine this, and sounding somewhat contradictory to the uninitiated. At the same time Carlyle has an uneasy consciousness that imposture and cant are not heroic; so he boldly pronounces that Mahomet had nothing of the false prophet, nor Cromwell the slightest taint or tincture of hypocrisy. The current imputations on Mahomet's sincerity are coolly flung aside.

'A greater number of God's creatures believe in Mahomet's word at this hour, than in any other word whatever. Are we to suppose that it was a miserable piece of spiritual legerdemain, this which so many creatures of the Almighty have lived by and died by? I, for my part, cannot form any such supposition. I will believe most things sooner than that. One would be entirely at a loss what to think of this world at all, if quackery so grew and were sanctioned here.'

In other words, we are to accept any successful imposture or
usurpation,

usurpation, and ask for no further proof of divine origin than success. Then what does Carlyle, a Calvinist at heart, say to the Papacy, already the oldest established institution in Europe, and bidding fair to last till the New Zealander arrives to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's? Look again at the spread and vitality of the Order of Jesus. Yet the founder is mentioned as 'a poor creature called Ignatius.'

The objection that Mahomedanism was propagated by the sword staggers him, but he is equal to the emergency :

'You must first get your sword! On the whole, a thing will propagate itself as it can. We do not find, of the Christian Religion either, that it always disdained the sword, when once it had got one. Charlemagne's conversion of the Saxons was not by preaching. I care little about the sword: I will allow a thing to struggle for itself in this world, with any sword or tongue or implement it has, or can lay hold of it. We will let it preach, and pamphleteer, and fight, and to the uttermost bestir itself, and do, beak and claws, whatsoever is in it; very sure that it will, in the long-run, conquer nothing which does not deserve to be conquered.'

It matters nothing, therefore, what countries may be devastated or enslaved, what crushing despotisms may be established, what modes of religion may be enforced, what cruelties may be perpetrated, what oceans of blood may be shed—all will come right in the long run, and the intervening carnage, oppression and misery count for nothing. 'Kill them all; God will recognize His own,' exclaimed the papal Legate at the sack of Beziers. Do not interfere between the Greeks and Turks, would be Carlyle's corollary, the sole satisfactory arbitrament is the sword. Let the Irish fight it out like their own Kilkenny cats, and we shall get on all the better with what is left of them.

Cromwell was sincere, but his sincerity was not what is commonly so-called.

'But with regard to Cromwell's "lying," we will make one remark. This, I suppose, or something like this, to have been the nature of it. All parties found themselves deceived in him; each party understood him to be meaning *this*, heard him even say so, and behold he turns out to have been meaning *that*! He was, cry they, the chief of liars. But now, intrinsically, is not all this the inevitable fortune, not of a false man in such times, but simply of a superior man?'

This is the very doctrine inculcated by Machiavel in 'The Prince.' Cromwell, we are asked to believe, was perfectly sincere when he declared that he would rather keep a flock of sheep than hold the Protectorate; and when, on the 9th of January, three weeks before the memorable 30th, he rose in his place in Parliament and thus addressed the Speaker :

'Sir,

'Sir, if any man whatsoever have carried on this design of deposing the King, and disinheriting his posterity, or if any man have still such a design, he must be the greatest traitor and rebel in the world.'

Carlyle is not content with setting up a brazen image. A victim or victims must invariably be immolated at its shrine. He tells us that he had done his best to love and admire such characters as Hampden, Eliot, and Pym :

'At bottom, I found that it would not do. . . . What man's heart does, in reality, break-forth into any fire of brotherly love for these men? They are become dreadfully dull men! . . . One leaves all these Nobilities standing in their niches of honour: the rugged outcast Cromwell, he is the man of them all in whom one still finds human stuff.'

He speaks in the same manner of almost all the pioneers of progress, of the truly original thinkers and chief benefactors of mankind; of men like Adam Smith, Malthus, Bentham, Howard, Clarkson, Wilberforce. He finds no human stuff in them because they did not make their way by force. He treats as unintelligible what he will not give himself the trouble to understand, and thinks he has disposed of the population principle by fostering a senseless prejudice against it, and of the Utilitarian philosophy by calling Bentham a bore of the first magnitude. He does not trouble himself about inconsistencies, which he probably deemed a sign of sincerity and superiority. The canonization of Napoleon is contradictory throughout. He is a liar, yet sincere in a way. He is a great man and not a great man. Why did he die an exile at St. Helena? Why did his star pale its ineffectual light? Your genuine great man or hero should be prosperous to the end, or his pedestal must be struck from under him.

Napoleon's disregard of truth is admitted and condemned. 'A man in no case has liberty to tell lies. It had been in the long run better for Napoleon if he had never told any. Yet he had a sincerity: we are to distinguish between what is superficial and what is fundamental in insincerity.' The *savants* during the voyage to Egypt were one evening arguing that there could be no God. They had proved it to their entire satisfaction, when Napoleon, pointing to the stars, quietly asked: 'Very ingenious, gentlemen, but who made all that?' This is given as a specimen of the fundamental in sincerity or insincerity. Here is another. 'When the steward of the Tuileries Palace was exhibiting the new upholstery, with praises, and demonstrating how glorious it was, and how cheap withal, Napoleon, making little answer, asked for a pair of scissors, clipt one of the gold tassels

tassels from a window-curtain, put it in his pocket, and walked on. Some days afterwards, he produced it at the right moment, to the horror of his upholstery functionary; it was not gold, but tinsel!

Such stories as this, told to illustrate a grave argument, lead to a suspicion that he was sometimes laughing at his audience, and he states in the 'Reminiscences' that he regarded his Lectures on Heroism as 'a detestable mixture of prophecy and play-actorism.'

Carlyle's social philosophy is, if possible, more misleading, disheartening, and demoralizing, than his hero-worship; that is, when any tangible doctrine can be extracted from it. The pith of it is contained in his 'Sartor Resartus,' the germs of which may be traced in Jean Paul, Novalis, and Swift:

'The worshippers of this deity (the tailor) had also a system of belief which seemed to turn upon the following fundamentals. They held the universe to be a large suit of clothes which invests everything: that the earth is invested by the air, the air is invested by the stars, and the stars are invested by the *primum mobile*. Look on this globe of earth; you will find it to be a very complete and fashionable dress. What is that which we call land, but a fine coat faced with green? or the sea, but a waistcoat of water-tabby? Proceed to the particular works of the creation, you will find how curious a journeyman Nature has been to trim up the vegetable beaux. . . . To conclude from all: what is man himself but a microcoat, or rather a complete suit of clothes with all its trimmings? As to his body, there can be no dispute; but examine even the acquirements of his mind, you will find them all contribute in their order towards furnishing out an exact dress. Is not religion a cloak; honesty a pair of shoes worn out in the dirt; self-love a surtout; vanity a shirt; and conscience a pair of breeches which' . . . *

With the unacknowledged aid of Swift, and a suggestive hint or two from Goethe,† Carlyle has framed what he calls the Science of Clothes, or the Clothes Philosophy, of which a German scholar, hight Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, is the expositor. He supposes that all social, political, and religious customs and institutions are the garb or clothing of a Divine Idea, which is smothered under them. How are they to be thrown off? how are mankind to get a new suit of clothes, or rather a new skin, to which customs and institutions bear a closer affinity than to

* 'A Tale of a Tub,' sect. 2. The Wind and Wind-bag theory will be found in sect. 8.

†

* A changeful weaving,

A glowing life—

Thus I work at the whizzing loom of Time,

And weave the living clothing of the Deity.'—*Faust*, scene 1.

clothes?

clothes? How will they bear the operation? How is the desiderated change to be brought about, unless the whole civilized world will be content to undergo a Revolution like the French of 1789?—and even that, it seems, was only the burning of sundry antediluvian, ill-fitting, tattered garments, which have been imperfectly replaced. Herr Teufelsdröckh discourses eloquently or grandiloquently on the manifold inconvenience of such a wardrobe, but holds out no hope of a substitute, and leaves us at the end of his lucubrations pretty nearly where he found us at the commencement.

“Call ye that a Society,” cries he again, “where there is no longer any Social Idea extant; not so much as the Idea of a common Home, but only of a common over-crowded Lodging-house? Where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries ‘Mine!’ and calls it Peace, because, in the cut-purse and cut-throat Scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort can be employed? Where Friendship, Communion, has become an incredible tradition; and your holiest Sacramental Supper is a smoking Tavern Dinner, with Cook for Evangelist? Where your Priest has no tongue but for plate-licking; and your high Guides and Governors cannot guide; but on all hands hear it passionately proclaimed: *Laissez faire*; Leave us alone of *your* guidance, such light is darker than darkness; eat you your wages, and sleep!”

It cannot, it is added, be hidden from the editor, that many a British reader sits reading, quite bewildered in head, and ever and anon demanding, with something like a snarl, Whereto does all this lead, or what use is in it?

‘In the way of replenishing thy purse, or otherwise aiding thy digestive faculty, O British Reader, it leads to nothing, and there is no use in it; but rather the reverse, for it costs thee somewhat. Nevertheless, if through this unpromising Horn-gate, Teufelsdröckh, and we by means of him, have led thee into the true Land of Dreams; and through the Clothes-Screen, as through a magical *Pierre-Pertuis*, thou lookest, even for moments, into the region of the Wonderful, and seest and feelest that thy daily life is girt with Wonder, and based on Wonder, and thy very blankets and breeches are Miracles,—then art thou profited beyond money’s worth; and hast a thankfulness towards our Professor; nay, perhaps in many a literary Tea-circle wilt open thy kind lips, and audibly express that same.’

We do not pretend to say what may be the verdict of a literary tea-circle, but most people of sense will agree with Dr. Mozley that it is a mere waste of time to try to make head or tail of a philosophy which ‘carries on a great aërial battle nobody knows where, and teaches with sublime infallibility nobody knows what.’ Voltaire’s definition of metaphysics would fit it to a hair:

hair: '*Quand celui qui parle n'entend rien et celui qui écoute n'entend plus, c'est métaphysique.*'

Carlyle's philosophy has been aptly termed the Mirage Philosophy.* His politics, as propounded in 'Past and Present' and the 'Latter Day Pamphlets,' might be termed the Mirage Politics. Behind, in the far distance, he sees a smiling oasis; immediately before or around him, a barren desert or treacherous swamp. Oh for the ages which men foolishly call dark! Oh for an hour of the Conqueror, who would make a clean sweep of Downing Street! Oh for a Plantagenet or a Tudor to inaugurate a practical mode of transacting the real business of the nation!

'Reading in *Eadmerus* and the dim old Books, one finds gradually that the Parliament was at first a most simple Assemblage, quite cognate to the situation; that Red William, or whoever had taken on him the terrible task of being King in England, was wont to invite, oftenest about Christmas time, his subordinate Kinglets, Barons as he called them, to give him the pleasure of their company for a week or two: there, in earnest conference all morning, in freer talk over Christmas cheer all evening, in some big royal Hall of Westminster, Winchester, or wherever it might be, with log-fires, huge rounds of roast and boiled, not lacking malmsey and other generous liquor, they took counsel concerning the arduous matters of the kingdom. "You Taillebois, what have you to propose in this arduous matter?—Frontdeboeuf has another view; thinks, in his southern counties, they will go with the Protectionist movement, and repeal the malt-tax, the African Squadron, and the window-duty itself.—Potdevin, what is your opinion of the measure: will it hold in your parts? So, Fitzurse disagrees, then!—Tête-d'étoupes, speak out. And first, the pleasure of a glass of wine, my infant?"'

But might not the conference or council take a different turn? Might not Red William use language like this: 'We must put an end to this nonsense about game. We have had enough of Hare and Rabbit Bills. Do you, Taillebois, make proclamation that any one below the degree of a gentleman who kills a hare or rabbit shall be hanged. Do you, Front de Bœuf, go to the Governor of the Bank of England and tell him I want a hundred thousand pounds down. Take a pair of forceps, and let him clearly understand that it is a case of his money or his teeth. You, Fitzurse, will find out the Speaker of the House of Commons without delay, and let him know that unless the Estimates are passed within the week, he may find himself shorter by the head.'

* See 'Thomas Carlyle: an Essay' reprinted from 'Blackwood's Magazine.' By General Sir E. B. Hamley. London, 1881. One of the best of the many essays on Carlyle and his works.

‘ To King Rufus there could no more natural method present itself, of getting his affairs of sovereignty transacted, than this same.

* * * * *

‘ So likewise in the time of the Edwards, when Parliament gradually split itself into Two Houses; and Borough Members and Knights of the Shire were summoned up to answer, Whether they could stand such and such an impost? and took upon them to answer, “ Yes, your Majesty; but we have such and such grievances greatly in need of redress first,”—nothing could be more natural and human than such a Parliament still was. And so, granting subsidies, stating grievances, and notably widening its field in that latter direction, accumulating new modes, and practices of Parliament greatly important in world-history, the old Parliament continued an eminently human, veracious, and indispensable entity, achieving real work in the Centuries.’

This work of granting supplies and redressing grievances, we are told, went quietly and satisfactorily on till the meeting of the Long Parliament: ‘ the supplies it granted his Majesty this time, in front of Whitehall, being of a very unexpected yet by no means unessential nature; ’ and the grievance for redress being ‘ the transcendent one of Compulsion towards Spiritual Nightmare, towards Canting Idolatry, and Death Eternal ’ (the capitals are his own).

‘ This ever-memorable Long Parliament is definable, both in regard to its destinies in History, and to its intrinsic collective and individual worth among Deliberative Assemblies, as the Acme of Parliaments; the highest that it lay in them to be, or to do, in human affairs.’

Yet he has distinctly told us that the noblest act of Cromwell’s life was sending this Acme of Parliaments to the rightabout. Parliament has since become a National Palaver, a solemn Convocation of all the Stump Orators in the Nation, and has been for all practical purposes superseded by the press:—

‘ What is the good of men collected, with effort, to debate on the benches of St. Stephen’s, now when there is a “ Times ” Newspaper? Loving my life, and time which is the stuff of life, I read no Parliamentary Debates, rarely any Parliamentary Speech; but I am told there is not, once in the seven years, the smallest gleam of new intelligence thrown on any matter, earthly or divine, by an honourable gentleman on his legs in Parliament.’

We should like to know who told him this, except some very foolish disciple, or some one who was leading him on to see how far overweening self-confidence, combined with utter ignorance of what he was talking about, would carry him. Meeting by accident in an old chronicle the account of a monk, Abbot Sansom,

Sansom, whose arbitrary, paternal, and beneficent rule was long gratefully remembered, he jumps to the conclusion that it would be well for England if it could be governed in the same manner, throwing aside its sham of a constitution as a worn-out garment; and his panacea for every evil is to pick out the ablest man that can be found, as much like Cromwell as you can get him, and invest him with unlimited authority:—

‘ Find in any country the Ablest Man that exists there; raise him to the supreme place, and loyally reverence him: you have a perfect government for that country; no ballot-box, parliamentary eloquence, voting, constitution-building, or other machinery whatsoever can improve it a whit. It is in the perfect state; an ideal country.’

A community capable of choosing and obeying such a ruler would not want him. They would be ready for Utopia. But has it not been dinned into our ears that we are a community of shams and flunkeys, or knaves and fools? His favourite doctrine, illusory and false, is comprised in the well-known couplet:—

‘ For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate’er is best administered is best.’

There is another, equally fallacious, which includes the best of his philosophy:—

‘ How small of all that human hearts endure
That part which kings or laws can cause or cure.’

The powers of cure may be limited. But is the part of human suffering, which kings or laws can cause, small? Take Louis XIV. laying waste the Palatinate and repealing the Edict of Nantes, or Napoleon desolating Europe; or, as one example amongst a hundred of what bad legislation can cause, take Ireland, which, we fear, will also be cited for a long time to come as an example of how little remedial legislation can cure. Carlyle is so convinced of the ineradicable character of social ills, except when a hero undertakes to clear the Augean stable by heroic methods, that in his eyes every man whom the world has agreed to honour as a reformer or philanthropist is a sham:—

‘ Howard is a beautiful Philanthropist, enlogised by Burke, and in most men’s minds a sort of beatified individual. How glorious, having finished-off one’s affairs in Bedfordshire, or in fact finding them very dull, inane, and worthy of being quitted and got away from, to set out on a cruise over the Jails first of Britain; then, finding that answer, over the Jails of the habitable Globe! “A voyage of discovery, a circumnavigation of charity; to collate distresses, to gauge wretchedness, to take the dimensions of human misery:”—

misery:”—really it is very fine. Captain Cook’s voyage for the Terra Australis, Ross’s, Franklin’s for the ditto Borealis: men make various cruises and voyages in this world,—for want of money, want of work, and one or the other want,—which are attended with their difficulties too, and do *not* make the cruiser a demigod.

‘On the whole, I have myself nothing but respect, comparatively speaking, for the dull solid Howard, and his “benevolence,” and other impulses that set him cruising; Heaven had grown weary of Jail-fevers, and other the like *unjust* penalties inflicted upon scoundrels,—for scoundrels too, and even the very Devil, should not have *more* than their due;—and Heaven, in its opulence, created a man to make an end of that. Created him; *disgusted him with the grocer business*; tried him with Calvinism, rural ennui, and sore bereavement in his Bedfordshire retreat;—and, in short, at last got him set to his work, and in a condition to achieve it. For which I am thankful to Heaven; and do also, with doffed hat, humbly salute John Howard. A practical solid man, if a dull and even dreary; “carries his weighing-scales in his pocket:” when your jailor answers, “The prisoner’s allowance of food is so and so; and we observe it sacredly; here, for example is a ration.”—“Hey! A ration this?” and solid John suddenly produces his weighing-scales; weighs it, marks down in his tablets what the actual quantity of it is. That is the art and manner of the man.’*

Now is this wit, or humour, or good feeling, or common charity? As an analysis of human motive, it is worse than Rochefoucauld. The noblest instance of self-sacrificing benevolence on record is resolved into rural ennui or disgust with the grocer business. Howard inherited an estate in Bedfordshire, and it was when he was sheriff of the county in 1775, that he instituted an enquiry into the condition of English jails. But in 1756, twenty years before, the ship in which he was on his way to Lisbon to visit the scene of the earthquake was captured by a French privateer, and it was his personal experience of a French prison that determined the current of his life. Carlyle has exactly reversed the order of events.

Observe, too, the different measure that is meted out to the hero of force and the philanthropist. When Napoleon cuts off and pockets a tassel to see if he has been cheated by his upholsterer, it is a proof of sincerity to be set off against any given amount of lying. When Howard produces his weighing scales to see whether the prisoners receive their due allowance of food, it is a proof of the dull matter-of-fact uninteresting art and manner of the man. What, again, is the meaning of calling him dull? The publisher to whom Prideaux submitted the manuscript of his ‘Old and New

* ‘Latter-Day Pamphlets,’ published in 1850.

'Testaments Connected,' complained of its being dull, and asked him if he could not throw some fun into it. Would Carlyle have expected Howard to throw some fun into his Reports on Prisons?

Wilberforce fares quite as badly, if not worse, for Wordsworth is introduced as adopting and expressing the opinion Carlyle had formed concerning him:—

'One of the best remembered sketches (almost the only one now remembered at all) was that of Wilberforce, the famous Nigger-philanthropist, drawing-room Christian, and busy man and politician. In all which capacities Wordsworth's esteem of him seemed to be privately as small as my own private one, and was amusing to gather. No hard word of him did he speak or hint; told in brief firm business terms, how he was born at or near the place called Wilberforce in Yorkshire ("force" signifying torrent or angry brook as in Cumberland?); where, probably, his forefathers may have been possessors, *though he was poorish*; how he did this and that of insignificant (to Wordsworth insignificant) nature; "and then," ended Wordsworth, "he took into the oil trade" (I suppose the Hull whaling); which lively phrase, and the incomparable historical tone it was given in—"the oil trade"—as a thing perfectly natural and proper for such a man, *is almost the only point in the delineation which is now vividly present to me*. I remember only the rustic picture, sketched as with a burnt stick on the board of a pair of bellows, seemed to be completely good; and that the general effect was, one saw the great Wilberforce and his existence visible in all their main lineaments, but only as through the reversed telescope, and reduced to the size of a mouse and its nest, or little more!'

If Wordsworth neither spoke nor hinted a hard word, his sketch of Wilberforce has evidently been distorted by Carlyle's habitual cast of mind into a studied depreciation. It is incredible that Wordsworth could have spoken of Wilberforce (who inherited a considerable fortune, was educated at Cambridge, and entered Parliament soon after he came of age) as *poorish* or as having taken to the oil-trade; and the intensely low-bred, low-minded allusion to it may pair off with Howard's 'disgust at the grocer business.'

Emerson, the celebrated American, was well-known as an abolitionist. When he came to England, Mrs. Procter took him, at his own request, to see Carlyle, who immediately introduced the subject of slavery and said: 'God has put into every white man's hand a whip to flog the black.' Emerson made no reply.

Carlyle's originality will be found on analysis to be more in expression than in thought. He was not a deep thinker, but he was a great word-painter: he had an almost unlimited command
of

of language, especially of rich metaphorical language: his style is eminently picturesque: he has the inspiration as well as the contortions of the Sibyl, the strength as well as the nodosities of the oak. The best of his writings, the most free from blemishes, are his biographical essays: the most characteristic, his histories. His 'French Revolution' contains many passages of brilliancy and force, scenes in which the figures are artistically grouped as well as boldly drawn; but it rarely condescends to plain narrative or unimpassioned estimate of character. It is unlike history. It resembles a melodrama at the Porte St. Martin in so many acts and *tableaux*. In some of Gillray's masterpieces—'Sin, Death, and the Devil,' for example—there is a dash of the grand and sublime that ill agrees with the spirit of parody, travesty, or caricature. The same sense of incongruity is produced by an infusion of the grotesque in Carlyle's historical pictures. An able critic in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' remarks:—

'He has not explained the French Revolution: he has chanted it on his lyre; to which he added for the occasion a chord of brass which gives out truly diabolical sounds. When one is intoxicated with this by turns celestial or diabolical music, which flies to the head and attacks the nerves, one feels a singular pleasure in re-reading some chapters of Thucydides: it is a salutary *douche* which calms the senses and acts as a restorative to the mind.'

The titles of chapters are employed to enhance the sense of the ludicrous: *e.g.* 'The Procession of Black Breeches: 'Mumbo Jumbo: 'Grilled Herrings: 'The Whiff of Grape Shot.' Epithets and nicknames are plentifully used for the same purpose; such as 'The Sea-green Incorruptible' (Robespierre), Scipio Americanus (Lafayette), Mars (de Broglie), Mercurius de Brézé, Catiline or Crispin d'Espréménét. The flight to Varennes, narrated like a burlesque, is described as turning France into 'one enormous, desperate-minded, red-guzzling Turkey Cock.' 'On ne plaît pas longtemps si l'on n'a qu'une sorte d'esprit.' Carlyle has only one sort of humour; and applied to all subjects, comic or tragic, it grows monotonous.

The subject of the French Revolution was a congenial one, and afforded an opportune vent for rhapsodies, ejaculations, and apostrophes. At all events, they seemed to come naturally. Not so in his 'Frederic,' which drags its slow length along through ten volumes, occupied him thirteen years, and (he tells us) was composed with loathing. Here the lack of enthusiasm is supplied by bombast or buffoonery, and History, losing all semblance of dignity, more and more degenerates into farce. A

single example, amongst several given by General Hamley, may suffice :—

‘The astonished Kaiser rushes forward to fling himself into the arms of the Sea-Powers, his one resource left: “Help! Money, subsidies, ye Sea-Powers!” But the Sea-Powers stand obtuse, arms not open at all, hands buttoning their pockets: “Sorry we cannot, your Imperial Majesty. Fleury engages not to touch the Netherlands, the Barrier Treaty; Polish Elections are not our concern!” and callously decline. The Kaiser’s astonishment is extreme; his big heart swelling even with a martyr-feeling; and he passionately appeals: “Ungrateful, blind Sea-Powers! No money to fight France, say you? Are the Laws of Nature fallen void?” Imperial astonishment, sublime martyr-feeling, passionate appeals to the Laws of Nature, avail nothing with the blind Sea-Powers: “No money in us,” answer they: “we will help you to negotiate.” “Negotiate!” answers he; and will have to pay his own election broken glass, with a sublime martyr-feeling, without money from the Sea-Powers.’

Carlyle is prone to aphorisms: ‘But the Fates appointed otherwise: we have all to accept our fate.’ Not very original nor very heroic either. We much prefer—

‘*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito
Quam tua te fortuna sinit*’—

Again: ‘All things end, and nothing ceases changing till its end.’ Like Mrs. Gamp’s, ‘Vich likewise is the end of all.’ Frederick’s demise is thus shadowed forth: ‘Just about three-score and ten years ago, his speakings and his writings came to finis in this World of Time, and he vanished from all eyes into other worlds, leaving much enquiry about him in the minds of men.’ Frederick is described as having ‘a snubby nose, rather flung into the air under its old cocked hat—like a snuffy old lion on the watch.’ Frederick William’s words ‘fall hotter and hotter, in high clangorous metallic plangency, and the pathos of a lion raised by anger into song.’ The lion has been somewhat unceremoniously treated by caricaturists, but even ‘Punch’ never went the length of representing him singing or taking snuff. These things, with the accompaniment of a Scotch accent and a loud laugh, might pass in colloquy, but they do not look well in print. Frederick William was more like a bear than a lion, and the laboured attempt to elevate him into a hero or a man of genius was an inexplicable inexcusable absurdity.

Carlyle’s popularity is mainly owing to his eccentricities, and an eminent French critic, M. Scherer, maintains that they are the result of calculation.

‘The author delights in odd, rude, uncouth phrases, odd exclamations,

tions, interrogations, apostrophes to actors on the scene, to the reader, to heaven, to all things. Nothing can exceed the abuse he makes of the words God, Infinity, Eternity, Profundity. It is true that he gives them an air of youth, by putting them in the plural; he says the Immensities, the Silences, the Eternal Veracities, &c., &c. It is needless to say, this mixed part of prophet and buffoon, these laboured eccentricities, produce less the effect of a conviction or a nature (*sic*) than of the desire to attract attention.'

M. Scherer justifies this view by the cold reception of the 'Life of Schiller,' which was written in ordinary English, and he shows that the change began with 'Sartor Resartus,' which first brought Carlyle prominently into notice. 'Thenceforth, at all events, the writer takes to a manner which has the double advantage of being easier than the purely simple one, and of piquing the curiosity of the public.' Our own impression is that he slipped or 'drifted' into this manner imperceptibly, led on, no doubt, by the growing demand for what he would call the 'shoddy' article and the injudicious praises of friends. His admirers, especially his lady admirers, have a great deal to answer for. Bearing in mind that his world was a little world, a microcosm, we might apply to him what was said of Voltaire:—'*Enfant gâté d'un monde qu'il gâte.*' The deification of force is not a manly doctrine. It commends itself more to women than to men. It is conscious weakness clinging instinctively to strength.

The work before us, the 'Reminiscences,' shows a partial return to the pristine tone and style. It is marked by feeling, pathos, elevated thought—unerring tokens of the strong intellect and deep sensibility, which neither flattery nor vanity could ever entirely obscure or overlay. Unluckily, instead of being confined to the ostensible subjects—Irving, Jeffrey, his father, and his wife—the book embraces the whole round of his friends and connections, who are graphically (we wish we could say, faithfully) portrayed. Indeed, he hardly makes a passing acquaintance without sketching him with his belongings and surroundings, and the result resembles a picture gallery, with Dutch interiors by Teniers, 'tableaux de genre' by Meissonier, here and there a Fuseli, and a few Rembrandts, interspersed with caricatures or fancy pieces. His quickness of observation and perception, his faculty of receiving and retaining vivid impressions, are beyond dispute; but can we rely on the strict accuracy of his impressions any more than on the soundness of his judgment? This is the point to which we are compelled to direct attention; for the reputation of many of his most distinguished contemporaries, so far as his good or bad word can go, depends upon it.

A just critic, or one who wishes to be just, of either books or men, should subject himself to a strict examination: he should consider whether he is under the influence of any predilection or prejudice: whether he is not suffering from some chronic malady, moral or physical, which may sway him in his own despite. Now Carlyle never does this. He speaks, indeed, of his dyspepsia and despondency, of his disgust at the world and the world's ways; but he makes no allowance for the discolouring medium, the opposite of the Claude-Lorraine glass, through which he sees the objects to be delineated. Franklin tells a story of a man who, having one well-formed and one crooked leg, was wont to test the disposition of his friends, by observing which leg they looked at first or most. Carlyle would have drawn him with his worst leg foremost. From the same neglect of self-examination, or the incapacity for it, he exaggerates the virtues of the adored or venerated few, as much as he depreciates the good qualities of the (to him) repulsive or uninteresting many. No man or woman ever lived, who was more self-absorbed or referred everything and everybody so unceasingly and unconsciously to self. We have seen something of this already, and it will be made clearer as we proceed.

The first part relates to the father, 'James Carlyle of Ecclefechan, Mason.' Mr. Froude describes him as a village mason. He died January 24, 1832. Carlyle was then in his thirty-seventh year; he had been married six years, and he had quitted the paternal roof with its habits and associations before he was sixteen. But neither time nor absence, it seems, had lessened his filial reverence, nor were of much avail to break the force of the long-anticipated blow. The first consolatory reflection was that the departed was 'taken home like a shock of corn fully ripe': that he was summoned, too, before he had ceased to be interesting, to be loveable: the second, that he was spared till the son was able to bear the loss, till he, likewise, felt his feet on the Everlasting rock:

'So that I have repeated, not with unwet eyes, let me hope likewise not with unsoftened heart, those old and for ever true words, "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord; they do rest from their labours, and their works follow them." Yes, their works follow them. The force that had been lent my father he honourably expended in manful well-doing. A portion of this planet bears beneficent traces of his strong hand and strong head. Nothing that he undertook to do but he did it faithfully and like a true man. *I shall look on the houses he built with a certain proud interest.* They stand firm and sound to the heart all over his little district. No one that comes after him will ever say, Here was the finger of a hollow eye-servant.'

This, however creditable in these lath-and-plaster days, was a
local

local benefit, and his good works were not limited to a locality or to his craft :

‘Nay, am not I also the humble James Carlyle’s work? I owe him much more than existence, I owe him a noble inspiring example (now that I can read it in that rustic character). It was he exclusively that determined on educating me; that from his small hard-earned funds sent me to school and college, and made me whatever I am or may become. Let me not mourn for my father, let me do worthily of him. So shall he still live even here in me, and his worth plant itself honourably forth into new generations.’

* * * * *

‘This is one of the cases belonging to that class, “the lives of remarkable men,” in which it has been said, “paper and ink should least of all be spared.” I call a man remarkable who becomes a true workman in this vineyard of the Highest. Be his work that of palace building and kingdom founding, or only of delving and ditching, to me it is no matter, or next to none. All human work is transitory, small in itself, contemptible. Only the worker thereof and the spirit that dwelt in him is significant.’

The village mason, therefore, is as much entitled to be called remarkable as Brunelleschi or Michael Angelo if he is a true workman, and the private soldier as much as Napoleon or Wellington if he does his duty in the ranks. If the elder Carlyle was really a remarkable man, that is, what is commonly understood by the term, there was surely no necessity for resorting to this nothingness-of-all-things doctrine to do him honour.

His education, we are told, was altogether of the worst and the most limited kind. He was never more than three months at any school. A solid knowledge of arithmetic, a fine antique handwriting, formed the sum of his attainments. ‘He had no room to strive for more. Poetry, fiction in general, he had universally seen treated as not only idle, but false and criminal.’ He never read three pages of Burns, nor could be induced to take the slightest interest in him. Any talk that had meaning in it, above all, what seemed false, he absolutely could not and would not hear, or, if that might not suit, swept it far away from him :

‘“It is no idle tale,” he said to some laughing rustics while stating in his strong way some complaint against them, and their laughter died into silence. Dear, good father! There looked honestly through those clear earnest eyes a sincerity that compelled belief and regard. “Moffat,” said he one day to an incorrigible reaper, “thou hast every feature of a bad shearer—high, rough, and little on’t. Thou maun alter thy figure or slant the bog,” pointing to the man’s road homewards.’

He

He said of a bad preacher that he was like a fly wading through tar :

‘More than once has he lifted up his strong voice in tax courts and the like before “the gentlemen” (what he knew of highest among men), and rending asunder official sophisms, thundered even into their deaf ears the indignant sentence of natural justice to the conviction of all. *Oh, why did we laugh at these things while we loved them?* There is a tragic greatness and sacredness in them now.’

Might not some of that greatness and sacredness be owing to the imagination of the reminiscent?

‘*Virtutem incolumem odimus
Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.*’

It would appear that the Carlyle household was not so harmonious as might be supposed :

‘Though genuine and coherent, “living and lifegiving,” he was, nevertheless, but half developed. We had all to complain that we durst not freely love him. His heart seemed as if walled in ; he had not the free means to unbosom himself. My mother has owned to me that she could never understand him ; that her affection and (with all their little strifes) her admiration of him was obstructed. It seemed as if an atmosphere of fear repelled us from him. To me it was especially so. Till late years, when he began to respect me more, and, as it were, to look up to me for instruction, for protection (a relation unspeakably beautiful), I was ever more or less awed and chilled before him. My heart and tongue played freely only with my mother.’

Carlyle may have derived comfort from knowing that Goethe stood in the same awe of his father, and similarly looked for sympathy to his mother. ‘I and my Wolfgang,’ she would say, ‘have always held closely together ; that is because we were both young, and not so wide apart from one another as Wolfgang and his father.’

Giving the widest application to Sainte-Beuve’s theory that the superior man should be followed up in his ancestors, lineal and collateral, Carlyle traces *his* many generations back. We are told of his grandfather, Thomas, that he was an honest, vehement, adventurous, but not an industrious man. The family were consequently put to their shifts. Apostrophizing his father and uncles, Carlyle exclaims :

‘Poor boys ! they had to scramble, scuffle, for their very clothes and food. They knit, they thatched for hire, above all they hunted (Anglice, poached). My father had tried all these things almost in boyhood. Every dell and burngate and cleugh of that district he had traversed, seeking hares and the like. He used to tell of these pilgrimages.

pilgrimages. Once I remember his gun-flint was tied on with a hat-band. He was a real hunter, like a wild Indian, from necessity. The hares' flesh was food. Hare-skins (at some sixpence each) would accumulate into the purchase money of a coat. All these things he used to speak of without either boasting or complaining, not as reproaches to us, but as historical merely.'

Well may the son exclaim: 'Thou dear father! Through what stern obstructions was thy way to manhood forced, for us and for our travelling to be made smooth!'

Then there was a grand-uncle Francis, bred a shoemaker, of whom it is recorded that on some occasion 'far up in England,' he had lost all his money in gaming and gone to bed drunk.

'He awoke next morning in horrors, started up, stung by the serpent of remorse, and flinging himself out of bed, broke his leg against a table standing near, and lay there sprawling, and had to lie for weeks, with nothing to pay the shot. Perhaps this was the crisis of his life. Perhaps it was to pay the bill of this very tavern that he went and enlisted himself on board some small-craft man of war.'

'Treason, sacrilege and proscription,' says Gibbon, 'are often the best titles of ancient nobility.' Carlyle does not aspire to ancient nobility, and simple felony is an equally good title to ancient descent. There is a vague tradition that one of his progenitors, in times of border robbery, was accused of cattle-stealing: the stolen cattle having been tracked to his farm at Burrens, in Middlebie:

'It was vain for him to answer and aver (truly) that he knew nothing of them, had no concern with them. He was seized by the people, and despite his own desperate protestations, despite his wife's shriekings and his children's cries, he was hanged on the spot.'

'This,' adds Carlyle, 'is my remotest outlook into the past, and itself but a cloudy half or whole hallucination: further on there is not even a hallucination. I now return. These things are secular and unsatisfactory.' The reflection is just. Instead of reviving his remote progenitors, he had better have followed the example of Sydney Smith, who, when Lady Lansdowne asked him about a grandfather, made answer: 'He disappeared about the time of the Assizes, and we asked no questions.'

The father quitted the mason trade when 'universal poverty and vanity made show and cheapness to be preferred to substance,' when, as he said emphatically, 'honest trade was done.' He took to farming, and distinguished himself in an altercation with his landlord, General Sharpe, in which 'he behaved with prudent resolution, not like a vain braggart, but like a practically brave man.' 'I will not do it,' was his answer to what he thought

thought an unjust proposal; 'I will rather go to Jerusalem seeking farms and die without finding one. We can live without Sharpe and the whole Sharpe creation.' The upshot was that he had to live without the farm.

These 'Reminiscences' are principally interesting as autobiography, but the part relating to Irving has also a peculiar value as a supplement to the excellent 'Life of Edward Irving' by Mrs. Oliphant. Carlyle does not carry his friend's ancestry so far back as his own, but he gives graphic sketches, in his happiest manner, of the father and mother, two or three uncles, and a grandmother. Several pages are devoted to Adam Hope, Irving's schoolmaster, and then we are introduced to a tall straight old uncle of his (the schoolmaster's), 'very clean always, brown as mahogany and with a head as white as snow,' who might have sat for Scott's David Deans, and is here presented as a model citizen whom the Hebrew millionaires would do well to emulate:

'Old David Hope—that was his name—lived on a little farm close by Solway shore, a mile or two east of Annan. A wet country, with late harvests; which (as in this year 1866) are sometimes incredibly difficult to save. Ten days continuously pouring; then a day, perhaps two days, of drought, part of them it may be of roaring wind—during which the moments are golden for you, and perhaps you had better work all night, as presently there will be deluges again. David's stuff, one such morning, was all standing dry again, ready to be saved still, if he stood to it, which was much his intention. Breakfast (wholesome hasty porridge) was soon over, and next in course came family worship, what they call taking the Book (or Books, i.e. taking your Bible, Psalm and chapter always part of the service). David was putting on his spectacles when somebody rushed in. "Such a raging wind risen as will drive the stooks (shocks) into the sea if let alone." "Wind!" answered David, "wind canna get ae straw that has been appointed mine. Sit down and let us worship God" (that rides in the whirlwind)!

'There is a kind of citizen which Britain used to have, very different from the millionaire Hebrews, Rothschild money-changers, Demosthenes Disraelis, and inspired young Goschens and their "unexampled prosperity." Weep, Britain, if the latter are among the honourable you now have!'

Irving was three years older than Carlyle. The first time Carlyle saw him was in the spring of 1808; scene, the Latin class-room of the Annan Academy, to which he had come as a chance visitor:

'We were all of us attentive with eye and ear, or as attentive as we durst be, while by theory "preparing our lessons." Irving was scrupulously dressed; black coat, ditto tight pantaloons in the fashion

fashion of the day; clerically black his prevailing hue; and looked very neat, self-possessed, and enviable. A flourishing slip of a youth, with coal-black hair, swarthy clear complexion, very straight on his feet, and except for the glaring squint alone, decidedly handsome. We didn't hear everything; indeed we heard nothing that was of the least moment or worth remembering.'

It was not for seven years, till the winter of 1815, that he saw Irving's face again. Carlyle had competed for and gained the situation of mathematical master in the Academy, 'with some potential outlook on divinity as ultimatum.' But his position was in every way distasteful to him. 'One attraction—one only—there was in my Annan business.' He was no longer a burthen to his father, and was even saving some few pounds of his 'poor sixty or seventy pounds annually.' Irving had been pursuing the same vocation with satisfaction and success. In 1810, on the recommendation of Sir John Leslie and Professor Christison, he was appointed master of a new school, called the Mathematical School, at Haddington, where he remained two years, after which he was promoted, through the same kind offices, to what was deemed the higher situation of master of a newly-established academy at Kirkcaldy. The pretensions of this academy were far from high, or the funds were low, for we learn from Mrs. Oliphant that 'two rooms in a central wynd, opening into each other with a tiny class-room attached—now occupied by a humble schoolmaster, who points to his worm-eaten oaken desks as being those used by "the great Mr. Irving"—were simply fitted up into the new academy.' We are reminded of old Auchinleck's contemptuous allusion to Johnson: 'A dominie, mon: he keepeed a schüle, and caud it an acaadamy.'

Irving acquired high reputation as a teacher, but was popularly thought to be merciless in the use of the rod. 'Sounds,' says Mrs. Oliphant, 'were heard now and then proceeding from the schoolroom, which roused the pity and indignation of the audience of neighbours out of doors. One of these, a joiner, deacon of his trade, and a man of great strength, is reported to have appeared one day, with his shirtsleeves rolled up to his elbows and an axe on his shoulder, at the door of the schoolroom, asking: "Do ye want a hand the day, Mr. Irving?" with dreadful irony.' According to the lady biographer, 'another school, in opposition to his, was set up in the town, not apparently from any distaste towards him, but from the advancing desire for liberal education which his own long apprenticeship in Kirkcaldy must have fostered; a school which—singular luck for the little Fife seaport—secured the early services of Thomas Carlyle.'

Carlyle.' Carlyle tells a different story. He says that, several months before his nomination, rumours had come of some break-up in Irving's triumphant Kirkcaldy kingdom :

'A terribly severe master, isn't he? Brings his pupils on amazingly. Yes, truly, but at such an expense of cruelty to them. Very proud, too; no standing of him; him, the least cruel of men, but obliged and expected to go at high-pressure speed, and no resource left but that of spurring on the laggard. In short, a portion, perhaps between a third and fourth part, of Irving's Kirkcaldy patrons, feeling these griefs, and finding small comfort or result in complaining to Irving, had gradually determined to be off from him, and had hit upon a resource which they thought would serve.'

This was to buy or pension off the old parish head-schoolmaster, 'a lazy, effete old creature,' and get Professors Christison and Leslie to send another 'classical and mathematical.' After several letters had passed between them and Carlyle, it was settled that he was to visit Kirkcaldy, take a personal view of everything and then say yes, if he could, 'as seemed likely.' His feelings towards Irving, when this proposition was made to him, resembled those which prevented Themistocles from sleeping, or those of Johnson when he visited Burke at Beaconsfield: *Non equidem invideo, miror magis.*

'I had heard much of Irving all along; how distinguished in studies, how splendidly successful as teacher, how two professors had sent him out to Haddington, and how his new Academy and new methods were illuminating and astonishing everything there. (Alas! there was one little pupil he had there [Jane Welsh, Mrs. Carlyle], with her prettiest little *penna pennæ* from under the table, and let me be a boy too, papa! who was to be of endless moment, and who alone was of any moment to me in all that!) I don't remember any malicious envy whatever towards this great Irving of the distance. For his greatness in study and learning I certainly might have had a tendency, hadn't I struggled against it, and tried to make it emulation: "Do the like, do thou the like under difficulties?" As to his schoolmaster success, I cared little about that, and easily flung that out when it came across me. But naturally all this be-trumpeting of Irving to me (in which I could sometimes trace some touch of malice to myself), had not awakened in me any love towards this victorious man. "Ich gönnte Ihn," as the Germans phrase it; but, in all strictness, nothing more."

This was his state of mind when his second meeting with Irving took place at the house of a Mr. Waugh in Annan. 'I was by some three or four years the youngest; and here was Trismegistus Irving, a victorious bashaw, while poor I was so much the reverse.' Irving began asking him a series of questions

tions about Annan, domestic matters, or societies of which he had no wish to speak, and really knew little or nothing; so to inquiries 'Has Mrs. — got a baby? is it son or daughter?' and the like, he answered, 'I don't know.'

'I think three or two such answers to such questions had followed in succession, when Irving, feeling uneasy, and in a dim manner that the game was going wrong, answered in gruffish yet not ill-natured tone, "You seem to know nothing!" To which I with prompt emphasis, somewhat provoked, replied: "Sir, by what right do you try my knowledge in this way? Are you grand inquisitor, or have you authority to question people and cross-question at discretion? I have had no interest to inform myself about the births in Annan, and care not if the process of birth and generation there should cease and determine altogether!" "A bad example that," cried Nichol, breaking into laughter; "that would never do for me, a fellow that needs pupils"; and laughed heartily, joined by Waugh, and perhaps Irving, so that the thing passed off more smoothly than might have been expected; though Irving, of course, felt a little hurt, and I think did not altogether hide it from me while the interview still lasted, which was only a short while.'

Irving, he goes on to say, did not want some due heat of temper, and there was a kind of joyous swagger in his manner at this prosperous time, but the basis of him at all times was manly sociality and the richest, truest good-nature:

'Very different from the new friend he was about picking up. No swagger in this latter, but a want of it which was almost still worse. Not sanguine and diffusive he, but biliary and intense. "Far too sarcastic for a young man," said several in the years now coming.'

'Far too sarcastic for a man of any age,' said, and say, and will continue to say, several in years past, present, and to come. At their next meeting, Irving came up to him and said: 'You are coming to Kirkcaldy to look about you in a month or two. You know I am there. My house, and all that I can do for you, is yours: two Annandale people must not be strangers in Fife.' Immediately on his arrival in Kirkcaldy he was taken by Irving into his library, 'a rough, littery but considerable collection,' and told, 'Upon all these you have will and way-gate.'

'Blessed conquest of a friend in this world! That was mainly all the wealth I had for five or six years coming, and it made my life in Kirkcaldy (i.e. till near 1819, I think), a happy season in comparison, and a genially useful. Youth itself—healthy, well-intending youth—is so full of opulences. I always rather like Kirkcaldy to this day. "Annan" the reverse rather still when its *gueuseries* come into my head, and my solitary quasi-enchanted position among them—unpermitted to kick them into the sea.'

He

He made ample use of Irving's library: thinks he must have read it almost through: reading literally at above ten times the speed he could subsequently make with any book. Gibbon, in particular, he recollects to have read at the rate of a volume a day (twelve volumes in all) and had still (1868) a fair recollection of it, though seldom looking into it since. This sounds apocryphal, like John Stuart Mill's account of the amount of profitable reading he got through in boyhood. What Carlyle most admired in Gibbon were his winged sarcasms, 'so quiet, yet so conclusively transpiercing and killing dead,' and his power of investigating, grouping, and narrating: 'though the latter had always, then as now, something of a Drury-lane character, the colours strong but coarse, and set off by lights from the side-scenes.' This is exactly the fault of his own narrative style in history. We say in history, for nothing can be better than his narrative and descriptive style when he is not aiming at effect. The accounts of his walks and excursions with Irving are examples. It is remarkable, moreover, that at this early stage of mental training, his notions of style were in accordance with sound criticism and good sense. He is speaking of the adoption by Irving of the Miltonian or old English Puritan style:—

'To his example also I suppose I owe something of my own poor affectations in that matter, which are now more or less visible to me, much repented of or not. We were all taught at that time by Coleridge, etc., that the old English dramatists, divines, philosophers, judicious Hooker, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, were the genuine exemplars, which I also tried to believe, but never rightly could as a whole. The young must learn to speak by imitation of the older who already do it, or have done it. The ultimate rule is: learn so far as possible to be intelligible and transparent—no notice taken of your style, but solely of what you express by it. This is your clear rule, and if you have anything which is not quite trivial to express to your contemporaries, you will find such rule a great deal more difficult to follow than many people think.'

It was, we believe, Johnson's friend, Dr. Zachariah Mudge, who on being asked what was the first quality of style, replied, 'Unmistakable perspicuity.'

The Kirkcaldy circles of society presented few attractions and were little frequented by the two schoolmasters, who, however, managed to form ties which, in the one, proved durable, and in the other left a tender and flattering recollection. Irving became engaged to the daughter of the minister, afterwards his wife, who is thus depicted by Carlyle:

'The eldest Miss Martin, perhaps near twenty by this time, was of
bouncing,

bouncing, frank, gay manners and talk, studious to be amiable, but never quite satisfactory on the side of *genuineness*. Something of affected you feared always in these fine spirits and smiling discourses, to which however you answered with smiles. She was very ill-looking withal; a skin always under blotches and discolourment: muddy grey eyes, which for their part never laughed with the other features; pock-marked, ill-shapen triangular kind of face, with hollow cheeks and long chin; decidedly unbeautiful as a young woman.'

The object of his own half-acknowledged day-dream was Margaret Gordon, with whom, although 'genealogically and otherwise (being poorish, proud, and well-bred) a kind of alien in the place,' he did at last make some acquaintance: 'some acquaintance, and it might easily have been more, had she and her aunt, and our economic and other circumstances liked.' She was 'fair complexioned, softly elegant, softly grave, witty, and comely type.' A year or two after leaving Kirkcaldy he heard that she had married 'some rich insignificant Aberdeen Mr. Something,' who got into Parliament, thence out to Nova Scotia (or so) as Governor, and he heard of her no more except that lately (1868) she was still about Aberdeen, childless, as the Dowager Lady, her Mr. Something having got knighted before dying.

'Poor Margaret! Speak to her since the "good-bye then" at Kirkcaldy in 1819 I never did or could. I saw her, recognisably to me, here in her London time, twice (1840 or so), once with her maid in Piccadilly, promenading, little altered; a second time, that same year or next, on horseback both of us, and meeting in the gate of Hyde Park, when her eyes (but that was all) said to me almost touchingly, "Yes, yes, that is you."'

In the space of two years, he says, he and Irving had both got tired of schoolmastering, with its mean contradictions and poor results, and in the end of 1818 they left Kirkcaldy for Edinburgh, with vague expectations and cloudy prospects:

'He had as one item several good hundreds of money to wait upon. My *peculium* I don't recollect, but it could not have exceeded 100*l*. I was without friends, experience, or connection in the sphere of human business, was of shy humour, proud enough and to spare, and had begun my long curriculum of dyspepsia which has never ended since!'

Irving never lost heart. 'You will see now,' he would say, 'one day we two will shake hands across the brook: you as first in literature, I as first in divinity, and people will say, "Both these fellows are from Annandale. Where is Annandale?"' He was the first to realize the prophecy. After a short stay in Edinburgh, he was engaged as assistant to Chalmers at Glasgow, where

where he remained three years. Early in 1822 he was appointed minister to the Caledonian Church in Hatton Garden, and sprang at once into celebrity. Mackintosh was accidentally present when Irving in an extemporized prayer described a family of orphans as 'thrown upon the fatherhood of God.' He repeated this expression to Canning, who was equally struck with it, and they went together the following Sunday to hear the preacher. Shortly afterwards, in the course of a debate on the revenues of the Church, in reply to an argument that talent could only be attracted by a wealthy establishment, Canning told the House that—so far from universal was this rule—he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly-endowed of churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, or possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever heard.

'The curiosity awakened by this speech,' adds Mrs. Oliphant, 'is said to have been the beginning of that invasion of "society" which startled Hatton Garden out of itself.' It was during this invasion that celebrities of all sorts—statesmen, authors, and wits—crowded the narrow chapel, and Lady Jersey, the queen of fashion, was seen seated on the steps of the pulpit. Carlyle's career at this time presents a striking contrast:—

'I kept daily studious, reading diligently what few books I could get, learning what was possible, German, &c. Sometimes Dr. Brewster turned me to account (on most frugal terms always) in wretched little translations, compilations, which were very welcome too, though never other than dreary. Life was all dreary, "eerie" (Scotticè), tinted with the hues of imprisonment and impossibility; hope practically not there, only obstinacy, and a grim steadfastness to strive without hope as with. To all which Irving's advent was the pleasant (temporary) contradiction and reversal, like sunrising to night, or impenetrable fog, and its spectralities!'

The discomfort of his position engendered a general feeling of discontent. In the height of the volunteer movement, he met an advocate of his acquaintance hurrying along, musket in hand, towards the Links to be drilled:—

' "You should have the like of this," said he, cheerily patting his musket. "Hm, yes; but I haven't yet quite settled on which side"—which probably he hoped was quiz, though it really expressed my feeling. Irving too, and all of us juniors, had the same feeling in different intensities, and spoken of only to one another; a sense that revolt against such a load of unveracities, impostures, and quietly inane formalities would one day become indispensable; sense which had a kind of rash, false, and quasi-insolent joy in it; mutiny, revolt, being a light matter to the young.'

It was in a gloomy moment, when he was beginning to fancy that his friend was lost to him in the blaze of London celebrity, that he had striking proof to the contrary. It was through Irving that he was appointed 'tutor and intellectual guide and guardian' to Charles Buller, then about fifteen, and his younger brother, afterwards Sir Arthur. When the family were hesitating what to do with Charles, who showed signs of impatience at domestic restraint, Irving's recipe was: 'Send this gifted, unguided youth to Edinburgh College. I know a young man there who could lead him into richer spiritual pastures and take effective charge of him.' This advice was followed: the two brothers were boarded with the Rev. Dr. Fleming, George Square; and Carlyle, lodged in Moray Place, was placed in charge of them on a salary of 200*l.* a year. The two youths, he says, took to him with unhesitating liking, and he to them, and there was never anything of quarrel or even of weariness and dreariness between them. Charles, he declares, was the best company he could find in Edinburgh:—

'Keeping him to work was my one difficulty, if there was one, and my essential function. I tried to guide him into reading, into solid enquiry and reflection. He got some mathematics from me, and might have had more. He got in brief what expansion into such wider fields of intellect and more manful modes of thinking and working, as my poor possibilities could yield him; and was always generously grateful to me afterwards.'

Arthur, we believe, was only a short time with him. Charles continued under his charge for more than two years, but never caught the slightest taint of his peculiar modes of thinking and talking: remaining through life remarkable for clearness, breadth and cheerfulness of view, sound sense, fine humour, and ready wit, which (as Moore said of Sheridan's) never carried a heart-stain away on its blade.

The tutorship, with its manifest advantages, pecuniary and social, produced no beneficial effect on Carlyle's spirits or his health. He is still dyspeptic and desponding. During Irving's wedding trip to the Highlands, he, his wife, and Carlyle, were standing at the Falls of Aberfeldy, 'silent in the October dusk with moon rising.' 'Doesn't this subdue you?' exclaimed Irving. 'Subdue me? I should hope not. I have quite other things to front with defiance in this world than a gush of bog-water tumbling over crags as here!' which produced a joyous and really kind laugh from Irving as sole answer.

'In these months' (1823) he was writing the 'Life of Schiller' for the 'London Magazine;' a task, he says, which Irving had encouraged him in and prepared the way for. 'Three successive

cessive parts there were, I know not how far advanced, at this period ; know only that I was nightly working at the thing in a serious sad and totally solitary way.' 'Schiller' done, he began the translation of 'Wilhelm Meister;' 'a task I liked perhaps rather better, too scanty as my knowledge of the element and even of the language, still was.' It was finished in the spring of 1824, and he got 180*l.* for it ; 'payment, the choicest part of it.'* Neither the 'Life of Schiller' nor 'Wilhelm Meister' attracted much notice for some years, and the notion that (as the writer in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' states) Carlyle discovered German literature for the English, is preposterous. It is enough to name Coleridge's splendid translation of 'Wallenstein;' Sir Walter Scott's translation of 'Götz von Berlichingen;' Shelley's of the 'Walpurgisnacht;' W. Spencer's of 'Leonora;' the parodies of the 'Antijacobin;' the imitations of Mat Lewis: 'Pizarro,' 'The Stranger,' Madame de Stael's 'Germany,' the world-wide fame of 'Werther,' and the sensational celebrity of 'The Robbers.' Lord Byron dedicated 'Sardanapalus' to Goethe in these words :

'To the Illustrious Goethe. A Stranger Presumes to Offer the Homage of a Literary Vassal to his liege Lord, the First of Existing Writers, who has created the Literature of His Own Country and Illustrated that of Europe.'

Lord Byron did not know German, and was simply expressing the popular feeling. Surely Goethe needed no further introduction from Carlyle.

Whilst the Buller arrangements were pending, he paid a visit of two or three weeks to Irving, then residing at Myddelton Terrace, Islington. He was received with the old true friendship: 'wife and household eager to imitate therein.' Irving struck him as nothing like so happy as in olden days. 'There were beautiful items in his present scene of life; but a great majority which, under specious figure, were intrinsically poor, vulgar, and importunate, and introduced largely into one's existence the character of *huggermugger*, not of greatness or success in any real sense.' He was introduced to Irving's circle, which comprised many notabilities, but 'by far the most distinguished two, and to me the alone important, of Irving's

* The translation of 'Wilhelm Meister' was published in Edinburgh in 1824. Referring to November, 1825, he says, 'My "Schiller" (of which I felt then the intrinsic wretchedness or utter leanness and commonplace) was to be stitched together from the "London Magazine," and put forth with some trimmings and additions as a book; 100*l.* for it on publication in that shape (Zero till then), that was the bargain made, and I had come to fulfil that, almost more uncertain than ever about all beyond.' It was published anonymously. The second edition, with his name, was published in 1845.

London circle, were Mrs. Strachey (Mrs. Buller's younger sister) and the noble lady, Mrs. Basil Montague, with both of whom and their households I became acquainted by his means.'

Mrs. Strachey is described as a pearl of a woman, pure as dew, yet full of love; but there was a cousin, Kitty, who fastened on his imagination; and 'it strikes me now,' he says, 'more than it then did, she (Mrs. S.) could have liked to see dear Kitty and myself come together, and so continue near her, both of us, through life. The good kind soul! And Kitty, too, was charming in her beautiful Begum sort; had wealth abundant, and might perhaps have been charmed? None knows.' Of developed intellect, he adds, she had not much, though not wanting in discernment:

'Still lives!—near Exeter; the wife of some ex-captain of Sepoys, with many children, whom she watches over with a passionate instinct; and has not quite forgotten me, as I had evidence once in late years, thanks to her kind little heart.'

It would seem from this and the reminiscence of Margaret Gordon that there was a touch of the lady-killer, of Lauzun or Beau Fielding, in his philosophy: Beau Fielding who exclaimed: 'Elles tombent comme les mouches.'

'The Montague establishment (25, Bedford Square) was still more notable, and as unlike this as possible; might be defined, not quite satirically, as a most singular social and spiritual ménagerie; which, indeed, was well known and much noted and criticised in certain literary and other circles.'

He was received with unbounded kindness in this establishment, and we have before us a letter from him to the 'noble lady,' dated August 20, 1825, in which, speaking of his affianced bride, he writes: 'It was Mr. Irving's wish, and mine, and most of all her own, to have you for her friend: that she should live beside you till she understood you: that she might have at least one model to study, one woman with a mind as warm and rich, to show her, by living example, how the most complete destiny might be wisely managed.'* Yet whilst bearing testimony to Mrs. Montague's many fine qualities, he cannot refrain from indulging in sarcasm:

'She had a slight Yorkshire accent, but spoke—Dr. Hugh Blair could not have picked a hole in it—and you might have printed every word, so queenlike, gentle, soothing, measured, prettily royal towards subjects whom she wished to love her. The voice was modulated, low, not

* Some interesting letters to Mrs. Montague have been printed for private circulation by Mrs. Procter. They go far to prove that Carlyle's sincerity was of the elastic accommodating kind which he admires in Cromwell.

inharmonious ; yet there was something of metallic in it, akin to that smile in the eyes. One durst not quite love this high personage as she wished to be loved ! Her very dress was notable ; always the same, and in a fashion of its own ; kind of widow's cap fastened below the chin, darkish puce-coloured silk all the rest, and (I used to hear from one who knew !) was admirable, and must have required daily the fastening of sixty or eighty pins.'

Irving said of her, 'She is like one in command of a mutinous ship ready to take fire.'

'By this time he had begun to discover that this "noble lady" was in essentiality an artist, and hadn't perhaps so much loved him as tried to buy love from him by soft ministrations, by the skilfullest flattery liberally laid on. He continued always to look kindly towards her, but had now, or did by-and-by, let drop the old epithet. Whether she had done him good or ill would be hard to say ; ill perhaps ! *In this liberal London, pitch your sphere one step lower than yourself, and you can get what amount of flattery you will consent to.* Everybody has it, like paper money, for the printing, and will buy a small amount of ware by any quantity of it. The generous Irving did not find out this so soon as some surlier fellows of us !'

Basil Montague, the hospitable host, is set down as 'much of a bore to you by degrees, and considerably a humbug if you probed too strictly.' The three sons by the second marriage, it is stated, 'went all and sundry to the bad, the youngest and luckiest soon to a madhouse, where he probably still is ;' the two by the second 'grew up only to go astray and be unlucky.' The only member of the establishment who is spared is the daughter, afterwards Mrs. Procter :

'Anne rather liked me, I' her ; an evidently true, sensible, and practical young lady in a house considerably in want of such an article. She was the fourth genealogic species among these children, visibly the eldest, all but Basil's first son now gone ; and did, and might well pass for, the flower of the collection.'

The portrait of Procter (Barry Cornwall) is one of the best in the collection, although verging on caricature :

'A decidedly rather pretty little fellow Procter, bodily and spiritually ; manners prepossessing, slightly London-elegant, not unpleasant ; clear judgment in him, though of narrow field ; a sound honourable morality, and airy friendly ways ; of slight neat figure, vigorous for his size ; fine genially rugged little face, fine head ; something curiously dreamy in the eyes of him, lids drooping at the outer ends into a cordially meditative and drooping expression ; would break out suddenly now and then into opera attitude and a *Là ci darem la mano* for a moment ; had something of real fun, though in London style.'

Mrs. Montague took Carlyle to see Coleridge at Highgate, but
what

what most cultivated people thought a rich intellectual treat, was to him an intolerable infliction.

‘Coleridge, a puffy, anxious, obstructed-looking, fattish old man, hobbled about with us, talking with a kind of solemn emphasis on matters which were of no interest (and even *reading* pieces in proof of his opinions thereon). I had him to myself once or twice, in various parts of the garden walks, and tried hard to get something about *Kant* and Co. from him, about “reason” versus “understanding” and the like, but in vain. Nothing came from him that was of use to me that day, or in fact any day.’

On its being settled that Charles Buller should go to Cambridge, Carlyle took a formal leave of the family and was again loose upon the world. ‘Money was no longer quite wanting, enough of money for some time to come, but the question what to do next was not a little embarrassing, and indeed was intrinsically abstruse enough.’ In this state of uncertainty he pays a visit to Mr. Baddams, one of the Montague set, who had just started a chemical manufactory at Birmingham. Here he heard much of Dr. Parr :

‘There was a sort of pride felt in their Dr. Parr all over this region ; yet everybody seemed to consider him a ridiculous old fellow, whose strength of intellect was mainly gone to self-will and fantasticality. They all mimicked his *lisp*, and talked of wig and tobacco-pipe. (No pipe, no Parr ! his avowed principle when asked to dinner among fine people.)’

Taking refuge one showery day in a bookseller’s shop, he dipped into a new magazine and alighted on a cleverish and completely hostile criticism of his ‘*Wilhelm Meister*,’ Goethe and himself. It turned out to be by De Quincey, and gives occasion for a sketch of him :

‘He was a pretty little creature, full of wire-drawn ingenuities, bankrupt enthusiasms, bankrupt pride, with the finest silver-toned low voice, and most elaborate gently-winding courtesies and ingenuities in conversation. “What wouldn’t one give to have him in a box, and take him out to talk !” That was Her criticism of him, and it was right good. A bright, ready, and melodious talker, but in the end an inconclusive and long-winded. One of the smallest man figures I ever saw ; shaped like a pair of tongs, and hardly above five feet in all. When he sate, you would have taken him, by candle-light, for the beautifullest little child ; blue-eyed, sparkling face, had there not been a something, too, which said—“*Ecco vi*—this child has been in hell.”’

This was said of Dante after the publication of the ‘*Inferno*.’ De Quincey was a martyr to opium, from which, after ceasing to take it in immoderate doses, he could not abstain. Professor

Wilson, on being asked for an introduction to him by a friend, replied: 'Willingly. But you must be prepared for two things, if you wish to get on well with him. He will offer his opium-box like a snuff-box, and expect you to take a pinch, and he will beg the loan of five pounds.'

We next find Carlyle one of 'a fine sea party,' contrived by Mrs. Strachey at Dover, but not finding it so idyllic as she expected, 'she determined on sending Strachey, Kitty, and me off on a visit to Paris for ten days, and having the Irvings all to herself. We went accordingly; saw Paris, saw a bit of France—nothing like so common a feat as now; and the memory of that is still almost complete, if it were a legitimate part of my subject.' He attends a meeting of the Institut and gives a sketch of Laplace, Trismegistus Laplace as he calls him, in a long blue silk dressing-gown, and goes once to the theatre where he saw Talma:

'A heavy, shortish, numb-footed man, face like a warming-pan for size, and with a strange most ponderous yet delicate expression in the big dull-glowing black eyes and it. Incomparably the best actor I ever saw. Play was "Œdipe" (Voltaire's very first); place the Théâtre Français. Talma died within about a year after.'

About the beginning of March 1825 he had at length, after fierce struggling and various disappointments from the delay of others, got his 'poor business winded up; "Schiller" published, paid for, left to the natural neglect of mankind (which was perfect so far as I ever heard or much cared), and in humble, but condensed resolute and quiet humour was making my bits of packages, bidding my poor adieus, just in act to go.' A farm had been taken for him by his father, rent 100*l.*, at Hoddam Hill, near Mainhill.

'Here the ploughing etc. etc. was already in progress (which I often rode across to see), and here at term day (May 26, 1825) I established myself, set up my books and bits of implements and Lares, and took to doing "German Romance" as my daily work, "ten pages daily" my stint, which, barring some rare accidents, I faithfully accomplished. Brother Alick was my practical farmer; ever-kind and beloved mother, with one of the little girls, was generally there; brother John, too, oftenest, who had just taken his degree. These, with a little man and ditto maid, were our establishment.'

It lasted only one year, owing to some disagreement with the landlord; and on the 26th of May following, they went all of them to a better farm, 'where, as turned out, I continued only a few months, wedded, and to Edinburgh in October following. Ah me! what a retrospect now!'

'This

‘This year I found that I had conquered all my scepticisms, agonizing doubtings, fearful wrestlings with the foul and vile and soul-murdering Mud-gods of my epoch; had escaped as from a worse than Tartarus, with all its Phlegethons and Stygian quagmires, and was emerging free in spirit into the eternal blue of ether, where, blessed be heaven! I have for the spiritual part ever since lived, looking down upon the welterings of my poor fellow-creatures, in such multitudes and millions still stuck in that fatal element, and have had no concern whatever in their Puseyisms, ritualisms, metaphysical controversies and cobwebberies, and no feeling of my own except honest silent pity for the serious or religious part of them, and occasional indignation, for the poor world’s sake, at the frivolous secular and impious part, with their universal suffrages, their Nigger emancipations, sluggard and scoundrel Protection societies, and “un-exempled prosperities” for the time being!’

This is the frame of mind in which he is thenceforth to contemplate his fellow creatures: honest, silent pity for one half, and occasional indignation for the other. Charity and humility find no place in his creed. He is one of the Elect. He felt, he adds, and continued to feel, endlessly indebted to Goethe in the business. ‘He, in his fashion, I perceived, had travelled the steep rocky road before me, the first of the moderns.’ But Goethe’s fashion was very different. After a brief struggle, he sank into a kind of Epicurean scepticism: self-culture was his paramount object, and he shrank from everything that might ruffle the calm polished surface of his life. He had little or nothing in common with Carlyle, who constantly misunderstood and misinterpreted him. Thus, speaking of Werther, Carlyle says: ‘And here lies the secret of his popularity: in his deep susceptible heart he felt a thousand times more keenly what every one was feeling.’ Now, Goethe distinctly states that, before he began ‘Werther,’ he had seen the folly of the suicidal mania, ‘had ended by laughing at himself, and cast all hypochondriac crotchets to the winds.’ He was a consummate artist, and his impassioned sentiments were the well-ordered product of the imagination, instead of gushing warm, fresh, confused, and tumultuous from the heart.

For the first eighteen months after their marriage, the Carlyles lived at Cowley Bank, Edinburgh, and then, till they came to London in 1834, at Craigenputtoch, a farm-house belonging to her family in Dumfriesshire. Here he devoted himself heart and soul to study and composition. ‘The first genesis of “Sartor” I remember well enough, and the very spot (at Templeland) where the notion of astonishment at clothes first struck me.’ He makes no reference to Swift, although clearly in his mind

mind before the completion of the work.* It came out in parts in 'Fraser's Magazine,' and was first published in a collected shape in the United States. The first English edition was in 1838. We have a letter from him, dated Craigenputtoch, 17th December, 1833, in which he writes:

'Can you tell me anything about the mode of publishing books? You must have some experience in it. I have a little Piece here which sometimes has struck me as eligible for publishing in a separate way, could I find a Bookseller that would manage the printing &c. &c. of it without *shamming* or otherwise cheating. I suppose a Bookseller that would *pay* anything for a Book in these days were the truest of Miracles.'

He had already fallen in with two of these miracles, the publishers of 'Schiller' and 'Wilhelm Meister.'

There is little more about Irving, who died in 1834, but what is popularly known. His expulsion from the Scottish Kirk is thus described:

'A poor aggregate of Reverend Sticks in black gown, sitting in Presbytery, to pass formal condemnation on a man and a cause which might have been tried in Patmos under presidency of St. John without the right truth of it being got at! I knew the "Moderator" (one Roddick, since gone mad), for one of the stupidest and barrenest of living mortals; also the little phantasm of a creature—Sloane his name—who went niddy-noddy with his head, and was infinitely conceited and phantasmal, by whom Irving was rebuked with the "Remember where you are, sir!" and got answer, "I have not forgotten where I am; it is the church where I was baptised, where I was consecrated to preach Christ, where the bones of my dear ones lie buried." Condemnation under any circumstances had to follow; "*le droit de damner te reste toujours!*" as poor Danton said in a far other case.'

A few personal traits and impressions are the sum of Carlyle's additions to the biography of Jeffrey, published by Lord Cockburn in 1852. They do not uniformly agree. Carlyle states that in 1812-13 Jeffrey 'became universally famous, especially in Dumfriesshire, by his saving from the gallows one "Nell Kennedy," a country lass who had shocked all Scotland, and especially that region of it, by a wholesale murder, done on her next neighbour and all his household in mass, in the most cold-blooded and atrocious manner conceivable to the oldest artist in such horrors.' He adds, that Jeffrey rose 'into higher and higher professional repute from this time: and to the last was very celebrated as what his satirists might have called a

* See 'Sartor Resartus,' Chapter XI. 'On Tailors.'

"felon's

"felon's friend." Lord Cockburn does not mention this case, nor confirm the statement that Jeffrey's by no means rapid rise at the bar was owing to success in the criminal courts.

'I seem to remember that I dimly rather felt there was something trivial, doubtful, and not quite of the highest type in our Edinburgh admiration for our great lights and law sages, and poor Jeffrey among the rest; but I honestly admired him in a loose way as my neighbours were doing, was always glad to notice him when I strolled into the courts, and eagerly enough stepped up to hear if I found him pleading; a delicate, attractive, dainty little figure, as he merely walked about, much more if he were speaking; uncommonly bright black eyes, instinct with vivacity, intelligence, and kindly fire; roundish brow, delicate oval face full of rapid expression, figure light, nimble, pretty though so small, perhaps hardly five feet in height.'

This sketch was taken in 1812. Lord Braxfield was commonly reported to have said on Jeffrey's return from Oxford: 'The laddie has clean tent his Scotch and found nae English!' which (remarks Carlyle) was an exaggerative reading of the fact, his vowels and syllables being elaborately English (or English and *more*, e.g. "heppy," "my Lud," etc. etc.) while the tune which he sang them to was all his own.' So early as 1819 or 1820, Carlyle had sent an article anonymously for insertion in the 'Edinburgh Review,' of which no notice was taken, and he never heard of it again. It was in 1827 that, personally unknown, but provided with a letter of introduction from Procter, he strode off to George Street and Jeffrey, in rather good spirits.

'Five pair of candles were cheerfully burning, in the light of which sat my famous little gentleman; laid aside his work, cheerfully invited me to sit, and began talking in a perfectly human manner. Our dialogue was perfectly human and successful; lasted for perhaps twenty minutes (for I could not consume a great man's time), turned upon the usual topics, what I was doing, what I had published, "German Romance" translations my last thing; to which I remember he said kindly, "We must give you a lift," an offer which in some complimentary way I managed to his satisfaction to decline.'

The interview resulted in an arrangement for the 'poor paper' on Jean Paul, which appeared in the next 'Edinburgh Review,' and made a sensation among the Edinburgh 'buckrams.' This was heightened in the next Number by the article on 'German Literature,' which (to use his own words) set many tongues wagging and some brains considering what this new monster could be that was come to disturb their quiescence and the established order of Nature:—

'Some newspapers or newspaper took to denouncing "the Mystic School,"

School," which my bright little woman declared to consist of me alone, or of her and me, and for a long while after merrily used to designate us by that title; "Mystic School" signifying us, in the pretty coterie speech, which she was always so ready to adopt, and which lent such a charm to her talk and writing. She was beautifully gay and hopeful under these improved phenomena, the darling soul! "Foreign Review," "Foreign Quarterly," etc., followed, to which I was eagerly invited. Articles for Jeffrey (about parts of which I had always to dispute with him) appeared also from time to time. In a word, I was now in a sort fairly launched upon literature, and had even to sections of the public become a "Mystic School;" not quite prematurely, being now of the age of thirty-two, and having had my bits of experiences, and gotten really something which I wished much to say—and have ever since been saying the best way I could.'

He is here anticipating. He was not regarded as the founder of a school when he was thirty-two, that is, in 1827. But his writings gradually attracted attention by the peculiarities which have since made them famous, and, so far as they were supposed to represent German Literature, fostered the popular belief that it was similarly obscured by mysticism. The acquaintance with Jeffrey soon ripened into intimacy, and the reason is stated with commendable frankness and amusing naïveté by Carlyle, who has obvious misgivings whether his conjugal happiness was not in some degree in danger of being compromised by the little editor:—

'He was much taken with my little Jeannie, as he well might be: one of the brightest and cleverest creatures in the whole world; full of innocent rustic simplicity and veracity, yet with the gracefulest discernment, calmly natural deportment; instinct with beauty and intelligence to the finger-ends! He became, in a sort, her would-be openly declared friend and quasi-lover; as was his way in such cases. He had much the habit of flirting about with women, especially pretty women, much more the both pretty and clever; all in a weakish, mostly dramatic, and wholly theoretic way (his age now fifty gone); would daintily kiss their hands in bidding good morning, offer his due *homage*, as he phrased it; trip about, half like a lap-dog, half like a human adorer, with speeches pretty and witty, always of trifling import. I have known some women (not the prettiest) take offence at it, and awkwardly draw themselves up, but without the least putting him out.

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'My little woman perfectly understood all that sort of thing, the methods and the rules of it; and could lead her clever little gentleman a very pretty minuet, as far as she saw good. They discovered mutual old cousinships by the maternal side, soon had common topics enough: I believe he really entertained a sincere regard and affection for

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for her, in the heart of his theoretic dangling ; which latter continued unabated for several years to come, with not a little quizzing and light interest on her part, and without shadow of offence on mine, or on anybody's. Nay, I had my amusements in it too, so naïve, humorous and pretty were her bits of narratives about it, all her procedures in it so dainty delicate and sure—the noble little soul ! Suspicion of her nobleness would have been mad in me ; and could I grudge her the little bit of entertainment she might be able to extract from this poor harmless sport in a life so grim as she cheerfully had with me ? My Jeannie ! oh my bonny little Jeannie ! how did I ever deserve so queenlike a heart from thee ? Ah me !

Thanks to Jeannie's influence, they got on well enough together for some years ; interchanging occasional visits of some duration at Craigenputtoch and Craigcrook (Jeffrey's house near Edinburgh). At one of these, the last, the radical incompatibility between the two men broke out. They had now, he says, more than ever, a series of sharp fencing bouts, night after night. It is strange that Jeffrey had not found out long ago the uselessness of arguing with him. He could neither argue, nor bear argument, nor long endure any one who spoke sense and had an opinion of his own.

On coming to town when Jeffrey was Lord Advocate, Carlyle was rather surprised that Jeffrey did not introduce him to some of 'his grand literary figures,' or try in some way to be of help to him. The explanation, he surmises, partly was that his grand literary or other figures were clearly by no means so adorable to 'the rustic, hopelessly-Germanized soul' as the introducer of one might have wished, and chiefly that Jeffrey only consorted with 'Wishaws and bores.' He was sitting one evening with the Jeffreys at their lodging in Jermyn Street, when the house-bell rang, and something that sounded like 'Mr. Fisher' was announced as waiting downstairs :—

"Mr. Fisher" was announced as waiting downstairs ; and her agitated industry in sorting the apartment in the few seconds still available struck me somewhat all the more when "Mr. Fisher" himself waddled in, a puffy, thickset, vulgar little dump of an old man, whose manners and talk (talk was of cholera then threatened as imminent or almost come), struck me as very cool, but far enough from admirable. By the first good chance I took myself away ; learned by-and-by that this had been a "Mr. Wishaw," whose name I had sometimes heard of (in connection with Mungo Park's Travels or the like) ; and long afterwards, on asking old Sterling who or what this Wishaw specially was, "He's a damned old humbug ; dines at Holland House," answered Sterling readily. *Nothing real in him but the stomach, and the effrontery to fill it*, according to his version : which was all the

the history I ever had of the poor man; whom I never heard of more, nor saw, except that one time.'

The esteem in which Mr. Whishaw was held may be judged from the fact that he was named by Sir Samuel Romilly sole guardian of his children. In the list of the habitual guests at Holland House, given by the Princess de Liechtenstein, we find: '*Whishaw*, whose sense made his opinions valuable to have and difficult to obtain.' He is made the butt of vulgar ribaldry, for no imaginable reason except that the Jeffreys were suspected of preferring his company to Carlyle's. Carlyle's general criticism of Jeffrey, ending with a tirade against the *Demos*, is erroneous and unjust:

'He may be said to have begun the rash reckless style of criticising everything in heaven and earth by appeal to *Molière's maid*; "Do you like it?" "Don't you like it?" a style which in hands more and more inferior to that sound-hearted old lady and him, has since grown gradually to such immeasurable length among us; and he himself is one of the first that suffers by it.'

Molière's bonne, like Sydney Smith's foolometer, was employed to indicate how a thing would take with the general public. Her vocation went no further. Jeffrey never adopted the criterion of liking or disliking, and Carlyle never had any other.

Mrs. Carlyle once told a lady friend, 'Marrying a man of genius is a mistake. I've had a hard time of it. But wait till I die, and see what an apotheosis I shall have.' She has had her apotheosis, which is made wide enough to include her family to the sixth and seventh generation. When Hector M'Intyre defies any one to say that his cousin is not an honest fellow, the Antiquary interrupts him: 'No doubt, no doubt, Hector; all the M'Intyres are so. They have it by patent, man.' We are tempted to interrupt Carlyle in the same manner, when, having fully expatiated on the virtues of the Carlyles, he proceeds to deal in the same fashion, and at still greater length, with the Welshes of Craigenputtoch, a small estate which had been two hundred years in the family. It came to Mrs. Carlyle on the death of her father, but she gave up the life-rent to her mother, who did not die till 1842. There were grounds for believing that she was descended from Knox's youngest daughter, whose husband was a Welsh; and her maternal grandmother was a Baillie, who claimed kin with the Wallace. 'She herself, I think, except perhaps in quizzical allusion, never spoke of it to me at all. Edward Irving once did (1822 or so)

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in his half-laughing Grandison way, as we three sat together talking. "From Wallace and from Knox," said he, with a wave of the hands: "there's a Scottish pedigree for you!" The good Irving: so guileless, loyal always, and so hoping and so generous.'

Before setting down his reminiscences of his wife, Carlyle requested Miss Geraldine Jewsbury, her most intimate friend, to write down any biographical anecdotes she could remember to have heard from Mrs. Carlyle's lips. She readily assented, and has supplied twenty pages of interesting matter, beginning with some personal traits:

'Her head was finely formed, with a noble arch, and a broad forehead. Her other features were not regular; but they did not prevent her conveying all the impression of being beautiful. . . . She was always witty, with a gift for narration;—in a word, she was fascinating and everybody fell in love with her. A relative of hers told me that every man who spoke to her for five minutes felt impelled to make her an offer of marriage! From which it resulted that a great many men were made unhappy. She seemed born "for the destruction of mankind." Another person told me that she was "the most beautiful starry-looking creature that could be imagined," with a peculiar grace of manner and motion that was more charming than beauty.'

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'She had many ardent lovers, and she owned that some of them had reason to complain. I think it highly probable that if *flirting* were a capital crime, she would have been in danger of being hanged many times over.'

Commenting on Miss Jewsbury's contribution, Carlyle objects that the charge of flirting is much exaggerated:

'If "flirt" means one who tries to inspire love without feeling it, I do not think she ever was a flirt; but she was very charming, full of grave clear insight, playful humour, and also of honest dignity and pride; and not a few young fools of her own, and perhaps a slightly better station, made offers to her which sometimes to their high temporary grief and astonishment were decisively rejected.'

One of these took to his bed and wrote her a letter declaring that, unless she would marry him, he would kill himself. She was touched by this letter, till a slight point struck her and she quietly put it down, saying to her mother, who was remonstrating with her on her cruelty: 'You need not be frightened, he won't kill himself at all; look here, he has scratched out one word to substitute another. A man intending anything desperate would not have stopped to scratch out a word, he would have put his pen through it, or left it!'

Of course, as she gave Miss Jewsbury to understand, people thought

thought she was making a dreadfully bad match: 'they only saw the outside of the thing; but she had faith in her own insight.' Long afterwards, when the world began to admire her husband, at the time he delivered the 'Lectures on Hero Worship,' 'she gave a little half-scornful laugh, and said, "they tell me things as if they were new that I found out years ago."'

On her first appearance in the London world, when she was about thirty, she was a clever, lively, agreeable woman, who when she lighted up might pass for pretty, with a dash of coquetry that added to her attractiveness: coquetry in the French sense of the term, which means no more than the love of admiration and the wish to please. She was a model wife for a man of letters, and she did not overestimate her excellence in that capacity when she said that she knew the power of help and sympathy that lay in her, 'knew she had strength to stand the struggle and pause before he was recognized.' She endured without a murmur the lonely life at Craigenputtoch, and was 'hearty' for London when he spoke of it, though till then her voice had never been heard. 'Burn our ships,' she gaily said, one day, 'dismantle our house, carry all our furniture with us.' The flitting took place in May 1834: 'she staying to superintend packing and settling: in gig I, for the last time.' She told Miss Martineau, who sets it down as a fact, that, having to go house-hunting, 'forth he went, with three maps of Great Britain and two of the World in his pocket, to explore the area within twenty miles of London.'

'Her arrival I best of all remember: ah me! She was clear for this poor house (which she gradually, as poverty a little withdrew after long years' pushing, has made so beautiful and comfortable) in preference to all my other samples: and here we spent our two-and-thirty years of hard battle against fate; hard but not quite unvictorious, when she left me, as in her car of heaven's fire.'

It was here he wrote his 'French Revolution,' interrupted by a catastrophe which sorely tried the fortitude of both. The manuscript of the first volume, which he had lent to John Mill, was destroyed by the carelessness or ignorance of a servant, who used it to light fires.

'How well do I still remember that night when he came to tell us, pale as Hector's ghost, that my unfortunate first volume was burnt. It was like half sentence of death to us both, and we had to pretend to take it lightly, so dismal and ghastly was his horror at it, and try to talk of other matters. He stayed three mortal hours or so; his departure quite a relief to us. Oh, the burst of sympathy my poor darling then gave me, flinging her arms round my neck, and openly lamenting,

lamenting, condoling, and encouraging like a nobler second self! Under heaven is nothing beautifuller. We sat talking till late; "shall be written again," my fixed word and resolution to her. Which proved to be such a task as I never tried before or since. I wrote out "Feast of Pikes" (vol. ii.), and then went at it. Found it fairly impossible for about a fortnight; passed three weeks (reading Marryat's novels), tried, cautious-cautiously, as on ice paper-thin, once more; and in short had a job more like breaking my heart than any other in my experience. Jeannie, alone of beings, burnt like a steady lamp beside me.'

As she used to tell the story, when Mill came to announce what had occurred, her first exclamation at seeing the anxious expression of his face was: 'Well, what have you come to tell us? Are you going off with Mrs. T.?'

The passages which bring Mill upon the scene cannot be passed over.

'John Mill was another steady visitor (had by this time introduced his Mrs. Taylor too, a very will-o'-wispish "iridescence" of a creature; meaning nothing bad either). She at first considered my Jane to be a rustic spirit fit for rather tutoring and twirling about when the humour took her; but got taught better (to her lasting memory) before long.'

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'His evenings here were sensibly agreeable for most part. Talk rather wintry ("sawdustish," as old Sterling once called it), but always well-informed and sincere. The Mrs. Taylor business was becoming more and more of questionable benefit to him (we could see), but on that subject we were strictly silent, and he was pretty still. For several years he came hither, and walked with me every Sunday. Dialogues fallen all dim, except that they were never in the least genial to me, and that I took them as one would wine where no nectar is to be had, or even thin ale where no wine.'

Mrs. Taylor (afterwards Mrs. Mill) was to John Mill all and more than Mrs. Carlyle was to Carlyle. She shared and inspired as well as encouraged his literary work. Speaking of her after her death, he says: 'My objects in life are solely those which were hers: my pursuits and occupations those in which she shared or sympathized, and which are indissolubly associated with her. Her memory is to me a religion, and her approbation the standard by which, summing-up as it does all worthiness, I endeavour to regulate my life.'* This solemn tribute is quite as sincere and quite as impressive as any of Carlyle's wild bursts of sorrow; indeed more so than that in which he declares that

* 'Autobiography. By John Stuart Mill.' Page 251.

'not all the Sands and Eliots and babbling *cohue* of celebrated scribbling women that have strutted over the world, in my time, could, it seems to me, if all boiled down and distilled to essence, make one such woman.' Yet Carlyle sees only a very will-o'-wispish iridescence of a creature in Mill's Egeria, and Mill probably saw only an ordinary mortal in Carlyle's angel. Mirabel tells Millamant: 'Beauty is the lover's gift: 'tis he bestows your charms: your glass is all a cheat.' Wit, sense, accomplishments, intellectual superiority, may be equally the lover's or fond husband's gift, and fortunate the woman who can keep up the illusion to the end.

Carlyle's state of feeling during the composition of his 'French Revolution' wavered between confidence and despondency:

'Once or twice among the flood of equipages at Hyde Park Corner, I recollect sternly thinking, "Yes; and perhaps none of you could do what I am at!" But generally my feeling was, "I shall finish this book, throw it at your feet, buy a rifle and spade, and withdraw to the Transatlantic Wilderness, far from human beggaries and baseness!"'

He told his wife, after writing the last paragraph: 'What they will do with this book, none knows, my Jeannie, lass; but they have not had, for a two hundred years, any book that came more truly from a man's very heart, and so let them trample it under foot and hoof as they see best!' 'Pooh, pooh!' was her answer, 'they cannot trample that;' and she was always ready with hopeful and flattering words, although her patience was sometimes sorely tried. A female friend calling on them one day was led to think from her reception that she was *de trop*, and on Carlyle's leaving the room intimated as much: 'Oh no,' said Mrs. Carlyle, 'it is not you. I have been very ill for three days, and he took not the least notice of it till just now, when he said: "Why, Jeannie, my little woman, are you ailing?" I was so angry that I was on the point of flinging a tea-cup at his head.' According to another version of the story, she actually did fling it.

He hardly ever wakes up and looks abroad without venting his spleen on somebody. Sir James Graham is hit off at first sight: 'Baddish, proud man, we both thought from physiognomy, and did not afterwards alter our opinion much.' Sir William Molesworth, a man of strong highly-cultivated intellect, is a 'poorish, narrow creature.' 'Old Lady Holland' he viewed with aversion as 'a kind of hungry, ornamented witch,' looking over at him with merely carnivorous views. Mrs. Austin: 'so popular and almost famous, on such exiguous basis, translations from

from the German, rather poorly some, and of original nothing that rose far above the rank of twaddle.' One would have thought that 'Darwin On Species' was a book that could not be flung contemptuously aside. He cannot tolerate the mention of it, and with an obvious touch of envy at its popularity, he exclaims: 'Wonderful to me, as indicating the capricious stupidity of mankind; never could read a page of it, or waste the least thought upon it.' Poor Elia, with his delicate humour and fine critical faculty, is another victim:

'Insuperable proclivity to gin in poor old Lamb. His talk contemptibly small, indicating wondrous ignorance and shallowness, even when it was serious and good-mannered, which it seldom was, usually ill-mannered (to a degree), screwed into frosty artificialities, ghastly make-believe of wit, in fact more like "diluted insanity" (as I defined it) than anything of real jocosity, humour, or geniality.'

It is amusing to find Carlyle complaining of ill-manners. When a lady celebrated for both genius and beauty asked him if he had read her poems, he replied: 'Nae, I've not, and I dare say they're sad trash. If you have anything to tell the world, put it down in prose, and the less of it the better.' He partly compensated for this afterwards by saying: 'I can't read your poems, but you've a beautiful nose. I like to look at your nose.'

The last fifty or sixty pages are almost exclusively occupied with Mrs. Carlyle's sufferings during her last illness. They are related with natural pathos and will command universal sympathy, mingled with regret at the many bitter things with which her memory is associated in the 'Reminiscences.' If these things were not intended for publication, why were they deliberately and even artistically noted down and dressed up? Why are they so thickly interspersed in pages professedly devoted to friendship, filial piety, and conjugal love? They equally indicate the disposition and manner of judging whether they were meant for publication or not, and our knowledge of the real character of the man would be incomplete if they had been suppressed. As regards the attempted extenuation of advanced age and failing memory, it is sufficient to refer to the internal evidence and to the respective dates of the Parts. 'James Carlyle' was written in 1832: 'Edward Irving' in 1866: 'Lord Jeffrey' in 1867: 'Jane Welsh Carlyle' in 1866.

That his admirers should still think it right to raise busts or statues in his honour is their affair; but they are assuming a grave responsibility. They are canonizing genius simply because it is genius, without regard to its application or direction, care-
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less of its good or evil effects upon mankind. They are sanctioning a false philosophy. They are setting up a false standard of excellence. They are winging and pointing anew arrows aimed at the reputation of their most distinguished contemporaries. They are doing their best to diffuse and perpetuate a baneful influence: to give increased authority and circulation to works composed for the most part in open defiance of good sense, good feeling, or good taste: works whose all-pervading tone, spirit and tendency are radically wrong.

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- ART. V.—1. *The Emancipation Act, 1861, and subsequent Agrarian Laws of Russia.*
 2. *Report of an Imperial Commission of Enquiry into the State of Agriculture, 1873.*
 3. *Land Tenure and Agriculture in Russia and other European Countries.* By Prince A. Vasilchikoff. 1876.
 4. *Statistical Enquiry into Peasant Allotments and Payments.* By J. Janson. Second Edition. 1881.
 5. *The Russians at Home and the Russians Abroad.* By H. Sutherland Edwards. 1879.
 6. *Reports from Her Majesty's Representatives respecting the Tenure of Land in the several Countries in Europe.* Part II. 1869–70.

IT has apparently escaped general notice that there is much resemblance between the agrarian status of Russia and that of the disturbed part of Ireland. The Earl of Dufferin must have observed some analogy, for he has asked in a Memorandum addressed to the Irish Land Commission whether a page might not be taken out of the Russian Code in the settlement of the present momentous question in Ireland.

It is indeed a remarkable fact, that Russia and Ireland are at the present moment the only two countries in Europe in which the land question presents itself in an acute form for profound study and speedy solution. The natural resources of both countries consist mainly in the capacity of their soil for raising cereal produce and rearing cattle; and, as in Russia so in Ireland, the problem which the legislator is again called upon to solve is that of the suppression or prevention of agricultural pauperism. There is an interval of only nine years between the Irish Land Act of 1870 and the Russian Emancipation Act of 1861. The results of the former are still a subject of contention

tention between rival political parties, but in Russia the Emancipation Act has produced effects which, in their broader features, are acknowledged alike by the Imperial Government and by every class of politicians in the country.

It therefore appears desirable to enquire, both into the extent and nature of the analogies that exist between the Agrarian questions in Russia and Ireland, and into the results of the legislation in the former country, which the British Government may perhaps be induced to imitate in the latter. The expediency of such an enquiry is the greater, since the Russian Emancipation Act is one of the most recent experiments in dealing on a large scale with the question of land tenure by the light of economic science, tempered by the influence of modern humanitarian and Socialistic doctrines. A careful study of that experiment and its consequences will show to what extent the land legislation of Russia is in reality applicable to the present condition of the South and West of Ireland.

No person who has enquired into the condition of the Russian agricultural population before the emancipation of 1861 would seek to establish any analogy between the Russian serf and the Irish tenant in respect to civil rights, or even as to the terms under which they have severally cultivated the soil. The serf was *adscriptus glebæ*, a chattel, who was bought, sold and exchanged, sometimes as parcel of, and sometimes apart from, the estate on which he and his ancestors had been reared. His master could flog him, deport him to Siberia, and give him over to the military authorities for nearly lifelong service in the army. His labour and that of his family was practically at the entire disposal of the lord. He could own no property, and could not plead in his own person in any court of law. None of these conditions have existed in Ireland, and it is, therefore, only in angry ignorance that Irish agitators have in a few instances referred to the Russian serf as a freer and happier individual than the Irish cottier or tenant.

Apart from these considerations, however, the following resemblances present themselves. As in Russia, so in Ireland, much of the land was in past ages distributed amongst the feudatories of the Sovereign. There has been, indeed, a period in the history of almost every European country, in which the cultivator was the *de facto* proprietor of the soil; and there were other periods when the cultivator was first enslaved and afterwards enfranchised, such enfranchisement restoring to him, partially and exceptionally, the property which of old had been owned and cultivated by his free ancestors. Norway is a notable

example of one of the few States in Europe in which the cultivator of the soil has entirely escaped these vicissitudes.

The enslavement of the Russian serf was of greater antiquity than the last dispossession of the aboriginal Irish proprietor by Cromwell. Nevertheless, the remoteness of the establishment of serfdom (1592) did not prevent the Russian serf from insisting, in 1861, that although he belonged to the lord, yet the soil which he had so long tilled had never ceased to belong to him. In fact it was alleged, as at present by some persons in Ireland, that apart from ancient historical right the cultivator had, by his labour, acquired a prescriptive title to the soil. Reduced to its simple expression, the Irish agitation, in respect specifically to land tenure, appears to be based on a similar conception of the inherent right of the cultivator to claim the absolute ownership of the soil.

The existence of such a theory among the serfs of Russia was officially recognized, and it became one of the most important arguments of those who urged the necessity of establishing the enfranchised serf as the proprietor of a certain quantity of land. It is undeniable that the agitation for converting the Russian peasantry into landed proprietors proceeded originally from the Socialist camp. The influence of that party was subsequently exercised in inciting the enfranchised peasantry to murder the Government officials and the landlords who 'continued to withhold the land to which the rural classes were entitled.' There is an extraordinary analogy in this respect between the Russian Socialist movement and the agitation that has so frequently broken out in Ireland. In both countries there has been, and still is, an intimate connection between 'land' and 'liberty,' the principal object of the leading agitators being in both cases the acquisition of *political* rights for themselves.

The Imperial Government, while evincing a desire to legislate on the basis thus advocated, was anxious, for financial and political reasons, not only to supply the ex-serf with land sufficient for his bare wants and the discharge of his liabilities for Imperial taxation and the repayment of advances by the State for the purchase of his land allotment—but also to give him such fixity of tenure as would efficiently secure the collection of the taxes connected with those liabilities. Previous to this alteration in the status of the Russian cultivator, the lord of the soil had been responsible for the due collection of taxes imposed on the serfs; but, since that responsibility would not have been compatible with the process of manumission, it was evident that, in so widespread and thinly and irregularly populated a country as Russia—a country also where the State
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is almost exclusively supported by the peasantry (who are from 80 to 90 per cent. of the population)—it would have been very difficult to collect the taxes from individual peasants, free to roam from Archangel to the Caucasus, or from St. Petersburg to Siberia and Central Asia. Recruiting for the army would have become equally difficult if the peasant population had not been made stationary.

The arguments in favour of endowing the ex-serf with land were reinforced by a political reason of the highest gravity. In Russia, as in Ireland on a smaller scale, the soil is variable in quality, and the population is irregularly distributed. In Russia, moreover, such variable and irregular conditions are accompanied by a great difference in the climate of the north and south of the Empire. The population also has had, from remote ages, a tendency to migrate; and the wretched social and political condition of the people, held as they were in subjection for two centuries by the Tartars, and later by the despotism of the Tsars of Moscow, naturally perpetuated the nomadic instinct of the people. Serfdom was in reality instituted in order to arrest the operation of that instinct. Alarming displacements of a population tempted by the free life of a Cossack and by the wonderful fertility of the Steppe lands have frequently occurred in the course of Russian history. Within a somewhat recent period, large tracts of land in the south of Russia and in Siberia have been populated by fugitive serfs and criminals, who went to join communities which had in former times taken refuge in those wilds from religious and political persecution. It was obviously necessary to prevent that tendency from asserting itself afresh after the emancipation of the serfs. If unchecked, the result would undoubtedly have been the depopulation of a great part of the relatively barren north, and ultimately a displacement of the political centre of gravity of the Empire.

Such are the true reasons which, under colour of admitting the inherent and prescriptive right of the cultivator to the possession of the soil, gave rise to those provisions of the Emancipation Act which, while ceding to all the ex-serfs a perpetual tenancy or *usufruct* of certain portions of land, were principally intended to stimulate the establishment of a so-called peasant proprietorship in Russia. But before we proceed to enquire how far and by what means that object was effected by the Imperial Government, it may be well to ask whether there are any other points of resemblance between the condition of the Russian and the Irish peasant.

The following analogies in the character and circumstances of

of the peasantry of the two countries appear worthy of attention. Like the peasantry of the South and West of Ireland, the great bulk of the Russian nation contains but little if any alloy. Both are, historically and practically, races unadulterated by admixture, and, therefore, in strong contrast with the modern inhabitants of Germany, France, Italy, England, and particularly the United States. If it be admitted that the progress made by England, more especially, in the path of civilization and national prosperity, is due, to a very considerable extent, to the process of foreign grafting through which the aboriginal inhabitants have passed, it may fairly be argued that races which have not been amalgamated must suffer a relative disadvantage.

We therefore believe, in defiance of the great authority of John Stuart Mill, that the relatively retrograde condition of the South and West of Ireland, and that of the greater part of Russia, is due in some degree to the fact, that the two races have remained ethnologically stereotyped. To use another simile in illustration of this theory, those races may be said to constitute a primitive ethnological substratum that has remained uncovered by later national formations.*

Agitators of the Socialist and Panslavist type have always maintained that Russian peasant life, as exhibited in its communal organization, and the development of Russian culture in general, have nothing in common with other countries, but that they have always remained entirely aboriginal and peculiar. In connection with this subject it may be as well to dispel here the very common delusion that if you 'scratch the Russian you will find the Tartar.' As a matter of fact, there is only a slight and very local admixture of Tartar blood in the Russian Slav. There is still less trace of the Norse blood of the Varangian conquerors in the ninth century, who only founded a dynasty and an aristocracy. The Slav of Russia, although essentially the same as the Slav of ancient and modern Poland, of Bohemia, Servia, Bulgaria, and Eastern Roumelia, has, however, from historical, geographical, and religious causes, undoubtedly preserved the original characteristics of his race to a greater extent than other branches of his family.

A proof of the advantage that accrues from an amalgamation of races, or from active intercourse between nationalities, may

* It is a question whether, within the pale of European civilization, the same rule has not applied to such nationalities as to individual families—to use the words of Lord Byron—

'Marrying their cousins—nay, their aunts and nieces,
Which always spoils the breed, if it increases.'

be found in the North of Ireland, where the relatively superior condition of the population cannot be entirely ascribed to the influence of Protestantism. Still stronger and more undeniable evidence of the operation of this law may be found in the condition of the Slavs of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria. Although groaning for centuries under the yoke of a government generally considered to be the worst in Europe, the degree of social and material development which they had acquired filled their Russian liberators with astonishment and envy. The condition of the Bulgarian agricultural class is, in every respect, incomparably superior to that of the Russian peasant. This result may be attributed in a great measure to the alloy of Finnish blood infused into the Bulgarian Slav at a very early period of his history, and to the intercourse which he has since of necessity maintained with the Greek and Turkish races.

A great Russian geographer and ethnologist has described the Slavs of Russia as a '*Kisselni narod*,' or 'jelly people,' that is to say, a people without that moral backbone, which admixture and intercourse with alien races has given to the great majority of other populations in Europe. The character of the pure Irish Celt is very similar. Like the Russian Slav, he will work spasmodically and without any real, innate, or steady habit of industry or tenacity of purpose. There is in both races a tendency, promoted to a great extent by necessity, to seek casual labour by migration in masses for harvesting and other desultory work. This tendency is evinced even in the colonies to which Irishmen emigrate. The Russians and the Irish have the same good-natured happy-go-lucky disposition, the same slovenly hand-to-mouth mode of existence. The morrow has to take care of itself, the seeming principal object in life being to 'drink and be merry.' It would, however, be unfair to place the Irish, in respect to the vice of drunkenness, on a perfect equality with the peasantry of Russia, which possesses that degrading propensity to a degree that strikes every Russian statesman with dismay and despair. Perhaps some apology may be pleaded, as certainly the hopelessness of the case is enhanced, from the example of a most degraded priesthood.

The improvidence of the Russian Slav and the Irish Celt, and the want of all method in their existence, are further exemplified in both races by early marriages of great fruitfulness.

Like the Russian, the Irishman of whom we are treating devotes to labour, rude as that labour is, a much fewer number of days than the peasantry of countries which have made great strides in human progress. The celebration of Church festivals, marriages, christenings,

christenings, burials, visits to fairs, and so forth, leaves the agricultural classes of Russia little more than 200 working days in the year. The Russian, moreover, labours under the disadvantage of a climate which curtails, more considerably than in Ireland, the number of days during which he can labour in the field.

Another point of resemblance may be found in the religious polity of Russia and of Ireland. Although this is a question of some delicacy, especially in the hands of a Protestant, it is impossible to pass it over in silence, if our object be to take into consideration all the circumstances that have combined to perpetuate the character and influence the life of the Russian Slav and the Irish Celt.

The Protestant may point with natural pride to the results that have been obtained by his faith in the North of Ireland; but the Roman Catholic may insist, with equal truth, that his religion has not, in modern times, impeded the intellectual and material development of France, Italy, Austria, South Germany, and other parts of Continental Europe in which it prevails. The Christian of the Greek Church is unable as yet to attribute to the influence of his creed any great moral or material result. It is still a religion of races that are backward, whatever it may become when Greece expands into an Empire, or when the Russian clergy emerge from the degraded condition in which we still find them.

Dealing with masses which, from a variety of causes, have lagged behind considerably in the race of civilization, the Russo-Greek Church has sought to retain its hold over them by the dread and reverence which a pompous and mystical celebration of Divine service instils into minds that are either in a primitive or exalted condition. Venerable superstitions have been kept up by such means; and, although it would be unfair to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland to class them unconditionally with the Russo-Greek priesthood, yet it cannot be denied that they have been equally unsuccessful in raising the moral and intellectual character of the people entrusted to their charge. The intercession of numerous saints, represented in Russia by 'images' pronounced miraculous or 'not created by human hands,' supplants in great part a belief in the efficacy of personal prayer addressed to an Almighty Being to whom all hearts are open, and who cannot be propitiated by the mere burning of incense and candles.

The Russian priesthood being but little, if at all, superior to the peasantry, either in intellect, conduct, or material circumstances, are indeed fast losing the influence and authority which they

they exercised under the régime of serfdom ; and even Russian official Reports * attest, with alarm, that the churches are now mostly attended only by women and children ; while the men are spending their last copeck, or getting deeper into debt, at the village dram-shop. Apart from the effect which such a state of affairs must produce on public morality, the interests of the Russian State are threatened by the growing emancipation of the peasantry from the influence of the priesthood, which had hitherto formed a component part of the autocratic system, and successfully enjoined obedience to the representatives of the Emperor's authority. The same Reports acknowledge, a general absence of moral principle amongst the peasantry, and particularly a highly defective perception of the rights of property.

To a certain extent, superstition, ignorance, untruthfulness, and mental confusion in regard to proprietary rights, appear to prevail in parts of Ireland, notwithstanding the decidedly superior character of the Roman Catholic priesthood and the immensely greater efforts of the State to promote education. The Russian, like the Irish priesthood, is recruited mainly from a class which is not much better than the peasantry from a material and moral point of view. In both cases the priest depends in a very great degree for his livelihood on the contributions of his flock in kind and money. He is, therefore, compelled by circumstances to identify himself with the feelings and propensities of the contributors to his maintenance.

The class which must share with the Russian priesthood the reproach of much of the degraded condition of the peasant, namely the landed gentry, presents many points of resemblance to the typical Irish squireen of no very remote period. Amidst the barbarism of their neighbours and dependants, in the seclusion of their almost inaccessible dwellings, the small landed gentry of both countries offered the worst possible example to the lower classes. They spent their lives in the gratification of sensual instincts, in riotous living, gambling, and sporting. The Russian, like the Irish, landed proprietor squandered his substance with great recklessness. If possessed of large domains, he was an absentee ; if a small landowner, he was in both countries the squireen, who in Russia raised his poll-tax and in Ireland his rent, and ultimately left his estate encumbered to its full value. He was always deeply in debt, and the middleman of Ireland is represented in Russia by the *Kulak*, the land-speculator, and the Jew. In both countries the majority of the landowners

* 'Imperial Commission of Inquiry into the State of Agriculture,' 1873.
devoted

devoted no attention to the improvement of the processes of agriculture; the lower agrarian class, consequently, continued to adhere to the most primitive methods of culture, and the employment, more particularly, of a plough of which the model had been preserved from the remotest antiquity.

Another coincidence will be found in the fact that in Russia, as in Ireland, there is but a very small middle class of merchants and manufacturers. There are few Russian mercantile firms of any importance. When established, they flourish but for a day, the succeeding generation dissipating the accumulations of the past. The evils of Ireland were in former times partly aggravated by the protectionist policy of England. In Russia, to this day, the agricultural classes suffer from the excessive protection afforded to the manufacturing industries of Moscow and St. Petersburg. In both countries it is moreover a subject of complaint that the local industries are not sufficiently numerous or developed to afford profitable occupation to the lower classes when not engaged, from climatic or other causes, in processes of husbandry.

To sum up all these points of analogy, we may mention as a striking fact, that one of the principal arguments employed by those who agitate for a reform of land tenure in Ireland refers to a state of affairs which has existed to a still greater degree in Russia. That argument is the great disproportion between the number of landowners and that of tenants and agricultural labourers. In Ireland the considerable landowners are estimated at 12,000, and the tenants at 600,000, or as 50 to 1. In Russia, before the emancipation of the serfs, when the peasantry had no legal right in the land, the number of landed proprietors (irrespective of the Crown and Appanage domains) was 103,158, while that of their male registered tenants was 9,759,163, or about 94 to 1.

Out of the total area of cultivable land in the possession of those proprietors, namely 301,000,000 acres, about 103,000,000 acres were cultivated by the serfs, either at a rent in money or service, or under a mixed liability both in money and service. On an average, therefore, each male serf enjoyed the usufruct of about 10 acres of land; but practically, in Central Russia, the lord allowed each male serf the usufruct of an average of only $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres of arable land, irrespective of common and pasturage grounds and of timber for fuel and building purposes. As the serf population increased, he added to their allotments, but, as a rule, he took care that the quantity of land tilled by the peasantry for their own benefit should not exceed that which they cultivated for him. Thus, the proprietor of 3000 acres
would

would not cede the usufruct of more than 1500 acres ; for, where the rent was payable in service, it was necessary that he should retain 1500 acres to which the serf labour might be applied ; and nine-tenths of the serf allotments in the black-soil provinces (with nearly two-thirds of the population of Russia proper, and nearly three-quarters of all the serf lands in Russia) were held for service, not at a money rent.

It was in these circumstances that the Emancipation Act of 1861 found the peasantry of Russia. The general provisions of that Act, which also gave civil rights to the serf population, were as follow :—1. It decreed the cession to the serf of the ‘perpetual usufruct’ (tenancy) of his homestead, and of certain allotments of arable land, on terms to be settled by mutual agreement between the lord and the serf, or, failing such agreement, on conditions specified by the Act. 2. It enabled the serf to insist on the purchase of his homestead, such purchase to be settled by agreement or on conditions stated in the Act ; it enabled the lord, however, to refuse to sell the homestead unless the serf also purchased his statutory allotment of land. 3. It provided funds to enable the serf to ‘redeem’ his homestead and allotment. Where, however, the lord *insisted* on the sale of the allotment, the aid of the State was only afforded for purchase by an entire village commune, and in cases where the allotments accepted were not below the legal standard. 4. It authorized the serf, as an alternative, to accept as a free gift from the lord, in final settlement of all compulsory relations between them, a quarter of the statutory allotment, including the homestead. 5. The peasant Communes were given extensive rights of self-government, including the administration of justice (within certain limits), and their members were bound together in a ‘reciprocal bond’—the bond of frankpledge—in respect to the payment of all taxes, ‘capitation rents’* and dues, and more especially with reference to the advances made by the State for the purchase of peasant lands.

The arrangements consequent on the main provisions above cited may be summarized as follows :—The provinces to which the Emancipation Act was applicable were divided into zones, namely : (a) The zone without black soil, subdivided into nine regions ; (b) the zone of black soil, subdivided into eight regions ; and (c) the Steppe zone, subdivided into twelve regions. In each of the two zones first mentioned the area of the statutory allotments which the peasantry were bound to hold at a capitation

* This term will be used throughout as the nearest equivalent of the Russian word ‘*Obrok*,’ a tax leviable per head of the registered male population for the usufruct of land.

rent for a minimum period of nine years, or which they could purchase from the lord with his consent, was regulated by a sliding maximum and minimum scale, based on the extent of arable land available in each zone and in each separate region. Special provision was made for landed proprietors who, owning fewer than twenty-one male serfs, possessed a quantity of arable land insufficient to provide the peasants with statutory allotments. The lands of such proprietors were, as a rule, wholly expropriated in favour of the peasantry, and a certain proportion of the more needy gentry obtained small pecuniary grants from the State. Within the Steppe zone, where the area of private estates was generally vast, the allotments per head of the male population were rendered uniform in each separate region, without a maximum and minimum scale. The size of the allotments in the first two zones ranged between a minimum of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and a maximum of 20 acres, and in the third zone between $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres. As regards the first and second zones, 'existing circumstances' were generally respected within the limits of the sliding scale of allotments. That is to say, if the allotment already in the occupation of the peasant should prove to be larger in extent than the local statutory maximum allotment, the excess could be claimed by the lord if opposed to its cession; but if, on the other hand, the allotment occupied proved to be smaller than the Act required, the deficiency had to be made good by the lord, unless the peasant should elect to accept a reduction of the statutory allotment. In any case the lord was entitled to retain one-third of the total area of land fit for cultivation on his property in the first two zones, and one half of the total area within the zone of the Steppe country. These observations do not apply to the north-west and south-west provinces of Russia, in which the landlords were less liberally treated under enactments consequent on the last Polish insurrection.

For the purpose of defining the extent and nature of the peasant allotments and explaining to the peasantry the provisions of the Act, special officers called 'Peace Arbitrators' were appointed, to whom, or to a Provincial Board of Appeal, was confided the apportionment of the allotments; and it was stipulated that the settlement of this matter should be completed within two years.

The homesteads of the peasantry, which were removable at the desire of the lord when inconveniently situated near his manor-house or on land outside the village boundary, were defined under the Act as including all the land within a certain radius from a village or hamlet, the boundaries of which were to be fixed

fixed in accordance with the natural configuration of the ground, by agreement with the lord or through the intervention of the Peace Arbitrator. If those boundaries were not naturally defined, each 'soul' or male peasant could, within the first zone, claim, in addition to the land actually occupied by the homestead, a maximum area of 654 square yards of land for the growing of hemp, and up to 1088 square yards of common. In the other two zones, the extent of common to be included in the homestead was limited to a maximum area varying from 1743 square yards per 'soul' to 9800 square yards per family. The right of cutting timber for fuel and building purposes, previously enjoyed by the peasantry by permission of the lord, was practically taken away from them.

The homesteads, whether purchased or held only in usufruct, descend to the family of the possessor, but in the absence of family they escheat to the commune together with the land allotments. In the provinces of South Russia, where the communal system was not in operation in 1861, the right of personal and hereditary usufruct was retained, subject to local usage as to succession and division. On decease, lands might also be devised in those provinces, but only on condition that each parcel should be equal to at least one-half of the local maximum statutory allotment.

It is not necessary, even if it were possible, to reproduce with any greater fulness all those provisions of the Emancipation Act which were intended to reconcile the interests of the peasantry with those of the landowners and the State; and we now proceed to enquire into the results of the Russian Land Law of 1861.

The first result of the Act was a great disturbance and redistribution of previous proprietary rights in the soil. Taking into account the subsequent expropriations of land in favour of the serfs of the Crown and of the Appanages, and the supplementary allotments bestowed in 1863 and 1865 on the peasantry of the Western (Old Polish) Provinces, the total area of land in fifty provinces of European Russia has been approximately redistributed as follows:—

The Crown (State), 39·8 per cent.

Peasantry, 31·8 per cent.

Nobility, gentry and other owners, 26·4 per cent.

The Appanages (Imperial family), 2 per cent.

Although this is a tolerably correct estimate of general results, yet there is great inequality in the relative proportion of land held by the peasantry throughout the several provinces. Thus, in the Central, Black-soil, and Industrial provinces, the peasants
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at present hold 50 to 70 per cent., and in other provinces 70 to 90 per cent., of the total arable land ; and it is only towards the southern and western confines of the Empire that the estates of the nobility and gentry are in the aggregate equal in extent to the holdings of the agricultural class. In the greater part of the old Polish provinces, in the Baltic provinces, and in the provinces of St. Petersburg, Pskof, and Novgorod, the lands retained by private owners are still somewhat in excess of the aggregate peasant holdings. On the other hand, peasant ownership prevails exclusively in three of the most northern provinces, as well as in two of the provinces forming the extreme south-eastern confines of the Empire.

It is therefore important to bear in mind, in considering the present condition and the future prospects of Russia from an agrarian point of view, that by the Act of 1861, and by subsequent legislation in respect to the serfs of the Crown, Appanages, mines, &c., 52 millions of human beings, or 77 per cent. of the total population of the Empire, were converted, technically, into 'territorial proprietors' and 'perpetual tenants.' Dealing for the present only with the ex-serfs of the nobility and gentry of Russia Proper, we may state that on the $\frac{1}{3}$ of January, 1881, the number of 'souls' who still occupied lands in the 37 'Inner Provinces,' as perpetual tenants at a fixed capitation rent, was a little more than a million and a half, the remainder, or 79 per cent., having become proprietors of their allotments, either with or without the aid of the State. Before we enquire into the consequences of this vast economical revolution, it is necessary that we should examine, as briefly as the subject will permit, the conditions under which it was effected.

The Emancipation Act found the great majority of the landed proprietors deeply involved. No fewer than 7 out of 10 millions of male serfs were in pawn to the Orphans' Court (a species of State Land Bank), which held in mortgage about 102 million acres, or a little less than the total quantity of land at that time actually occupied by the peasantry. This circumstance was highly favourable to the solution of the Emancipation question in the direction of converting the serfs into landowners. Moreover, the landed proprietors were not only hopelessly unable to repay the debts which they had incurred, but the act of taking from them the serf-labour, with which they had previously conducted their farming operations, rendered it necessary that they should acquire capital for the introduction of a totally new system of working the lands left in their absolute possession. Their immediate interests, therefore, coincided to a great extent with the desire of the Government to promote the purchase,

chase, rather than the tenancy, of land by the peasantry. This was more particularly the case in the least fertile and in the 'industrial' provinces, in which it was the evident interest of the lord to dispose at once of as much land as he could at a reasonable price. He knew that, without serf labour, the cultivation of poor land would be an unprofitable undertaking, and that if he allowed his ex-serfs to obtain allotments as 'perpetual tenants,' with the option of throwing up their tenancies after 1870 (as the Act provided), the result might be such a displacement of the population as would deprive him even of the free-labour required for the cultivation of the better portion of his estate.

It was consequently at the instance of the great majority of the serf-owners that power was given to them, as already mentioned, to refuse the sale of a homestead without the allotment, which the ex-serf could claim to hold at a capitation rent. The effect of this policy is evident from the latest official Returns of the 'Redemption (Purchase of Lands) operation.' From these it is apparent that by the 1st of January O.S. of the present year only 34 per cent. of the class of serfs under consideration had voluntarily applied to the State for pecuniary assistance in the purchase of their allotments, while the remaining 66 per cent. had been forced into purchase by their former lords. The latter fact becomes still more prominent, if we detach from the European Provinces of Russia those which are officially designated as industrial and least fertile. They are thirteen in number, and the relative proportion of voluntary and compulsory 'Land Settlements' made in them is severally 16½ and 83½ per cent.

The price of the peasant allotments, including the homesteads, was based on the rates of capitation rent fixed by the Emancipation Act, and mainly on the average value of the service or capitation rents previously rendered or paid by the serf. Within the first zone of provinces that rate was 21s. 4d. to 32s.* per annum and per 'soul' in the case of a statutory maximum allotment; but when the area of land available gave an allotment smaller than the maximum, the annual capitation rate was reducible by one-half and even three-quarters. In the second zone (the black-soil provinces) the capitation rent was fixed at rates which varied from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. per acre; and provisions corresponding to those in Zone I. were made in respect to the rent of lands below the statutory maximum.

* At the exchange of thirty-two pence to the rouble, about 16 per cent. below the par value, and 22 per cent. above the present quotation, of the paper rouble. The Russian 'dessiatina' is 2·86 acres.

It was at the same time enacted that the capitation rents thus established should be re-assessed in 1881, but two years ago the period of such re-assessment was extended to the year 1891.

The capitation rents, multiplied by $16\frac{2}{3}$, gave the purchase price of the allotments and homesteads. The State undertook to advance four-fifths of such capitalized rental when the whole of the allotments previously conveyed to a commune in perpetual tenancy were purchased, but only three-fourths when any reduction in the area of the original allotments had been agreed to on purchase. When, however, the land was purchased 'voluntarily,' it was lawful for the peasantry to make special agreements with the lord for payments over and above the capitalized rent, but such additional payments were not guaranteed by the State. When the purchase of allotments was forced on the peasantry by the lord, the peasants were bound to provide one-fourth of the total purchase-money in the case of allotments which had not been reduced, and one-third in that of a voluntarily reduced area.

The general effect of these arrangements, necessarily complicated to meet such varied interests and circumstances, will be best seen from the financial result of the so-called 'Redemption operation' undertaken by the State. By the beginning of the present year the Imperial Government had advanced to the ex-serfs of private landowners, for the purchase of their homesteads and land allotments, the sum of 99,804,184*l.* The holdings which the peasantry were thus enabled, and, as we have seen, mostly forced to purchase, give an average of 10 acres of arable land per registered male throughout the provinces of Russia Proper, and 11 acres in the western provinces. In the former case, the debt incurred by the peasantry amounted on an average to 28*s.* 8*d.*, and in the latter to about 16*s.* per acre. It was repayable by instalments of 6 per cent. over a period of forty-nine years,* representing an annual charge for interest and sinking fund of about 1*s.* 9*d.* per acre throughout Russia, with the exception of the western provinces, in which the charge is equivalent to only one shilling per acre.

On the other hand, the State, in indemnifying the landowners, has deducted from the advances charged to the purchasers the sum of about 40,500,000*l.*, due by the former under their old mortgages, and has issued the balance in various descriptions of stock bearing interest at 5 per cent. (about 48,000,000*l.*) and at $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (11,000,000*l.*), and partly in cash (under 500,000*l.*) The

* Repayment by instalments of not less than 26*s.* 8*d.* was permitted, and a small proportion of purchasers availed themselves of that option.

difference between 6 per cent. charged to the purchasers and 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. paid to the sellers was intended, in the first place, to provide a sinking fund (at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.), and in the second place to cover the cost of administration and to leave a margin for losses and arrears. It is only very recently that the capital accumulated by this difference has been revealed. The Governor of the Bank of Russia has declared that it amounts to 15,000,000 roubles, that is to say, 1,500,000*l.* sterling, at the present approximate rate of exchange, or 2,000,000*l.* at the higher value of the rouble which we have throughout adopted.

The collection of the 'Redemption Dues,' or interest and sinking fund payable by the peasant communes for the purchase of their allotments and homesteads, as well as that of the Capitation Rents payable direct to the lord for the fixed tenancy of land, was secured by provisions of the most stringent character. Even the capitation rents were placed in the same category as the Imperial taxes. They are payable preferentially over any other pecuniary claim, and a fine of 1 per cent. per month may be levied for rents in arrear. When, as is the case over the greater part of Russia, the land expropriated in 'perpetual usufruct' is held by a commune, the latter is compelled, under the system of frankpledge, to make good all arrears, either by repartition amongst its members or out of communal funds, should any such exist. On its own part the commune can recover arrears thus paid—(1) by seizing the income derived by the defaulter from the cultivation of the land; (2) by placing him out at service; (3) by appointing trustees or guardians over him; (4) by selling any real property he may possess in his own right; (5) by selling his movables; and lastly, by taking from him the land attached to his homestead. On the demand of a landlord, the renewal of a passport can be denied to a defaulter, who, when found at a distance from his village without such a document, is liable to be dealt with as a vagabond, and marched back from the most distant places under police escort. Power was given to the Peace Arbitrator to dismiss the elected communal authorities of a village in which arrears had been allowed to accumulate, and to appoint others in their stead. He could also compel the peasantry to work out their arrears, or levy a distress on their movable property, seize portions of their land to the extent of one-third of an allotment, and put it up to auction. The Act provided, however, for a mitigation of the severity of these measures by promising the aid of Government to defaulters who owed the rent of an entire year in consequence of some public calamity, such as conflagration, drought, and similar causes.

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In those provinces of Southern Russia in which the allotments are held individually and hereditarily, that is to say, where the communal system does not exist, the same system of distress is enforced as in the case of communal defalcations. Moreover, in the event of such measures proving insufficient, the personal allotments, in violation of the principle of 'perpetual usufruct,' can be seized and transferred to other peasants belonging to the same village. Until the year 1870, such allotments lapsed temporarily to the lord if no peasants were found willing to accept them, but since that date they revert to him permanently. Since 1870, also, the remedy of distress is applicable to the homesteads, with the sanction in each special case of a 'Provincial Court for the regulation of the affairs of the Peasantry.'

Under the general principles of the Emancipation Act, applied later to the peasants of the Crown and Appanages, corresponding arrangements were made for the levying and enforcement of taxes and rents on those sections of the rural population. Although technically termed 'peasant proprietors,' the ex-serfs of the Crown have been subjected to the perpetual payment of a capitation rent, fixed in 1866 on the basis of the rates previously existing, and liable to no modification until after the lapse of twenty years. At the same time it was enacted, in evident limitation of proprietary rights, that although the Crown peasants could alienate their allotments (which attained a maximum of twenty-three acres in provinces with a small available area of land, and forty-three acres in those in which the Crown property was vast in extent), yet that such alienation should be conditional on the payment of the purchase money into the exchequer of the Crown domains. The official price of the allotments was determined by the capitalization of the rent at 5 per cent. The right of alienation was reserved, however, to the commune, not to individual peasants, the consent of two-thirds of the members of a commune being in such cases requisite.

After the lapse of two years from the date (1863) of the manumission of the Appanage serfs, they likewise technically increased the ranks of the 'peasant proprietors' of Russia. They are bound to pay their previous rates of capitation rent during a period of forty-nine years, after which their allotments, which average $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres, become their absolute freeholds.

Having thus sketched, with as much minuteness as the limits of the present article and the patience of the reader will permit, the salient features of the Russian Emancipation Act, and their practical application under circumstances created by a past condition of serfage, we proceed to enquire into the material and
economical

economical results of that vast revolution which our own legislators have been advised in part to imitate. To what extent, we would ask, has the Russian experiment in the direction of stimulating peasant proprietorship with State aid been successful? Has it improved the condition of the ex-serf, and has it benefited a country so entirely dependent for its existence on the development of its agricultural wealth? A few years ago it would scarcely have been possible to answer these questions in a positive manner, without having to meet objections based on results obtained in this or that portion of the vast Russian empire. For a considerable time after the emancipation of the serfs, the Russian press, with only a solitary exception, as well as a great part of the Russian bureaucracy, held up to public admiration the benefits that were being derived from the great agrarian reform then in progress. It is, indeed, only within comparatively recent days that the patriotic 'Moscow Gazette' has ceased to denounce as traitors and political heretics those who had at last mustered sufficient courage to expose the real condition of the peasantry. It is no secret that the author of the English Report on Land Tenure in Russia, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1870, incurred the displeasure of the Tsar Liberator by his unfavourable criticism of the great Agrarian Law, which had already at that period produced, according to his observations, results that were highly unfavourable, as well as pregnant with extreme danger, both to the economical condition of the country and to the social and political welfare of the State. The publication of that Blue Book, however, induced the Russian Government to appoint in 1872 an 'Imperial Commission of Enquiry into the state of Agriculture;' and the Report made by that Commission in 1873 more than reproduced the darkness of the picture which had been drawn for the edification of the British Parliament on the eve of the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1870.

In 1876 considerable light was thrown on the subject by Prince A. Vasilchikoff, in a work entitled 'Land Tenure and Agriculture in Russia and other Countries in Europe.' The enquiry was concurrently prosecuted by the Imperial Government, by the 'Territorial Institutions' (Zemstvo), and by the press. The latest contribution to the literature of the Russian peasant question is an admirable and exhaustive work by J. Janson, Professor of Political Economy in the University of St. Petersburg. It supplies the most ample official data for the conclusions at which he arrives. There is, in fact, at present no divergence whatever between the official and non-official authorities in Russia in respect to the condition of the agricultural classes and generally

of agriculture in Russia, and their opinions differ only in a slight degree when they discuss the measures that should be adopted to avert the complete collapse of the internal economy of the Empire.

It is proved and agreed on all sides that the emancipation of the serfs has been a complete failure as regards the attempts made in 1861, and subsequently, to secure the welfare and happiness of the peasantry by stimulating their conversion into small landed proprietors. With that object, they were practically endowed twenty years ago with allotments, of which the area was, at the time of emancipation, considered not only adequate for their maintenance, but also sufficiently large and cheap to enable them to repay the State advances for the purchase of lands, and to meet the taxes, Imperial, provincial, and communal, on the regular payment of which the local, as well as the Imperial, administration almost entirely depended.

The curtain has, however, at last been lifted, and we see that great Empire in all its nakedness and poverty. From one end of the country to the other the so-called peasant proprietors—that Radical ideal of the agrarian status—are in a state of semi-starvation; while in several of the Volga provinces, once the richest in agricultural produce, the starvation has assumed the form of a widespread famine, which the Government is engaged in alleviating by considerable grants of money. Even the ‘Moscow Gazette’ has lately been forced to acknowledge that ‘nearly one half of Russia is afflicted with famine to an extent hitherto unknown.’ This calamity has not overtaken the country casually and without warning. It has been approaching systematically for the last ten years, and cannot be ascribed in any important degree to the simple visitation of God or the operation of abnormal climatic phenomena. The true cause is to be found in a persistent violation of the laws of nature by a poor, rude, and ignorant peasantry, still forcibly attached to the soil under conditions which constitute a flagrant disregard of the true principles of political economy. In the south of Russia the harvests have been failing, not so much from drought as from the ravages of beetles and worms, produced by slovenly cultivation and shallow ploughing. The immediate consequence of the expropriation of lands to the peasantry was a struggle for existence between the lord and the ex-serf. The former found himself after the Emancipation without labourers. After the liquidation of his debt to the State Land Bank (‘Orphans’ Court’), the balance which he received in Government stock was to a great extent dissipated in the gayer cities of Europe, and, in a smaller degree, employed in

in the purchase of agricultural machinery, with which he hoped to overcome his dependence on free labour. Many proprietors availed themselves of the means thus afforded to them, to increase the area of the land which they cultivated; but they eventually succumbed to surrounding influences and to the competition of the agricultural masses. Their farming operations were rendered precarious by the frequent outbreak of disease among the cattle of the peasantry, which necessarily reached their own, owing to the rudeness of the rural administration and its neglect of precautionary measures. The supply of labour for which machinery could not conveniently or profitably be substituted was also precarious and sporadic, proceeding as it did from a population irregularly massed and compelled to cultivate the allotments, whether barren or fertile, which had been to a great extent forced upon them with the object of attaching them to the soil and converting them into landed proprietors. In order to secure a sufficient number of hands for harvesting, the landed proprietors of the less thickly populated provinces were in the habit of sending agents to distant and more populous districts for the purpose of making contracts for labour. This system necessitated the payment of hand-money, which was not unfrequently lost, owing to the practical difficulty of enforcing the execution of such contracts by process of law.

The pecuniary means procured by the landowner from the State were already exhausted, when the speculative mania of ten years ago induced the creation of numerous provincial land-banks, in which the majority of the landed estates were immediately mortgaged. The payment of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and more on loans which were, like the State advances, either squandered or unskilfully and unfortunately employed in agriculture, finally overwhelmed the landed nobility and gentry in ruin, and caused them to abandon almost entirely the cultivation of land. Even the large sums which they had realized from the sale of forests in the more wooded parts of the Empire were dissipated or sunk in fruitless attempts to cultivate the land with advantage. They were in reality forced by another consideration to dispose of their property in timber, for they found it practically impossible to prevent the robbery of woods and forests by the peasantry. The destruction of those forests on so large a scale must necessarily have influenced the climate in a manner disadvantageous to agriculture.

The collapse of the large landed interest advanced *pari passu* with the impoverishment of the free peasant proprietors, and of those who had remained under the conditions of perpetual fixity

of tenure granted to them by the Act of Emancipation. One of the first impulses of the emancipated serf was to obtain his liberation from the thralldom of patriarchal family communism, from which he had in reality suffered as much as from the arbitrary rule of the lord. A division and subdivision of families began soon after 1861, and, although partially checked by the Central Government, has continued to this day in a ratio that places the majority of adult peasants at the head of separate households. Under the first impulse of freedom, fathers and sons dissolved a partnership in which the father alone had been purse-bearer. Brothers divided the common stock of oxen, sheep, horses, and implements, and commenced life with a new energy, building their own cottages and tilling their own allotments. But this dissolution of family communities, effected at some cost in building and so forth, soon began to reduce the peasantry to comparative indigence. The partition of farm-stock and implements had a baneful effect on the cultivation of the subdivided lands, rudely as they had been cultivated before. Released from the more or less interested control of the lord and the family patriarch, the ex-serf was impelled, by a natural reaction, to make the widest possible use of his new liberty. This was manifested in an increased consumption of spirits, in the multiplication of holidays, and in a very general decline of morality, coincident with a growing neglect of religious observances. The improvident happy-go-lucky tendency, which the Russian Slav and the Irish Celt exhibit alike, received a still fuller development, and gradually the despair, which soon succeeded the happy anticipations derived from freedom, completed the demoralization and impoverishment of the agricultural classes. Their self-government, established on a basis of independence unknown to any other country in Europe, succumbed, first gradually then rapidly, to the same influences, until the Imperial Government was compelled, in the interest of the peasants themselves as well as in that of the State, to curtail that independence by a series of administrative measures, the most important of these being the subjection of village mayors and scribes to the authority of the local police.

Although many Russian authorities, with an evident view to the attainment of certain political ends, are inclined to ascribe the very general breakdown of the peasant self-government to the interference of a bureaucracy assumed to be jealous of and alarmed at the exercise of such wide privileges by the lower classes, yet no impartial student of the evidence laid before the Imperial Commission of 1872 can deny that the result of non-interference

interference on the part of the Central Government would certainly have been the development of still greater social anarchy and administrative misrule.

The law of communal and cantonal organization, which formed part of the Emancipation Act, established practically a system of rural commonwealths. In the repartition of lands, in the assessment of taxes, in the settlement of civil claims, and in the punishment of delinquencies not amounting to a crime, the general laws of the Empire do not interfere between the rural Courts and the peasants who are subjected to them. Cantonal Judges—unlettered peasants—may pass a sentence of imprisonment for seven days, impose a fine of 8s., or inflict a punishment of twenty strokes with a rod, while a commune may cause any member, who may, by a majority of two-thirds, at a meeting of one-half of the peasants of a village, be pronounced to be 'vicious or pernicious,' to be banished or otherwise disposed of by the Government. By means of the passport system, the object of which is mainly to ensure the collection of the poll-tax and the repayment of advances made by the State for the purchase of land, the communes and cantons are able to bring within their jurisdiction peasants nominally attached to villages, but following a variety of occupations in distant provinces or towns. The commune or canton has only to refuse the renewal of a passport, in order to place its bearer in a position which compels him to return and submit to the will of his fellows; and, unless he is able to propitiate the latter by money and strong drinks, he is liable to incur serious losses and annoyances, and even to be flogged on some plausible pretext.

In the course of time the extraordinary powers thus placed in the hands of the uncivilized masses became centred in the village mayors. The exercise of that office, although attended with much worry and labour, gradually devolved on the most affluent or otherwise influential member of a commune. It afforded opportunities of amassing wealth by the lending of money at an exorbitant rate of interest, on the security of land or crops, to peasants who had no ready money for the payment of taxes and other charges. As the rural administration became more complicated and minute in its relations towards the Central Government, the village mayors were forced to seek coadjutors in persons termed 'scribes,' who conducted their correspondence and kept their books. These two typical worthies resemble very strongly the class of 'village tyrants' so well known in Ireland. They have been reinforced by bands of land speculators, strictly analogous in character and occupation to Irish middlemen.

middlemen. In the south and west of the Empire these are mostly Jews and Greeks, and in the remaining provinces of Russia native traders or peasants who have exceptionally become rich.

As the landed nobility and gentry found it less and less possible to cultivate their estates with free labour, the middlemen stepped in and took them over, frequently at an almost nominal rent, for the purpose either of producing corn on a large and cheap scale, or of sub-letting lands to the peasantry, who, having exhausted the fertility of their own allotments, could no longer exist without hiring more and more of the land contiguous to their holdings, even at a rent in money or kind which was sometimes 75 per cent. in excess of what the speculator had contracted to pay to the lord. The landed proprietors had previously to a great extent leased lands to their ex-serfs on the *métayer* system, receiving in most cases one-half of the crops, and not unfrequently as much as two-thirds. But, as these arrangements were mostly from year to year, and the temporary tenants only exhausted the soil without returning anything to it, the unsatisfactory result of the crops thus raised compelled the landlords to enter into dealings on a larger scale, and on more permanent and secure money terms, with the speculators above mentioned.

As in Ireland, the absenteeism of the larger landowners had always been a crying evil in Russia, and one of the salient consequences of the creation of 'peasant proprietors' has been an almost total abandonment of even temporary residence on private estates, which are now only occasionally visited, for the purpose of taking stock of the ruin in which the ancestral acres have been overwhelmed.

Under the influence of the speculator, and in part owing to the construction of railways and to the depreciated value of the paper currency, the price and the rent of land have been rapidly increasing, until, as Mr. Janson shows, they are in a considerable part of Russia entirely out of proportion to the value of the produce which the now exhausted land is able to yield. He states that in twelve of the provinces of the 'Zone without Black soil,' where the peasant holdings average from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres, the allotments, with the addition of the lands hired by the peasantry, scarcely suffice to provide them with food, leaving no margin whatever for the payment of taxes, rent, and 'redemption dues' (1s. 7d. per acre). In a great number of districts the quantity of corn raised is insufficient even for the maintenance of the peasantry. The Crown peasants in the same provinces pay an average of only

only 8*d.* per acre, and yet their condition is little better than that of the ex-serfs of landed proprietors. The quantity and value of the crops being very small, the total charges that fall on the land, inclusive of Imperial and local taxes, represent an average of 134 per cent. in St. Petersburg, 205 per cent. in Moscow, and as much as 276 per cent. in Pskof, of the net income derived from the land. The disproportion is still more startling in the case of those peasants who, instead of redeeming their land with the aid of the State, have remained perpetual tenants at a capitation rent, which rent is everywhere and purposely in excess of the charge made by the Government for 'redemption.' It may therefore be asked how the peasants of those provinces contrive to keep body and soul together. Mr. Janson replies that the deficit on the farming of allotments is made good to a certain extent by 'extraneous earnings' derived from small local industries, from labour in wooded districts (cutting timber) and on rivers (towing barges, and so forth). In purely agricultural districts, the peasant attempts to supplement his income by hiring at rack-rent the land of neighbouring proprietors, from whom he also hires meadows and woodlands at a capitation rent of from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 8*s.* per male.

All these resources, however, including migration in summer, in search of agricultural labour, to the most distant extremities of the Empire, are insufficient to raise the 'peasant proprietors' of the zone in question from a condition of bankruptcy. For many years past they have been falling hopelessly into arrears with their poll-tax, capitation rent, redemption dues, &c. The amount of agricultural produce raised by them has been for many years steadily on the decline; the quantity of land under tillage, both of landowners and peasants, has been growing smaller and smaller, and owing to the exhaustion of the soil cultivation has in many instances been entirely abandoned.

In spite of the communal and passport systems, entire villages in the neighbourhood of Moscow and in the province of Novgorod have been deserted, and their former inhabitants have dispersed no one knows whither. An intelligent writer says: 'All the Russian peasants are now in reality, with few exceptions, mere paupers, as the land which they cultivate does not yield sufficient for their subsistence.' Although the population, says Mr. Janson, had increased 6·6 per cent. between 1856 and 1871, the land ploughed and sown in thirteen provinces during the same period decreased 14·6 per cent., and the yield of corn 27·8 per cent. The cattle and horses diminished 17·6 per cent., or in a greater proportion than even the decrease of tillage.

In the black-soil zone a considerable portion of the ex-serfs
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of private landowners have purchased their allotments, and about one-third of the total number have accepted as free gifts the quarter statutory allotment and their homesteads, in settlement of all obligatory relations between themselves and the lord. If holding at a capitation rent, they pay from 1s. 8d. to 3s. per acre, and a general average of 1s. 10d. per acre if 'redeeming' their allotments with State aid. The peasants on Crown lands, however, pay a rent which averages only 9d. per acre. In the central parts of this zone the allotments to the Crown peasants average above 11½ acres, and those of the larger class of ex-serfs only average about 8 acres, which would give farms of 16 or 17 acres, the average number of 'souls' (entitled to an allotment) in a peasant family being two, out of a household of five persons.* Taking into account also the Imperial and local taxes, the total charge on the land throughout this zone averages, as regards these two categories of ex-serfs, 1s. 5½d. and 2s. 11d. per acre, the lower charge falling on the peasants cultivating Crown lands.

Mr. Janson proves that neither the average sized allotments of the ex-serfs of proprietors, nor the statutory *maximum* allotments, nor the still larger allotments of the Crown peasants, are sufficient to provide for the Imperial and other charges, and to meet the most urgent requirements of the cultivators, beyond their scanty food. The black-soil zone having retained its purely agricultural character, the peasantry find but little employment in local industries. In comparison with the mass of labour agglomerated there, the factories, beetroot-sugarworks, cloth-mills, and distilleries, are exceedingly few in number, while the small trades and industries pursued in villages are in the lowest possible stage of development, and afford employment to only an insignificant number of workmen.

It is, therefore, by the cultivation of lands outside their own allotments that the peasantry seek to balance their budgets. This is being pursued under conditions most disadvantageous both to the peasant and the landlord; the former paying an exceedingly high rent in money or kind, the latter suffering his land to be barbarously exhausted by yearly tenants. Mr. Janson states that, pressed by want and unaccustomed to value their labour, the peasantry have submitted to the most onerous terms for the tenancy of supplementary patches of land. For the lease of 1 acre they will agree to cultivate 1, 1½ and even 2 acres for the landlord, frequently providing their own seed. Our authority, writing in 1877, affirms that, in four of the most central

* It is necessary to bear in mind that the allotments per 'soul' practically represent farms of at least double the area.

corn-growing provinces, when rents were paid in money, they were from 9*s.* 4*d.* to 18*s.* 8*d.* per acre for winter sowing, and from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 18*s.* 8*d.* for land sown in summer. Further east, in districts beyond the Volga, where land is more abundant, the rent is quoted by Mr. Janson at 3*s.* 8*d.* to 6*s.* 5*d.* per acre. Since that period, however, the rent of land in the black-soil zone has been continually rising, owing chiefly to the progressive exhaustion of the soil by barbarous culture and the demand for fresh land on the part of the peasantry. That rise has been from time to time arrested by the failure of harvests; but the next relatively good crop has again stimulated it—a rise to which the only limit will be the final ruin of the cultivators. The supply of fresh land cannot possibly keep pace with the demand, and already Professor Janson states that ‘in the thickly populated parts of the black-soil zone the peasants have ploughed up everything that could be ploughed—woodlands, the slopes of ravines, and even dried-up ponds. In some districts from 70 to 80 per cent. of the land is under tillage. To the detriment of the future productiveness of the soil, even part of the meadow-lands has been tilled. In entire villages the proportion of grass-lands to tillage is only from 10 to 15 per cent.’

In the Steppe country of the black-soil zone, embracing the greater portion of the province of Kherson, as well as Ekaterinoslav, the Taurida (Crimea), the Don Province, the southern parts of Saratov and Samara, and parts of the provinces of Ufa and Orenburg, the agricultural population is a little more favourably circumstanced. As a rule, the Crown peasants who cultivate the Steppes are relatively well off, and in some districts even affluent; but Mr. Janson insists that the ex-serfs of the nobility and gentry in the same districts have found their original allotments too small for their maintenance, and that the renting of private lands is almost as great a necessity for them as for the peasants of the black-soil zone. He shows also that, as elsewhere in Russia, it is not so much the smallness of the allotments as the rude manner in which they are cultivated, and their consequent exhaustion, that compels the holders to hire more land. The three-field system of agriculture which they pursue, and which was abandoned in Europe two centuries ago, has the same disastrous consequences as in other parts of Russia. No manure is used, and the corn is threshed out by driving horses or waggons over it. In order, moreover, to avoid a general failure of the harvest in a country without streams and where there is sometimes no rainfall while the corn is growing, the peasants are in the habit of sowing large tracts of land at three different periods

periods of the year. Even under the long fallow system, which a certain portion of the peasantry pursue in the Steppe country, the statutory allotments are generally insufficient. All these causes are driving the peasant tide farther and farther east, where they hire large tracts of land, either direct from the Crown Domains and private landowners, or from the land speculators of whom we have already spoken.

We conclude our review of Professor Janson's revelations by reproducing his statements in respect to that part of Russia in Europe in which the attempt to render the peasantry prosperous and independent of their former taskmasters was undertaken under circumstances more favourable than in any other group of provinces in the Empire. The part of Russia in question embraces the nine north-western and south-western provinces, anciently belonging to Poland.

The Polish insurrection of 1863 was followed by enactments intended finally to detach the peasantry from an aristocracy and gentry, which had proved generally disloyal towards the Imperial Government. The allotments of 1861 were increased by 25 to 70 per cent., while the charges on them were reduced by 60 per cent. and more in the south-western, and by 2 to 16 per cent. in the north-western provinces. These concessions resulted in raising the average area of allotments to about 11 acres, and in reducing the 'redemption rate' (purchase having also been made compulsory on the peasantry) to an average of 1s. per acre. Mr. Janson estimates that the total charges on the peasant allotments, inclusive of State and other taxes, amount to only 1s. 9d. per acre, ranging from 1s. in the province of Minsk to 3s. in that of Kiev. The Crown peasants in the same provinces had previously been treated with still greater liberality. Their allotments average 15 acres, and the 'redemption' 8d. per acre, while the gross charges on the land give an average of 3d. per acre less than those laid on the other class of ex-serfs.

What then is the result of Mr. Janson's enquiries into the condition of this specially favoured group of peasant proprietors? 'The great mass of the peasantry in the western provinces, notwithstanding the assistance which they derived from the Ukases of 1863, are unable, by a long way, not only to pay the taxes and other charges on their allotments, but even to derive from the latter the means of supporting their families.' He further states that in the most fertile parts of the south-western provinces 'the budgets of peasant households show great deficits.' In the Polésié district 'the peasants have not even sufficient bread.'

bread.' In another, 'ordinary crops on all the lands under cultivation would give each adult inhabitant only 20 ounces of baked bread per diem.' In the province of Mohilev the soil is either exhausted or little fertile. 'The charges on the land (from 6½d. to 1s. 6d. per acre) are so high, that the peasantry frequently request to be allowed to abandon their allotments and to migrate to other provinces.' There is but little employment for the peasantry of these provinces on the estates of landowners, who prefer leasing their lands to former servants and to Jews possessing a small amount of capital. Almost as a rule, the peasantry, owing to their having an insufficient stock of cattle and agricultural implements, are unable to hire land, even at the comparatively low rate at which they might sometimes procure it.

Professor Janson sums up the general results of his investigation in the following words :

'The condition of the masses of the peasantry is very similar, from the northern borders of the province of Viatka and the Steppes of Orenburg and Samara, to the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia and Lithuania, from the morasses of Novgorod to the Steppes of New Russia. We have found everywhere only a slight provision for bare existence, particularly as regards that portion of the rural masses which the great Act of 1861 had summoned to flourish and prosper under free labour. Bad nourishment, bad physical and moral conditions of life, great unhealthiness, and a high rate of mortality, have all been produced more immediately by the poverty of the population ; and if that poverty proceeds on its own part from a weakness of moral force and a deficiency of labouring energy, the latter causes must be traced back to past ages of serfdom. Poverty is kept up in one part of the Empire by the sterility of the soil to which the population is practically attached, in another by the smallness of the allotments which the peasants cannot abandon. In some localities there is no more available land ; in others an absence of all "extraneous" work, and from both these causes a low remuneration of labour ; lastly, the general poverty is increased by the great weight of taxation, State, provincial and local.'

He concludes by pointing out, as a last cause of the misery to which the peasantry of Russia have been reduced, the high rent which they are compelled to pay for additional land 'which barely affords the means of existence to the cultivator.'

Other authorities, while unanimous on the impoverishment of the agricultural classes, differ from Mr. Janson in respect to some of the causes above enumerated. Prince Vasilchikoff, for instance, thinks that the distress is simply the outcome of that liberty and that equality of rights, which were granted by the Emancipation Act and subsequent laws, and which have produced

duced an inequality of conditions, causing some peasants to grow richer, others poorer. His argument is, in fact, that in the economical struggle the fittest amongst the peasantry are surviving, while the weakest are going to the wall and becoming *prolétariats* or paupers, the formation of which class, however, it had been the principal object of the Emancipation Act to prevent. The Prince also ascribes the indisputable decline of agriculture in Russia to a cause which operates in all thickly populated countries, in which the primitive area of cultivable lands becomes too small for the inhabitants in process of time, and in which it becomes necessary to substitute the 'intensive' for the 'extensive' system of agriculture. The same authority is of opinion that when the density of population reaches a maximum of 70 to 90 inhabitants to the English square mile, there is no longer room for it, so far as Russia is concerned. Mr. Kosheleff, another authority of great weight, denies that the principal cause of misery in Russia is the insufficient area of allotments. The root of the evil lies, in his opinion, in the barbarous system of cultivating the soil. The allotments may be too small in certain localities, but the larger holdings which have been so liberally bestowed on the peasantry of the Crown are not better cultivated than the rest, and it cannot be said that they have rendered the proprietors prosperous. The same observation applies to the ex-serfs of landowners who acquired full statutory allotments, and who 'sometimes let portions of their land and even sell their standing crops, in order to meet their dire necessities.' This writer, like most other native authorities and the entire Russian Press, lays much stress on the 'high' rate charged by the Government for the redemption of peasant lands and on the severe measures adopted for its collection, resulting, as they do, in the sale of farm stock and a diminution of the number of cattle kept by the peasantry. The almost unanimous opinion is, that the redemption dues will have to be considerably reduced, if not entirely abolished, over the greater part of Russia. That conclusion is apparently shared even in official circles, for a Commission has been appointed to enquire into the subject, and it is already reported from St. Petersburg that the Imperial Government has in contemplation the immediate reduction of those dues by 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 roubles per annum, or more than 25 per cent. of the annual assessment, which is now about 43,000,000 roubles. It is also more than probable that the arrears into which the peasantry have been falling in respect to the payment of those dues, to the extent altogether of about 17,000,000 roubles, will be expunged almost totally from the public accounts, together with the

the existing large arrears of the poll tax. It is further, we find, proposed that the capital of 15,000,000 roubles realized by the redemption operation should be applied towards the extinction of the peasant debt. Under these circumstances the capital of 100,000,000*l.* sterling expended in the attempt to convert the serfs into contented peasant proprietors has to a considerable extent become practically irrecoverable.

It is true that the redemption dues constitute in reality a temporary Imperial tax, and that consequently the entire incidence of taxation must be taken into account in estimating the capacity of the peasant proprietor to bear the financial burdens which have been laid upon him. The Imperial Budget has very nearly doubled in amount during the last twenty years, while the increase of population during the same period has not amounted to 25 per cent. New taxes have also meanwhile been imposed by the territorial and peasant institutions for local purposes. It is likewise urged, on behalf of the theory that the total taxation of the country is in excess of the producing powers on which it falls, that the agricultural classes (above 80 per cent. of the population) bear at least three-fourths of the burden of supporting the State and its local administration, the proportion of direct taxes, for example, which fall on the peasant class being 86 per cent. of their gross total. This is unquestionably true, but it is difficult to see how the incidence of taxation can be materially redistributed in a country which possesses only the germ of a middle class, and of which the upper classes, small as they are relatively in numbers, possess accumulations of debt rather than of wealth. Meanwhile, the Report of the Auditor-General of the Empire for the year 1879 shows that the total amount of ordinary revenue during that year was (at the approximate present rate of exchange) about 60 millions sterling, and that 37 per cent. of that revenue* was derived from the excise on spirits, consumed almost entirely by a peasantry which is now found unable to pay 1*s.* 9*d.*, and in the western provinces 1*s.* per acre, for the interest and sinking fund on the capital advanced by the State for the purchase of land, which throughout a considerable part of the country had once no equal in Europe as regards natural fertility.

It is also more than doubtful whether the most uncompromising agitator for 'fair rents' in Ireland would find 3*s.* per acre an excessive charge on land consisting of rich black loam to the depth of a yard and more; and we have seen

* The revenue under this head showed an increase of 48 per cent. between the years 1866 and 1879.

that such is the maximum amount of all the taxes (including the redemption rate) that falls on peasant allotments in the central provinces of the black-soil zone. We learn indeed from Professor Janson's investigations, that in some of the provinces of that zone the voluntary *rent* paid by the peasants for additional land ranges from 5s. 6d. to 18s. 8d. per acre; while in the more distant Steppe districts they pay from 3s. 8d. to 6s. 5d. per acre. The result, it is alleged by eminent Russian authorities, is exactly the same; whether the peasantry cultivate land which they hold as 'proprietors' at 1s. 9d., or as yearly tenants at 18s. 8d. per acre. The soil is in both cases practically scourged and exhausted, and famine, or at all events semi-starvation, has consequently become the general feature of Russian peasant life.

This dismal and painful picture of wholesale indigence, drawn entirely from the most patriotic Russian sources, may appear incredible to those who have adopted different conclusions from the statistics of the exportation of breadstuffs from Russia. The apparent inconsistency requires explanation. It is undoubtedly a fact that, until the present time, Russia has continued to supply the European market with an ever-increasing quantity of corn, and that between the years 1870 and 1878 that supply was almost exactly doubled. The solution of this phenomenon has recently been given in the Russian 'St. Petersburg Gazette.' It explains that, since the quantity of corn sown is almost the same as it was twenty years ago, and since also the quantity reaped during the same period—(according to official statistics, which if not absolutely, must be relatively correct, taking one year with another)—has decreased by 19 per cent., the increased quantity of cereals sold by the peasantry represents the exhaustion of stores and reserves, and the privations to which the peasantry have subjected themselves under the pressure of the tax-gatherer and the allurements of a rise in price produced by a considerable depreciation of the paper currency.

It is admitted on all sides that the peasantry consume less food and of an inferior quality to that which they used ten years ago, or before the emancipation, and there is consequently great force in the argument, that a very small diminution in the consumption per head of a population of some ninety millions would produce the increased supply sent out of the country. The evidently correct solution is, that extreme want and a depreciated currency have stimulated exportation, and thereby intensified, on the whole, the evils under which the country is suffering. A similar argument is applicable to the exportation
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of cattle, which has continued to increase, notwithstanding that a considerable proportion of the agricultural masses have long been unable to cultivate their fields with advantage, owing to the want of manure. Russian official Reports attest that the quantity of cattle kept in the country in 1851 was exactly the same as in 1876; and that within the last three years the number of cattle in the province of St. Petersburg has decreased by 800,000 head and in that of Moscow by 1,000,000.

Making every allowance for the increased use of tallow in the country itself, it appears indisputable that the falling off in the export of that product is mainly attributable to the relative diminution of the stock of cattle in Russia. Within the last few years Russia has become an importer of foreign tallow, the manufacture of composite candles being now to some extent dependent on the supply of that product from South America. As regards also the item of wool, the commercial world was startled last year by the announcement that English Colonial wool had begun to find a market in the southern ports of Russia. Certainly not less startling, and not less conclusive in respect to the deteriorated and precarious condition of agriculture in Russia, was the recent importation into St. Petersburg of several cargoes of American wheat; while the last remnants of the grain stores of Odessa were, during the same season, sent back into the interior of the country, as far as Moscow, for home consumption.

These observations must conclude our review of the present condition of 'peasant-proprietors' in Russia; but it may be of some benefit, in view of the approaching solution of the Irish Land Question, to cast a glance over the remedies that are proposed by the Russian critics from whom our sketch of the results of emancipation has been mainly drawn.

Those who allege that the impoverishment of the peasantry has been caused by the insufficiency of their allotments, logically recommend their increase by a further expropriation of land, with State aid, and on terms to be settled with the landowners. Such terms must naturally be more onerous, at all events to the State, than those on which the ex-serfs were converted into 'proprietors' in 1861 and 1863, since the nominal value of private property has doubled and trebled since those periods. The advocates of this measure desire, in fact, to repeat the previous experiment of converting the peasantry into small farmers attached to the soil by their indebtedness to the State, and consequently retained in the condition of *adscripti glebæ*.

This proposal is, however, invariably accompanied by a recommendation to the effect that the present redemption dues,

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as well as the poll and other direct taxes, should be lowered ; but it is difficult to see how the Imperial Government, while sacrificing on the one hand a great part of the capital already advanced to the peasantry, will on the other be able to afford a further subvention, simultaneously with an appreciable reduction of taxation. It is really idle to suppose that the Budget of the Empire admits of any large reduction. The disbandment of the army—one of the largest items of expenditure—is a practical impossibility, not so much in reference to the foreign policy of the country as to its internal requirements. If official corruption is to be eradicated, the salaries of civil servants will have to be considerably raised. Every effort must continue to be made to meet the obligations of the State towards its foreign and domestic creditors. Considering also the dilapidated economical condition of the country, as represented by more than 80 per cent. of its population, there is no hope of any improvement in the value of the paper currency. The price of domestic commodities, although very considerably enhanced, has not yet been fully affected by the depreciation of the paper rouble, but such a result is inevitable, and the expenditure of the State must suffer a proportionate increase.

Another group of Russian politicians recommends the supplying of the peasantry with capital at a low rate of interest, for they show that the simple ownership of land is not sufficient to render a peasantry prosperous. The possession of land, in a country which is in such a low state of development as Russia, is a burden rather than a benefit, unless the proprietors have a certain amount of capital in money, cattle, agricultural implements, and above all, a stock of practical knowledge, thrift, and morality. Nevertheless the 'St. Petersburg Gazette' insisted only a few days ago that it is absolutely necessary to expend at once a sum of about forty millions sterling in loans for the restoration of the disorganized labour power of the peasantry.

There is only a faint agitation in favour of the abolition of the communal system and that of 'frankpledge' intimately connected with it. It is felt that those evils must gradually disappear with the impending reduction of the 'redemption dues,' and more especially on the abrogation of poll taxation which has long been loudly demanded. Although there can be no doubt that the communal system has exercised a most baneful effect on the Russian people from a moral point of view, yet it is still an open question with many Russian authorities of eminence, whether it has been equally disastrous as a form of land tenure. Taking into account the migratory tendency of the Russian people, their unpreparedness for individual enterprise,

prise, and the habits which they had contracted during so many centuries of serfdom, it may well be doubted whether they would have cultivated their fields any better, or shown a more favourable general result within the period that has elapsed since their emancipation, if the load of responsibility in respect to taxes and rent had been thrown upon them individually instead of collectively. The oppression of the commune (which is at present largely exercised by 'local tyrants' and many 'mauvais sujets') has replaced the previous control and exceptional tyranny of the former serf-proprietor, who is no longer called upon or able to provide for the aged and the infirm, to lend cattle and seed to the peasantry, and generally to look after their interests in the furtherance of his own. The periodical repartition of land has already grown into partial disuse under the operation of the same economic laws which centuries ago produced similar results in the rest of Europe, as well as more recently in India. In any case, the best Russian authorities seldom attribute the present misery of the peasantry to the communal institutions which, on the contrary, a large class of Panslavistic patriots desire to see perpetuated, in the expectation that they will at no distant date supply a basis for the establishment of a 'commune of the whole land.'

We may here explain, although not with the object of defending the communal system, that the Russian rural commune is merely a village with a certain quantity of land allotted for the common benefit of its inhabitants, who are divided into *tiagló's*, or labour and rent units, each of which is not only entitled, but as a rule compelled, to take an exact share of the communal land and of the burdens which fall indirectly upon it. The proceeds of the labour of those units are not paid into a common fund and subsequently divided. Consequently, the modern Western ideal of co-operative labour plays no part in what is known as the Russian communal system.

It would occupy too much space if we enquired into the whole series of reforms and measures in respect to land tenure, which are at present advocated in Russia with a violence and urgency which must inevitably absorb almost entirely, and certainly most immediately, the attention of the new Sovereign and his advisers. We cannot, however, avoid noticing the advocacy of a measure which, in the opinion of many English statesmen and economists, would be of equal efficacy if applied in the present crisis to Ireland. That measure, in respect to which there is no dissentient voice in Russia, and the adoption of which by the Imperial Government is undoubtedly impending, is an organized redistribution and 'scattering' of the population. In Russia

that measure is styled 'migration,' for it implies the transfer of a local excess of population to thinly-inhabited lands within the same country. In Ireland it takes the form of 'emigration' beyond the seas to British Colonies. This panacea is urged upon the attention of the Russian Government by all who have practically studied the development of the peasant question in Russia since the emancipation of 1861. Prince Vasilchikoff's estimate of the limit beyond which the soil of Russia cannot support a population in a low stage of civilization would, according to the 'St. Petersburg Gazette,' necessitate the displacement of five or six millions, out of a population of twenty-four millions at present almost starving on the exhausted lands of the black-soil zone.

We may now in conclusion submit that, if there be any soundness in the argument with which we commenced, namely that there exists a considerable degree of analogy between the ethnical characteristics and the moral and material condition of the Irish and Russian peasantry, it will surely be wise to pause before we imitate past Russian legislation in the direction of artificially creating peasant proprietorship on an extensive and indiscriminate scale by the simple process of issuing State bonds to landowners, who will naturally be ready, as in Russia after 1861, to capitalize their precarious rents and clear out of the country.

Those who have followed us in this long and necessarily intricate enquiry will also perhaps be convinced, that well-established economic laws cannot be violated with impunity in the prosecution of an amiable desire to introduce, in the nineteenth century, a condition of primitive Arcadian felicity by a redistribution of the land amongst the tillers of the soil. Within a period of only twenty years such an experiment has reduced the Russian peasant to a lower level than that on which he stood when he was a mere serf; it has exhausted the productiveness of the once rich soil of the country, a great part of which has fallen into the hands of rapacious middlemen and speculators; and it has inflicted the greatest possible injury on the State, by stunting the development of its upper and middle territorial classes without benefiting the masses, by breeding discontent and feeding Nihilism, and lastly by crippling financial resources almost entirely dependent on the abundance of the fruits of the earth.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B.* By Louis Fagan. In two volumes. London, 1880.
 2. *Lettere ad Antonio Panizzi.* Pubblicate da Luigi Fagan. Firenze, 1880.
 3. *Prosper Mérimée. Lettres à Panizzi, 1850–1870.* Publiées par M. Louis Fagan. 2 vols. Paris, 1881.

THE volumes at the head of the present article form what may appear at first sight to be a bulkier memorial than is warranted by the subject. Sir Anthony Panizzi was, however, a very remarkable man. His was one of those existences, the richness of which is much in excess of what appears on the surface. It is true his memory cannot be associated prominently with facts that strike the imagination. Though an assiduous man of letters and an eager student, his name cannot be identified with any literary production of decidedly original character. He was a painstaking commentator of classical texts in his native tongue; he contributed to English periodicals articles marked by a vigour of style doubly remarkable in a foreigner, and he wrote one monograph on a point of cinquecento antiquarianism, which can lay claim to the merit of a discovery interesting to bibliophiles and lovers of quaint lore. The central fact of Sir Anthony's life is his connection with the British Museum, and the great Reading-room stands as the capital monument of the large-minded spirit in which he administered that institution.

A life productive, apparently, of no greater achievements would hardly seem to warrant our ascribing commanding qualities to its subject. The volumes before us nevertheless put it beyond question that Panizzi possessed such qualities in a high degree. He was eminently endowed with a faculty the most apt for the assertion of ascendancy—the faculty of directness of purpose, and of inspiring elevating energy and largeness of aim into the ordinary dealings of life. These qualities have invariably distinguished those who have exercised notable influence over their contemporaries. Cavour, when at his country seat, would enter into matters relating to the husbandry of his estates with the same vivifying eagerness and mastery of details, with which in Turin he would work out far-reaching combinations of policy. So, in the administration of the British Museum, Panizzi displayed unfaltering elevation of aim, together with a force of will and aptitude for overcoming obstacles, which stamp him as having been of the stuff out of which were wrought the great Italian Podestas of the olden times—masterful men who, through strength of character and a marvellous dexterity of intellect,

contrived to make their fellow-townsmen bow to their will as by a spell, leaving at death the cities they had ruled over, noble monuments of stately splendour which command the admiration of posterity.

In Panizzi's exterior there was a burly roughness, the big-grained roughness of a granite-like nature; his speech had often the sledge-hammer blow natural to a tongue that had the habit of speaking straight and sharply to the purpose. The man's build in every sense was large and powerful and emphatic. His temperament was thoroughly strong and masterful in all its impulses, therefore also hot and hasty, and at times, when nettled, even overbearing. His sympathies were generous and vehement—often imperiously vehement; at the same time they were enduring—a point to be well noted. No ephemeral warmth and no fickleness entered into his passionate likings and dislikes. He was a fast friend, and a furiously outspoken, but never a malicious, enemy. He would easily fly into towering passions, but he was incapable of treachery. His judgment was quick and discerning, but apt to be almost relentlessly cutting, as is common with natures having an inborn faculty for command, and consequently affected with irrepressible impatience at any exhibition of inability for the prompt execution of their behests. He was largely endowed also with the suppleness of intellect that distinguishes the really superior Italian politicians;—not a knack of vulgar wile—a mere counterfeit of true craft, which can spin itself only into trickery, but a genuine brain-power, the outcoming of keen shrewdness sustained by marvellous readiness of resource, which can weave plans of strategy from a far distance, and then noiselessly work them out with admirable constancy and adroitness, till in time success is often achieved with the seeming suddenness of a surprise.

These qualities, and the knowledge due to industry, constituted the whole fortune wherewith Panizzi won for himself a position in which he consorted ultimately, on a footing of intimacy and of equality, with persons of the highest social and intellectual standing in this country and on the Continent. Having arrived in this country, absolutely without introductions, a penniless refugee, who kept himself from starvation by giving lessons, he lived to become the close friend of many of our chief statesmen—on occasions the depository of their special confidence; and this position was attained without recourse to false artifice, for never was a man less prone than Panizzi to fawn on the mighty for the sake of basking in the sunshine of their favour. These English confidences led to others from abroad;
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the secretiveness and singular value of this Italian as a confidant being appreciated by men in high positions on the Continent. He became even an important person in European politics; and he had no small share in the various negotiations and schemes which eventually led to the establishment of a United Italian kingdom. Again, as the Keeper of our National Library, the greatest treasure-house in the world of letters—himself a mine of quaint reading—whose vigorous nature brimmed over with a healthy craving for hilarious fun and enjoyment, and whose mind had the relish of a cinquecento palate for the arabesque-like liberties of free wit—he was thrown into sympathetic connection with choice spirits from many countries, as they came on their pilgrimage of study to the great institution over which he presided. Lastly, to the end there glowed without abatement in Panizzi the patriotic ardour, which in the days of his youth impelled him to volunteer in a forlorn hope for the deliverance of his country. Under the anodyne of prosperity he never became listless to early aspirations, nor did he at any time show himself callous to those privations in others, of which he himself at one time had fully experienced the bitterness.

The authentic facts known about his early life are scanty. He was born in 1799 of a well-connected middle-class family, at Brescello in the then Duchy of Modena. His grandfather had practised the law, his father was an apothecary. His mother was nearly related to the Cugini, a family of considerable standing and of pronounced clerical and reactionary sentiments, one of whom died a few years ago as Archbishop of Modena. Notwithstanding their wide difference of opinions, he ever remained on terms of affectionate intercourse with these Conservative cousins. Even in the very crisis of 1859, Panizzi, in spite of his close connection with Cavour, was a welcome guest in the family country house near Reggio. After having gone through the prescribed curriculum at the University of Parma, he graduated as Doctor of Laws, and entered upon the legal profession. Through the medium of the Cugini, he was started under exceptionally promising auspices. They recommended him to the Advocate Cocchi, then Procurator-Fiscal at Reggio, who enjoyed in an eminent degree the favour of the reigning Duke Francis IV.

‘One who knew Panizzi about this time,’ says Mr. Fagan, ‘thus describes his personal appearance: tall, thin, and of dark complexion, in temper somewhat hot and hasty, but of calm and cool judgment, which commanded respect, and caused him to be looked up to by all, . . . constantly engaged in reading, even while walking from his house

house to the office. . . . His powers of elocution were of no mean order; they were especially conspicuous in a lawsuit, in which he was engaged for the defence, and was opposed by the celebrated Advocate Tizzoni.'

Cocchi took a kindly interest in the intelligent young man, and helped him on more than one occasion. The statement, that 'he was looked up to by all,' is confirmed by the fact that at the age of twenty-one he was selected by the civic authorities of Brescello to be Inspector of the Communal Schools. These hopeful prospects were however abruptly closed. With all the ardent thoroughness of his nature and his years, he shared in the political yearnings which deeply stirred the hearts of his contemporaries. He connected himself with the secret organizations then on foot throughout the length and breadth of Italy, with the view of liberating the country from the thralldom under which it lay. These combinations led in 1820-21 to movements in Naples and Piedmont, attended by ephemeral successes that made the whole Peninsula vibrate. In Modena, actual insurrection was precluded by the presence of Austrian troops; but there was popular fermentation, marked by dark deeds, notably by the assassination of Besini, Chief of the Police, and the object of general detestation as the Duke's notorious henchman. Arrests on a vast scale ensued, and a special tribunal was installed in the citadel of Rubiera for the trial of political prisoners. The character of this court is sufficiently indicated by the circumstance, that the chief prosecutor Vedriani shrank from identification with its proceedings, and threw up his appointment. That there existed a serious plot is beyond question, and also that Panizzi was deeply implicated in it. He was not merely a sworn member of the Carbonaro brotherhood, but he was head-centre of the Modena branch. Mr. Fagan has it from Dr. Minzi, Panizzi's earliest and dearest friend, who still survives, 'that in the month of January 1821 he, Dr. Minzi, and an ex-captain of the Napoleonic army were admitted by Panizzi as members of the society, that such admission took place in Panizzi's own bedroom, and that he himself had been a member since the month of March 1820.' In the documents relating to Panizzi's subsequent trial, the time and place of other initiations, with the names of those sworn in, are stated with a circumstantial precision that must set at rest all doubt as to the truth of the charge. That under these circumstances he should have been able to remain at large for a considerable time, after the arrest of many of his friends, and ultimately to get away in safety, testifies to the astuteness with which he must have conducted his operations.

Mr. Fagan's

Mr. Fagan's account of the way in which Panizzi effected his escape is by no means accurate. He makes no mention of some capital incidents, while he has fallen into confusion in regard to others. We give the story as in part collected by enquiry at Brescello, chiefly of Signor Zatti, a relation of Panizzi, with whom he continued to correspond to the end of his life, and son of one of the gentlemen who enabled him to escape, and partly as gathered from Panizzi himself. He was fully aware that he was liable to be arrested, and he early took precautions for giving his enemies the slip. He had provided himself with what at that time it was most difficult to obtain, a passport *en règle* and duly *viséd*; and, armed with this instrument, he awaited events, trusting to friends for secret warning of any imminent peril. That warning came on October 22, according to Mr. Fagan, 'in a slight message summoning him to the police-office,' whither, he says, Panizzi innocently went, but 'had hardly reached the doors, when he was arrested.' Mr. Fagan then narrates how 'the man who arrested Panizzi proved to be a friend, and by the aid of this kindly official he was enabled to jump out of the window,' and to make his way across the frontier. But, in fact, Panizzi never was arrested at all at Brescello; he was enabled to escape through information received from two sources. Cocchi, who from his official position, was necessarily cognizant of intended arrests, caused an intimation of danger to reach Panizzi, and at the same time he received a preconcerted signal from a totally different quarter. There existed a close intimacy between Panizzi and a young lady very nearly related to a high police functionary. To her he had confided the danger which he knew was hanging over him; the lady pledged herself to keep vigilant watch over his safety, and it was arranged that, if a message came to him from her 'that he should get ready his new shoes,' this would signify that there was cause for him to fly. On the receipt of this preconcerted warning, he instantly betook himself to Borretto, a village a few miles off, where he passed that night, the ducal police arriving for his arrest a couple of hours later in Brescello, where they seized several of his friends. The next morning he succeeded in crossing the Po to Viandana, through the assistance of three friends, his cousin Zatti, Dr. Minzi, and Michele Montani, and from thence, thanks to his passport, he made his way by himself* to the house of a friend at Cremona,

* Mr. Fagan's words imply that Panizzi was accompanied in his flight from Viandana by those three friends, which is altogether wrong. Panizzi's own words in his letter to Minzi, printed by Mr. Fagan, vol. ii. p. 35, are enough of themselves to disprove the statement.

whom

whom he besought to provide a light conveyance in which he might prosecute his journey rapidly northwards. This was promised, and it was arranged that he should start after meals, when an unpleasant summons came for him from the police. The presentation of a perfectly regular passport puzzled the Austrian official, but did not dispel the suspicions awakened by the curious fact of a noted Liberal arriving from Brescello by the round-about route through Viandana. The functionary, being unwilling to proceed forthwith to actual arrest, ordered Panizzi to remain in a room at the police-station during the hours necessary for obtaining a reply from Brescello to his enquiries. From this station he was lucky enough to escape, not through a window, but simply by walking downstairs at a moment when he perceived that the functionary had gone to dinner. Turning his steps rapidly towards the spot where he had reason to suppose his friend might be waiting with a carriage, he found his anticipations realized, and proceeded at once to make the best of his way northwards, in which he was greatly aided by the lucky circumstance that his disappearance was not discovered till several hours after.

The assistance rendered him did not remain undiscovered. His friend was put under confinement for a considerable time, and, when released, found it advisable to leave the country with his wife and family. The man's subsequent career was strangely painful. He made his way to England, when Panizzi exerted himself with his habitual generosity to help him to the uttermost of his power, pecuniarily and otherwise. The man's abilities were, however, small, and, after unsuccessful trials in several directions, he chose to go to Paris, as in his opinion a less difficult place than London to get on in. Panizzi continued to give him assistance, but reports began to arrive about the man, which were of anything but a creditable nature. It was affirmed, in a manner seriously to disturb Panizzi, that his old friend had become a spy on his exiled countrymen. Panizzi determined to clear up the matter. Having occasion to visit Paris, he sought out his friend, and, being alone with him in a room, told him the reports he had heard with that straightforwardness of speech which distinguished him. The man quailed before this direct challenge, and confessed how penury had made him stoop to take the informer's wages. Panizzi, deeply shocked, declared all future intercourse to be henceforth impossible, but, in grateful remembrance of the great service once rendered, he gave the man as large a sum of money as he could afford. This was the individual, and not any Brescello functionary as stated by Mr. Fagan, whom

whom Panizzi met many years later as an Austrian police-officer at a frontier station.

Panizzi's first resting-place was Lugano, where he is said to have contemplated fixing his residence. That this could not be, was mainly due to his own action. At Lugano he wrote and published anonymously, with the imprint 'Madrid' on the title-page, a forcible narrative, supported by documentary evidence, of the outrageous doings perpetrated by the Duke of Modena against political offenders. This tract created considerable sensation. It has since become a literary curiosity of the greatest rarity. For some unexplained reason, Panizzi chose to make an intense mystery about this publication. He never would acknowledge the authorship, and parried enquiry on the subject with great dexterity. He appears to have destroyed all the copies he could lay hands on in later life, except two given by him to Mr. Fagan; and that he did give him these is, under such circumstances, conclusive proof of his authorship. Notwithstanding his known anxiety to secure for the British Museum Library all historical tracts of a curious character, he never deposited a copy there, and there is none in the Library at the present moment, in spite of the strange statement to the contrary in a note at page 384 of the Italian correspondence. So great is the scarcity of this volume that, as appears from a letter dated March 1860, even Poerio had never been aware of its existence. Having by chance met with the mention of it as written by a Panizzi, he innocently wrote to his intimate friend:—'If, as I take it, you are the man, how on earth does the pamphlet come to be printed in Madrid? Have you, then, been in Spain? I had no notion that banishment ever led you thither; and you certainly never told me a word about this.' At the time, however, this clandestine publication caused a stir amongst the Austrian police, and Panizzi had to leave Lugano at the request of the authorities.

He betook himself to Geneva, then the resort of many distinguished Italian refugees—amongst whom were Rossi, who filled the chair of Roman law at the Academy, and Bezzi, who afterwards resided long in England. Here, again, he was not permitted to remain in peace. In those days of the Holy Alliance, it was no easy matter for a political refugee, with some reputation for energy, to find a nook on the Continent wherein he could lie safe from molestation. The expulsion of Panizzi and several other Italian exiles was imperatively demanded by the Austrian and Sardinian Courts, and had to be conceded by the Federal Government. England alone in Europe offered the prospect of a haven of refuge, but how to get

get there through intervening territories was a problem for proscribed Liberals. Bezzi went forth as scout to test whether the French authorities would interpose obstacles in the way of their transit. His experience was disagreeably conclusive. At Gex, the frontier station, the French police stopped Bezzi, and peremptorily turned him back. Only one possible outlet still offered—namely, through Germany. Stealthily, and with much caution, Panizzi and some companions accordingly dropped down the Rhine by boat into Holland, whence they made their way across the water.

In July 1823 he set foot on the English shore, being at any rate safe from the dread grasp of pursuing persecutors. At that moment he was being tried in the Modenese court for high treason, and was condemned to death in effigy. There was no story he loved more to recount than how, soon after his arrival in England, he received official notification of the sentence passed on him—together with a claim for the costs of the trial—and of his execution ‘in contumaciam.’ It is disappointing that his biographer is so little explicit as to the incidents that marked the first months of his stay in England. Those were days of severe hardship—even of penury. Panizzi found himself in the midst of this huge metropolis, not merely an utterly forlorn stranger without knowledge of the language, but little better than a perfectly destitute man. His means were at the lowest ebb. Mr. Fagan mentions having heard him tell ‘that in those days of indigence fourteenpence was all he allowed himself for breakfast and dinner.’ The only acquaintances he could claim were amongst his own countrymen, refugees like himself, who were also fighting a hard battle for subsistence. At that conjuncture London teemed with Italian exiles of all ranks and all degrees. The volume of letters shows that Panizzi enjoyed the hearty friendship and the active sympathy of those who were most illustrious in the emigrant circles. Foremost amongst these was a patriot of the purest type, Count Santa Rosa, as noble in birth as in character, the inspiring soul of the Piedmontese movement in 1821, and, during the short term of constitutional triumph, Minister of War under the Prince who afterwards became King Charles Albert. Having come to England to escape extradition, which menaced him in France, Santa Rosa held amongst the emigrants the position of a respected Elder, whose unflinching fortitude afforded a bright example of honourable endurance, and whose words of brave exhortation afforded the encouragement which made failing hearts bear up against the sore pressure of adversity.

'My life is more solitary than ever,' he wrote in November 1828 to Panizzi; 'I have been labouring, as I told you, and I shall continue to do so. The Italian emigration assumes in my eyes a character of permanence; any way, it has certainly an historical character, and all of us owe to the unfortunate nation, of which we are the sacrificed portion, all our efforts and all our mind, every whit as much as if we were in the Roman Forum, or in the Comitia of Modena or Turin. We can do honour to the Italian name in Great Britain by the sincerity of our lives, the usefulness of our labours, the dignity of our language and conduct, and by bearing, or rather getting the better of, poverty, through constancy and exertion. This I preach for ever, and I see I have done so to you, so much does the pen run into thoughts that daily come back to the mind.'

Again he wrote these words, singularly expressive of bitter experience quietly endured, and of hearty sympathy actively extended:—

'In this country there is but too much necessity to expend a large amount of time before one can get settled down, *and for us time is sheer ruin*. The hardships of your circumstances, dear and most valued compatriot, give me great pain, the more that I see myself so short of means wherewith to help you. I beseech you not to lose heart, and to keep me ever informed of your situation. If my solicitude proves of less effect than I fain desire, I shall still do all in my power without sparing exertion. I will let Foscolo know about you, who heartily wishes you success. To promote this as far as practicable, it would be to your advantage to acquire some knowledge of English.'*

When this was written to Panizzi he had already betaken himself to Liverpool, with the view of seeking there a livelihood as a teacher of languages. The circumstances that induced him to single out Liverpool as the place in which to try his fortune are not clearly known. A story exists that he was there at one time on the verge of starvation, and that relief came from a passer-by, who, happening to be struck with the Italian look of the famished person hungrily bargaining for a potato from a costermonger, compassionately accosted him in his native tongue, offered an alms, which was proudly declined, and thereupon entered into conversation which led to further intercourse. The story cannot be dismissed as an idle invention. Though no allusion to it occurs in the 'Biography,' there exists the testimony of unimpeachable witnesses that they heard it from Panizzi's lips.† We ourselves distinctly remember having heard him say that when about to start for Liverpool he had not

* Shortly after this Santa Rosa went to Greece, where he was killed in action.

† One whose evidence on this point must be held conclusive is Sir J. Lacaita, wherewith

wherewith to pay the journey, that the necessary money was advanced by a countryman acquainted with his family, and that he repaid the loan some years later in Brussels.

Mr. Fagan says he went to Liverpool at the urgent suggestion of Foscolo, who furnished him with an introduction to Roscoe. According to another version, the good Samaritan of the anecdote just related was Roscoe himself, who, on expressing a kindly disposition to assist his chance acquaintance, and questioning him as to his antecedents, was referred by Panizzi to Foscolo. There is no doubt that Panizzi had to thank the latter for testimonials; but it is also certain that the acquaintance between the two was at this time of the slightest kind. In Foscolo's 'Correspondence,' published at Florence in 1854, there is a most important letter from Panizzi, which removes every shred of doubt as to the relation between them at this period. On February 25, 1826, Panizzi addresses Foscolo thus: 'Most illustrious Sir, *I do not know whether you have any remembrance of me*, but I know well that never have I forgotten and never will I forget you, who with so much kindness favoured me with letters for here when some thirty months ago I came hither.'* During this period, therefore, no communications had passed between them. Moreover, we learn from this letter that in the interval Panizzi had been in London without seeing Foscolo, or knowing where he could be found. Furthermore it is this letter, and the subject-matter which inspired it, that led to the close and affectionate friendship which undoubtedly did exist between Panizzi and Foscolo during the closing years of the latter's life. That subject-matter was Dante, in fervent admiration and loving study of whom both were united:—

'I venture on the liberty to write to you in regard to matters which I trust may be acceptable; at all events that the intention may be so. I have read, with what delight and wonder I cannot express, your noble discourse on the text of Dante. . . . Myself a most ardent admirer of Dante, in whom I find the best consolation in exile, about a month ago, and therefore before having read your book, I went to Oxford to see thirteen MSS. of the 'Divina Commedia' in the Bodleian. I composed a letter, intended for the editor of the *Antologia* in Florence, with a minute description of what is distinctive of these MSS. The perusal of your discourse makes me think that it might possibly be of use to you to know the character of these Oxford codices and some of their readings. I therefore suspend sending my letter to Florence till I have heard whether

* According to Mr. Fagan, who, however, omits to give the authority for his statement, Panizzi owed the acquaintance of Foscolo to one of the brothers Ugoni of Brescia.

you may care to read and make use of it, in which case I would a thousand times rather send it to you than to others.'

To this communication Foscolo wrote a reply, which led to further and eventually to intimate correspondence between him and Panizzi. At this time Foscolo was engaged in preparing his edition of the '*Divina Commedia*,' published by Mr. Pickering. The Italian '*Correspondence*' contains numerous letters from Foscolo, painfully illustrative of the distressing circumstances in which this moody and hypochondriacal genius was living. The one gladdening beam of cheerful light, athwart the dark mass of morbid suspicion and querulous complaint against the world and every one with whom he had to deal, is the thorough and unfailing confidence evinced by him towards Panizzi. When Foscolo hid himself from his creditors, he confided his place of concealment to Panizzi alone. It must also be acknowledged that the latter displayed the loving tenderness of a son towards the brooding poet, who at times seems to have tormented himself to the very verge of madness. Panizzi was indefatigable in humouring his tastes, and in devising suggestions calculated to lighten the galling embarrassments under which Foscolo writhed with the chafing irritability which a prisoner feels against spiked chains. The last months of his life were in part relieved from extreme penury through payments for contributions to periodicals, as well as from the generosity of the late Mr. Murray, who frequently contributed to his necessities, and from the payments made by the late Mr. Pickering on account of the edition of Dante. From a letter in the Italian collection it appears that on Foscolo's death Panizzi was asked by his natural daughter to look over her father's papers. We do not know whether he accepted the task; but he certainly bought many of Foscolo's books, and distributed some as mementoes to friends, amongst whom was Lord Macaulay.

Mr. Fagan does not conceal from his readers that Panizzi in after life did not retain the esteem he had once entertained for Foscolo, though he is curiously mysterious in his expressions. He tells us, first, that 'the details of Foscolo's life were better known to Panizzi than to any one else, and he alone could have narrated the true story;' then, that 'in a somewhat important qualification, strict adherence to truth, Panizzi detected a slight defect;' and lastly, that when in 1871 intimation was given of the intention to transfer Foscolo's remains to Italy, Panizzi decidedly dissented, on the ground that 'in Santa Croce the exiled patriot would be out of place.' If the matter was to be touched upon at all, it would have been better not to be so enigmatic about it. Mr. Fagan's words are calculated to produce

Holland House and other Whig circles. The results were not long in coming. In November 1830 Brougham became Lord Chancellor, and, as such, an ex-officio Trustee of the British Museum. In April of the following year Panizzi was appointed Extra-Assistant in the Library, at a salary of 200*l*. One circumstance connected with this appointment especially deserves notice, as proving that Panizzi's selection was by no means pushed through by domineering favouritism on the part of Brougham. One of the Trustees was Mr. Thos. Grenville. Two days before the actual appointment, that gentleman wrote thus to Panizzi: 'I am just come from a meeting of the Trustees of the Museum, and have the satisfaction of telling you that your name, when proposed to succeed to the vacant Assistant-Librarianship, was received with high testimony to you, universally approved, and the Archbishop said he would lose no time in signing the appointment, and in obtaining the Chancellor's concurrence.' This letter is valuable from the evidence it bears to Panizzi's faculty of taking minds by storm. In the circles of active Whiggery, in the high tide of that Reform epoch, a political refugee, and particularly an Italian, might very easily be made more of than was his due. Mr. Thos. Grenville, however, was a refined and severely fastidious gentleman of the ancient school, grown grey in the aristocratic atmosphere of old-fashioned Liberalism, a man of highly cultivated tastes and polished ways. There could be no natural proneness in a nature of his type to look with the partiality of exaggerated enthusiasm on a vigorous representative of Revolutionary impulses. Nevertheless Panizzi, without concealing in the least his political propensities, by his merits, and by his qualities as a man and as a scholar, so powerfully fascinated Mr. Thos. Grenville as to acquire over him a most remarkable influence, which was turned to account by Panizzi solely for the public benefit, while Mr. Grenville came to entertain towards him feelings that amounted to downright affection.

Panizzi's official connection with the British Museum, as Extra-Assistant in the Library, commenced on April 27, 1831. On July 16, 1866, he resigned the Principal Librarianship. During the intervening thirty-five years, mainly through his unfaltering purpose and persistent energy, reforms had been effected in that Institution on a vast scale. His reign over the British Museum marks an abiding epoch in its development. It is notorious that his promotion, first as Keeper of the Printed Books, and then as Chief Librarian, excited angry censure, the faint echo of which still survives. It was alleged at the time, chiefly by mortified competitors, that through the concurrent operation

operation of underhand cunning on his own part, and of jobbing favouritism on the part of leading Trustees, the scheming foreigner snatched a prize from native-born rivals every whit competent to hold it. It was even affirmed publicly, that the Trustees had exercised their patronage in behalf of one deficient in the needful qualifications. Time has effectually disposed of this latter charge. The insinuation has, however, not wholly died away, that Panizzi owed his rise to intrigue rather than to merit, and that he supplanted a distinguished English scholar in the competition for the Chief Librarianship by underhand proceedings with those in whom the appointment rested. It is therefore well to state briefly the circumstances attending his promotion, and the chief points that marked his administration.

When Panizzi entered the Museum, his immediate superior, the Keeper of the Printed Books, was Mr. Barber, Sir Henry Ellis being Principal Librarian. In 1835, the supposed grievance of a subordinate officer was brought before Parliament by Sir Benjamin Hawes, and this led to the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the condition of the Museum. On this occasion Panizzi's name was for the first time brought before the general public. As a witness he gave evidence, with an emphasis and a precision which produced much impression, as to the best mode of cataloguing the Library. Mr. Barber had picked out several employés to try their hands at cataloguing, Panizzi being one. At the end of the year—the term set for trial—he had utterly distanced all competitors, ‘having written a greater number of titles than any two of the other gentlemen.’ In June 1835, the Finance Committee of the Trustees saw fit to express recognition of his superior diligence in a Minute recommending his salary to be raised to that of an Assistant-Librarian, as a mark of ‘their sense of Mr. Panizzi's value to the Museum, and also of the particular service which by his great knowledge he has rendered in an eminent degree to the advancement of the new Catalogue of the Printed Books.’ But the General Meeting of Trustees, ‘although entirely concurring in the opinions expressed by the Sub-Committee as to the great ability with which Mr. Panizzi has discharged the duties of his office,’ dissented from their recommendation on the score of regard for ‘the general principles upon which the scale of remuneration of officers in similar stations and the same degree of responsibility must of necessity be framed.’* This decision was attended by a curious incident. Mr. Grenville, who had been

* Minute, July 11, 1835.

a party to the original recommendation, took such umbrage at its rejection that he left the Board-room in dudgeon, and we believe never again acted as Trustee.

The real turning-point in Panizzi's fortunes came in 1837, when he was named Mr. Barber's successor in the Keepership of Printed Books. His advancement was vehemently denounced as a gross wrong done to a meritorious officer and distinguished scholar, Mr. Cary, the translator of Dante. That gentleman himself published in the 'Times' a letter addressed to Lord Chancellor Cottenham, in which he inveighed against the transaction. Mr. Cary affirmed that the appointment 'conferred on his subordinate, a foreigner,' had been 'snatched from me by yourself and the Speaker of the House of Commons, in the face of a recommendation from the other principal Trustee, the Archbishop of Canterbury,' though he admitted that he had been apprised by the latter of 'objections existing on the part of the other Trustees' against him on the score of 'age and the general state of his health.' Mr. Cary concluded in the following terms :—

'Being convinced that when nominations to offices in the British Museum were entrusted by the country to men themselves holding high office in the State, it was on the implied condition they would either acquit themselves of their duty by attention to its internal management, or abstain from active interference if they were conscious of having given no such attention, I feel I owe it not merely to myself but to my fellow-countrymen to protest against your present decision . . . and to demand for what reason a person in an inferior station has been preferred to me.'

The facts of the case were these. In March, 1837, it became known that Mr. Barber had determined to retire. As the impending vacancy, if filled up from within the Museum, would lead to a general move, Panizzi sent in to the principal Trustees an application, which is on record. After referring to the report, 'that in consequence of the new arrangements which are going to be introduced in the establishment, some vacancies are likely to occur in the offices of the several departments,' Panizzi begged the Trustees 'to keep his humble services in view should *any place become vacant for which he might be deemed qualified.*' No further steps were taken by him till three months later. On June 24 Mr. Cary was informed by the Archbishop of certain grounds on which it was held by the Trustees that he could not adequately discharge the duties of the office he aspired to. Panizzi always declared that he first heard of the Archbishop's statement, in Mr. Barber's presence, from Mr. Cary himself, and that, on asking the latter whether he would take it amiss if, under:

under the circumstances, he were himself to apply for the post, the answer had been, '*Not at all.*' The fact is beyond all question that, in his written application to the Archbishop, Panizzi made special reference to Mr. Cary.

'I hope your Grace will not deem it presumptuous in me,' he wrote, 'to beg respectfully of your Grace and the other Trustees to take my case into consideration, should they think it requisite to depart from the usual system of regular promotion, on appointing Mr. Barber's successor. I venture to say this much, *having been informed by Mr. Cary of the conversation he has had the honour to have the morning before last with your Grace.*'

If the Trustees, in deeming Mr. Cary incapacitated on the score of physical infirmities, erred in judgment, they did so with some of his avowed friends—to wit, Samuel Rogers, who, after backing his claims, saw reason not to push them. It was a manifest hallucination to ascribe Panizzi's selection to favouritism combined with sly intrigue.

Panizzi entered on his office at a moment when extraordinary labour was thrown on his shoulders. The printed books had to be moved from Montagu House to the new buildings—a task imposing much careful attention for the proper re-arrangement of the volumes. The Trustees sought to lighten the work by giving extra assistance for the Catalogue, an offer which he declined in a very characteristic note:—

'I beg to repeat I am willing to undertake the duties mentioned . . . and to endeavour to perform them to the best of my power. I promise to give to the superintendence of the Catalogue all the attention of which I am capable; but it is not for me to say whether it will ensure the proper execution of the work. I feel it due to the Trustees, to the situation I have the honour of holding, and to my own character, not to shrink from the attempt.'

If 1837 was a turning-point, 1847 was the crowning moment of Panizzi's career. In that year he met in close encounter and utterly worsted his opponents. Owing to strictures on the deficiencies of the Library, and reiterated complaints as to the non-completion of the Catalogue, a Royal Commission, presided over by Lord Ellesmere, was named to sift thoroughly the condition of the Museum. It was a grand indictment against Panizzi, and he came triumphantly out of the court of enquiry. The case against him broke down at every point, and after eighteen days' searching examination he stood wholly exonerated from all charges of negligence and omission. The practical results of the Commission were to do away with the anomalous authority hitherto vested in the Secretary, and virtually to

make Panizzi 'the real ruler of the Museum.' There can be no question but that Panizzi's services in his department were most deserving. To his untiring representation was it due that, in 1845, the Treasury sanctioned an annual grant of 10,000*l.* for ten years to the Library, while it was his personal influence that induced Mr. Grenville to bequeath his splendid collection of books to the nation. It cannot therefore be matter for surprise that when Sir Henry Ellis retired in 1856, the Principal Librarianship should have been conferred on Panizzi.

'I am glad of this, both on public and on private grounds,' wrote Lord Macaulay to Lord Lansdowne; 'yet I fear the appointment will be unpopular both within and without the walls of the Museum. There is a growing jealousy among men of science which, between ourselves, appears even at the Board of Trustees. There is a notion the Department of Natural History is neglected, and the Library and Sculpture Gallery are unduly favoured. The feeling will certainly not be allayed by the appointment of Panizzi, whose great object during many years has been to make our library the best in Europe, and who would at any time give three Mammoths for one Aldus.'

No doubt individual officers, themselves aspiring to the chief post, felt sore at Panizzi's elevation, but it cannot be said it was unpopular amongst the officers as a body. The sterling qualities of the man had got to be appreciated. Writing to Haywood, Panizzi says himself, 'What pleases me is that in this house all, excepting of course Madden and Hawkins, who looked to the promotion themselves, are strongly for me.' Outside the Museum, however, the appointment was violently assailed. In public meetings, and in the press, it was denounced as an outrage. Mr. Fagan gives a frantic protest sent to Lord Palmerston by Bolton Corney.

'I protest,' he says, 'against the advancement of Mr. Antonio Panizzi . . . because the appointment of the said Antonio Panizzi, being a foreigner, is an act of injustice towards English candidates, a satire on the character of the nation, and a discouragement to the pursuits of its antiquities and literature.'

Of more consequence was the attack made in the House of Commons, on April 21, 1856, when the Museum Vote was under discussion. Lord Houghton, then Mr. Monckton Milnes, gave pointed expression to the dissatisfaction felt at the advancement of a foreigner, which, on the other hand, was vigorously defended by members of great standing in the House, including the Speaker (now Lord Eversley), Mr. Disraeli, and Lord John Russell.

In his administration of the Museum, Panizzi's proceedings were guided by three maxims:—1. He looked on the Museum as a great National Institution for the diffusion of knowledge: 2, He considered it to be a department of the Civil Service, and therefore to be conducted in the spirit of the regulations that ensure efficiency in other departments of that service: 3, He deemed it essential to the end and aim of the institution that it should be managed in a manner most liberal for the public. In pursuance of the first principle, he never slackened in his efforts to ensure the completeness of the collections. Hence the rigid vigilance with which he enforced the observance of the Copyright Act, at that time much neglected. To his persistent and emphatic representations in influential quarters were due the grants of public money which have made the Library the first in the world, and enriched the Museum by the fruits of Mr. Newton's excavations in Asia Minor, by the purchase of the Blacas collection, and by similar precious additions. To him, likewise, was mainly due the erection of the buildings at South Kensington, whereby space will be won at the Museum for the proper exhibition of the Fine Arts collections. The second principle was the basis of all his suggestions for the improved internal organization of the Museum. By inflexible perseverance he got the Treasury to sanction a higher scale of salaries for the officers, and above all, what he rightly deemed the indispensable preliminary for effective reform, superannuation allowances, so as to make it possible to relieve the staff from officers who were past work. The last principle was conspicuously apparent in all his innovations with the view of promoting the readier admission of the public to the Galleries and Library, and specially in the structure of the great Reading-room, with ample space for several hundred readers.

Panizzi found a Library of 250,000 uncatalogued volumes; he left a Library of 1,100,000 volumes, thoroughly catalogued, and provided with accommodation for additions which he calculated would suffice for the period of twenty years. The fact is, the passions of a librarian were as strong in Panizzi as are those which animate a collector. His authority in matters appertaining to library arrangements was recognized far and wide. The Austrian Government applied officially for his plans for the Reading-room and the regulations he had framed for the government of the Library. We find from the Mérimée correspondence, that when the reorganization of the Paris Library was under consideration, the French men of letters turned deferentially to Panizzi for an opinion how best to proceed.

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In his journeys abroad, he always rushed to visit libraries before anything else. He invariably darted on the catalogues with something like the swoop of a bird of prey on its favourite quarry, and then put a string of rapid questions about general regulations. An amusing instance occurred in 1859, on the occasion of a visit to the Bologna Library. He found a manuscript catalogue of such careful execution, that he eagerly enquired to whom it was due. Being told it had been the work of one man, who during many years had devoted himself to the labour and had written every title with his own hand, Panizzi insisted on seeing him. There appeared, in obedience to the summons, a lank, wizen-faced, threadbare, demure individual, a sort of Romeo's apothecary in looks, whom, after a short interrogatory, in presence of the astounded principal librarian and attendants, Panizzi, in the paroxysm of his Italian enthusiasm, hugged and kissed on both cheeks.

That in the internal government of the Museum Panizzi bore himself often with the abruptness of a despot, is beyond dispute; his despotism was, however, not the vexatious rule of an inconsiderate tyrant, but the authority of an appreciative, though stern, disciplinarian. It was here that his singular administrative qualities displayed themselves. He was thoroughly master of every detail in the mechanism and machinery of the Museum. He allowed no points to escape his cognizance. He was punctual with the regularity of clockwork in his own attendance at office hours. The scrupulous sense of what was due to the public—a sense by no means common in the Italian official—was constantly present to his mind. He brooked no irregularities—no inattention on the part of his subordinates—but he likewise permitted no indulgence to himself. Punctiliously methodical in the execution of his own duties, he was prompt in rebuking the slightest negligence in others. But though he would censure with stinging sharpness, he was always ready to be fair and just. If he were conscious that hastiness had led him into doing a wrong, no false pride made him indisposed to tender full apology. Beyond question he was apt to be imperious from impatience; but he was thoroughly unselfish, and generously appreciative of what was due to his subordinates. 'Everybody is badly paid in my department *except myself*,' Panizzi said before the Royal Commission. Nor could any words be more expressive of heartfelt acknowledgment than those with which, on July 16, 1866, he took leave of the officers of the Museum :—

'I cannot leave the Museum and close my official connection with those with whom I have had the honour and pleasure of serving the
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the Trustees for so many years, without returning to all and each of them individually my warmest thanks for the efficient help which I have received from them in the discharge of my duties. Although conscious of having at all times acted to the best of my ability, and only for the advantage of the Museum and of those connected with it, I wish to add that, if I have ever given unnecessary pain to any one, I regret it most sincerely, and trust that credit will be given me for having been uniformly influenced solely by a sense of duty.'

A year after his first appointment, Panizzi had himself naturalized. Mr. Fagan justly remarks that he always made a point of emphasizing, almost to affectation, his English tastes and habits. Nevertheless, this English naturalization was only skin-deep: it never displaced his native-born sympathies. He liked English society and English ways, but his inner nature never vibrated so passionately to English interests as it did to the last in response to Italian interests. This redounds to his honour. He was incapable of becoming a turncoat. English affairs touched but the surface of his sensitiveness: at sounds from Italy the heart and soul of the man were stirred to their depths. Of this the Italian correspondence affords abundant proof. We see how actively, in the early period of struggling existence, he co-operated with his emigrant countrymen in efforts to promote the cause for which he had gone into exile. Strong common-sense made him averse to certain designs conceived by sanguine refugees. When, after the French Revolution of 1830, Ugoni and others planned insurrections, Panizzi's views coincided with the opinions expressed by his friend, the Lombard Pecchio: 'I am well aware that in Paris there are some intractable characters, and it is a misfortune no one is there who can impose respect or exercise a check. The only man who could undertake this most difficult duty is Professor Rossi.' This was the Romagnole refugee—afterwards French ambassador in Rome—who died by an assassin's hand as the Pope's constitutional Premier. A little earlier Pecchio had sought to bespeak Panizzi's support for a journal to be printed in Lugano under Rossi's editorship. Panizzi dissented from the project, advocating, as better calculated for popular effect, that stirring pamphlets should be clandestinely circulated across the Austrian frontier from Lugano.

This was not the only journalistic enterprise for which he was canvassed. In an undated letter, which must be one of 1832, Pecchio earnestly recommended to Panizzi's notice a paper just started, called the '*Giovine Italia*,' under the management of Mazzini. It is disappointing to learn so little in these volumes

volumes as to the close relations which certainly existed at one period between the two men. Such evidence as is to be found is indirect. There is but one entire letter of Mazzini's, and that an unimportant one. In the 'Biography,' however, we find the following extract (in English) from another letter of Mazzini's, of the year 1840—'I received safely the paper I lent you. I perceive that by the tone you do not agree with me. I trust soon to be able to come to see you and talk over my plans.' Mr. Fagan relates how Panizzi once found himself in a diligence face to face with Mazzini, then on one of his conspiring expeditions, whose disguise he instantly penetrated, and then adds:—'Panizzi in after years disagreed *in toto* with his friend's principles, but the actual origin of their estrangement will for ever remain a mystery.' The mystery, like that about Foscolo, does not seem difficult of solution. Panizzi had been a Carbonaro, but never a Republican by conviction. He could perfectly go along with Mazzini up to a certain point. When, however, the inveterate fanaticism of Republican intolerance made Mazzini conspire against the constitutional government of Piedmont, that action made temperate Liberals renounce intercourse with him, and the same cause was likely to have the like effect with Panizzi. Mr. Fagan, however, narrates an anecdote which distinctly implies that Garibaldi's abrupt departure from England in 1864 was due to some secret concert between Panizzi and Mazzini. Mr. Fagan's words, it will be observed, are curiously vague in regard to a point of capital importance, namely the date on which the communication passed, of which he represents himself as the bearer:—

'On the day, or soon after, it was publicly announced that the Italian hero intended to leave England, the present writer was the bearer of a note, penned by Panizzi, from whom he received instructions to deliver it safely into the hands of Mazzini. This occurrence took place in the morning, so early indeed that day had scarcely dawned when he left his friend's residence in the British Museum.'—Vol. i. p. 186.

And again he says emphatically—

'In speaking of Mazzini, mention has been made how the biographer undertook the delivery of a *message which resulted in the departure of Garibaldi*.'—Vol. ii. p. 256.

Whatever may have been the purport of the letter carried by Mr. Fagan, it is out of the question that it could have had the effect here ascribed to it.* Mazzini was no party to Garibaldi's

* That Mr. Fagan's recollections are by no means clear is shown by the fact cutting

cutting short his stay in England; on the contrary, he was wholly taken aback by the resolution. The facts of the case are these. Garibaldi's visit to this country coincided with considerable revolutionary agitation on the Continent. In Poland, as in Italy, there were elements of disturbance abroad, while men prominently connected with these movements resided in London. There was a natural apprehension in certain quarters lest Garibaldi, with his impulsive nature, should be led to identify himself with these elements, and prove a dangerous tool in the hands of daring conspirators. Precautions were adopted to keep the General clear of what was deemed objectionable contact, but with imperfect success. On April 17 Garibaldi was entertained by Herzen, the leader of the Russian Socialists. Among the guests on that occasion were Mazzini, Saffi, Guerzoni (Garibaldi's secretary), and Ogareff, the editor of the notorious Russian clandestine journal the 'Kolokol.' On this occasion Mazzini proposed the General's health in terms proclaiming him the 'incarnation' of the idea of the 'liberty and association of Peoples,' coupling him with the cause of Poland and 'New Russia,' at whose head was 'our friend Herzen,' and pledging him to 'the religion of duty, to fight until death for the achievement of all these objects.' Garibaldi responded cordially to these sentiments, and Herzen, too much moved to speak at the moment, wrote the following morning a letter of enthusiastic acknowledgment to Garibaldi as the enrolled soldier of cosmopolitan revolution. On that same day, however (the 18th), Guerzoni came in hot haste to Mazzini, with the astounding tidings that Garibaldi had been suddenly induced to form a resolution to leave England almost immediately, and return to his island home. In the words of one thoroughly cognizant of what happened, 'Mazzini expressed vehement indignation at what was in his eyes an act of weakness and wellnigh of defection.*' This is not the place to dissect the individual influences which co-operated to induce Garibaldi to take this abrupt decision. It is, however, a grave misconception on Mr. Fagan's part to think that the letter carried by him, whatever may have been the date of its delivery, could have been the determining cause that 'resulted' in the General's departure.

Some interesting letters are given from a very different refugee

that, though himself one of the eight guests at a memorable dinner given by Panizzi to Garibaldi, he states incorrectly the names of those present.

* The whole of this matter is recounted, with authentic documents in support of the narrative, in an anonymous publication of recent issue, entitled 'La Politica Segreta Italiana, 1863-70.' Torino: Roux and Faval, 1880.

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—the Sicilian Michele Amari—the eminent Orientalist and historian—which aptly illustrate the Spartan independence of his character and Panizzi's warm-hearted impulses. In 1843 Amari reached Paris in much the same plight in which twenty years earlier Panizzi had come to England. After the publication of his 'History of the Sicilian Vespers,' he had found himself driven to seek in exile protection against King Ferdinand's pursuit. Panizzi had no personal acquaintance with him. Hearing of Amari's position, he addressed to a common friend a letter with criticisms on a passage in his book, and at the same time conveying a proffer of pecuniary help. Amari made a dignified reply; and, though declining pecuniary assistance, he accepted introductions to literary men of position. As, however, from political convictions he never would take the oath which after the *coup d'état* was imposed in France on all officials, he remained dependent on literary labour. During many years Amari earned his livelihood by cataloguing the Arabic manuscripts in the Paris Library, while after office hours he was busy on his great work on 'The Mussulmans in Sicily.' In 1848 he came to London on a mission from the Provisional Government of Sicily, after having been Minister of Finance. When the great movement for a united Italy took place in 1859, Amari cordially co-operated for its promotion. In the Minghetti Cabinet he became Minister of Public Instruction, and he is now still active as a senator.

What strides Panizzi had made in social position, was shown on the occasion of Thiers' visit to this country in 1845, five years after his signal discomfiture as French Premier by Lord Palmerston, who devised the Quadruple Treaty. 'Thiers has taken up all my time. It was I who brought him and Lord Palmerston together, and I have sent him away quite pleased with the reception.' That these words, addressed to Lord Rutherford, involved no undue egotism, is shown by what Lord Clarendon wrote. 'It is quite a *bonne fortune* for Thiers, and important, moreover, for the relations between the two countries, that he should have fallen into your hands, for there is no one so capable of properly directing his enquiries, and I am sure there is no born Englishman from whom he would receive with confidence and belief the sort of facts you will put before him.'

The once momentous Spanish Marriages, now so little remembered, led to a very curious correspondence between these two men. Thiers applied to Panizzi for the facts as to the English case, with the view of taking action against his rival Guizot. 'Puisque vous êtes lié avec Lord Palmerston, dites-lui de vous communiquer,

muniquer, à vous et pour moi, la vérité pure.' Panizzi replied in a long letter, which has all the merits of a State paper. Two months having elapsed without any acknowledgment, Panizzi addressed Thiers in terms eminently characteristic of that uncere- monious bluntness of speech which made people often wince :—

'A présent que j'ai tenu ma parole et que j'ai fait ce que vous m'avez demandé, tenez la vôtre de votre côté ; écrivez-moi une longue lettre, *mais tout de suite*, afin que je puisse faire connaître à vos amis ici, au moment de la réunion de Parlement, la marche que vous et vos amis comptez suivre. C'est en répondant franchement à la confiance dont on vous donne des preuves si fortes que vous en inspirerez da- vantage ; je ne puis pas toujours chercher à pénétrer ce que l'on pense, sans avoir rien à dire en retour. Du reste, vous êtes le meilleur juge de ce qu'il vous convient de faire.' (Jan. 14, 1847.)

In 1845 Panizzi revisited Italy for the first time since his flight from Brescello. He longed to see his native place again, and actually entertained at one time the confident hope of being able to do so without molestation from the authorities.* At Vienna, to which city he went in the first instance, he had, through the medium of Sir Robert Gordon, our ambassador, an audience of his former sovereign, Duke Ferdinand of Modena. No record of the conversation is preserved, but we believe Mr. Fagan is correct in saying that Panizzi expressed himself with a frank- ness which grated on the Ducal ear. What is beyond doubt is the fact that immediately after this interview he informed his cousin Cugini that he saw himself precluded from carrying out the visit he had announced :—

'I must not and I cannot now enter into particulars of the reasons which have determined me not to enter the Modenese States. What I suffer from it, God knows, but I had sooner die than accept such a vile promise as the one conceded to me. . . . I will not go to Modena, when I have heard a week ago that there are orders against me which have been issued by the Duke himself.'

Twelve long years had still to elapse before he found him- self able to indulge his much-cherished desire. The emotions that overcame him, when at last he looked on the old familiar haunts, found vivid utterance in gushing words written to the friend of his youth, Dr. Minzi, on his return to England :—

'B. M., Oct. 22, 1857, evening.

'MY DEAR MINZI,—How many things have happened during the past thirty-five years ! It was on this very day thirty-five years ago

* In an unpublished letter to Mr. Haywood of July 12, 1845, written from the Museum, Panizzi says, 'I have heard from Normanby [then Minister in Florence] that the Duke of Modena not only will not object to my going, but will be glad of it.'

you accompanied me with Zatti and Montani, to embark for Viandana. It was then my travels began. What changes ! What fortune ! How many sleepless nights ! What follies ! What ardent passion ! What sufferings ! What risks ! But no more of this. You know I have been to Brescello, but you cannot conceive how dear the visit was to me. Indeed it is impossible to describe my feelings. I can only say no town, temple, theatre, or palace, afforded me such joy as when I saw Brescello—the church of Brescello ! the theatre of Brescello ! the municipal hall of Brescello ! The very house where I was born, yours, Montani's house, and that of Francesco Panizzi. These sights well nigh brought tears to my eyes.'

It is surprising that in the 'Biography' absolutely no reference is made to the events of 1848, as if Panizzi had remained quite indifferent to them ; a blank the more inexplicable as highly important letters from prominent members of the Milan Provisional Government and other leading politicians are given in the Italian correspondence.* His soul was profoundly stirred by the movement immediately following the accession of Pius IX., and by the Lombard insurrection which led to Charles Albert's declaration of war against Austria. He watched events with passionate anxiety and a discerning judgment. In a letter to Haywood he wrote—

'These Italian affairs have, as you may suppose, made me feverish. First of all, I think the Austrians are not quite done for yet. Even in these times of wonder, I don't believe they can have lost Vicenza and Mantua ; and if the whole country is not really up, the King of Piedmont will find these two very hard bits. . . . In the second place, I am almost certain the Italians will differ among themselves (not as to the Austrians or as to being dismayed, but as to the form of government). . . . The spirit of the 'Giovine Italia' is at work, and I think there will be yet a great deal of trouble before the form of government is settled.'

His sense of the fatal peril menacing the supreme object of national independence from the cause here referred to, impelled him to take a remarkable step. Mazzini had gone to Milan, where, surrounded by his adepts, he was busily fomenting Republican agitation against the movement advocated by public-spirited patriots for a rally round Charles Albert. Panizzi addressed a direct appeal to his *quondam* friend's patriotism, to forego his particular predilections for the sake of Italian independence at this critical conjuncture. The letter is not preserved. It was sent under cover to Berchet, Secretary to the Italian Government, a constant correspondent of Panizzi's, it being left

* An amazing example of carelessness is to be found at vol. ii. p. 190, where a long letter, written in 1848, is given as dating from 1859.

to the judgment of himself and his responsible friends to deliver or suppress the letter as might seem fit. The last course was adopted, for reasons stated by Berchet, in words the bitterness of which must stand excused by the circumstances under which they were written:—

‘I have not sent Mazzini the enclosed letter, and this I have done after consultation with President Casati. My dear friend, Mazzini, be it said between us, is a hypocritical scoundrel, a conviction arrived at after many proofs. He cares about Italy as much as we do about Cathay or the Islands of the Hesperides. All he has at heart is *self*, and the attitude of being a rival to Charles Albert, and on this account *your* letter, appealing to him as an honest man and a good Italian, was mistaken in its address. . . . Your letter would only increase self-esteem in his inward pride, and confirm him the more in his treason; therefore have I torn it up.’

Though this particular effort proved barren, Panizzi did excellent service to the national cause. At this period he began to take up the position of confidential agent in England for Italian Liberalism. Having ready access to leading statesmen of the Liberal party in this country, he was indefatigable in acting as the channel for communications to them, and for transmitting in return to his friends abroad important information and counsel. The services thus rendered were altogether beyond the reach of any officially accredited agent. They were exceptional in kind, and due wholly to his altogether exceptional relations. They also derived special value from his singular tact, and the prompt vigour with which his energy ever responded to calls from friends abroad. A striking illustration is furnished by a most strange episode arising out of Mr. Gladstone’s celebrated letters on the treatment to which Poerio and his companions were subjected at the hands of the Neapolitan Government. The effect produced by this publication in 1851 was like that of a bomb-shell. The harrowing allegations, stated with burning force, were eagerly canvassed, and by the friends of King Ferdinand were angrily denied. Panizzi had no personal acquaintance with any of the Neapolitan victims. He had never set foot in any portion of Southern Italy. His whole nature, however, quivered with horror at the statements made by Mr. Gladstone, as to the correctness of which he felt no doubt. At this time Panizzi was collecting materials for a history of Cardinal Alberoni, which he never completed, and Lord Shrewsbury had offered to exert his influence at Rome for the purpose of obtaining transcripts of any documents bearing on the subject, that might exist in the Vatican archives. A correspondence ensued, which testifies amply to Lord Shrewsbury’s perfect candour

candour of mind, but also to his lamb-like want of critical acumen. He shrank with instinctive horror from the very idea of practices such as Mr. Gladstone denounced, but with innocent simple-mindedness he attached credence to the assurances of those who were in King Ferdinand's service. The tone of sincere conviction throughout his letters is, however, manifest. In one from Palermo Lord Shrewsbury descanted on 'the peace and quiet, both civil and religious,' enjoyed under the 'absolutism of Ferdinand II. and the martial law of good Prince Satriano,' the Viceroy of Sicily. This was too much for Panizzi, who wrote a long and earnest letter in reply, every word of which came from the heart :—

'And now, my Lord,' are his closing words, 'allow me, for the sake of humanity, whose cause I know no one has more at heart than your Lordship, for the sake of good government and religion, allow me to entreat you heartily to refrain from praising a government like that of Naples, or rather let me entreat your Lordship to use the powerful influence you must possess to open the eyes of the authorities and induce them, for your own sake, for the sake of humanity, to behave like Christians.'

In the candour of his nature, Lord Shrewsbury suggested that Panizzi should come and judge for himself the true state of things. He closed with the idea.

'I am ready,' he wrote, July 14. 'I have scraped together 100*l.* for the purpose. I am ready to start the 1st of September, and to go with your Lordship, in your presence and with your concurrence, to verify all the statements made by Mr. Gladstone. If your Lordship and I find that they are unfounded, I shall publish the fact to the world; if they are well founded, I shall respectfully beg of your Lordship to endeavour to convince the Neapolitan Government of the injustice of their proceedings. . . . I wish nothing but the truth to come out. Let us, therefore, do our best to find it. It is worth the trouble. I can dedicate to this the above sum and two months, September and October.'

Though Lord Shrewsbury could not leave Palermo, he co-operated by letter to assist Panizzi. The result of this visit to Naples in no way shook his views. He returned to the British Museum by the end of the year, with his mind not merely overboiling with virtuous indignation, but revolving with characteristic energy how best to effect the relief of the incarcerated victims.

Mr. Fagan's narrative of the enterprise which Panizzi now undertook is both incomplete and inaccurate. In the notes to the Italian correspondence edited by him, there occur statements wholly imaginary and in glaring contradiction to what is written in

in the 'Biography.' A date wrong by two years is given at p. 258 of the Correspondence for the attempt actually made, while the statement that a steamer chartered by Panizzi was wrecked off Nisida is a myth. The story in its leading points is the following. After the publication of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, *Poerio*, with some companions, was transferred from Nisida to the inland dungeon of Montesarchio, while others were immured in the island of San Stefano. Amongst the latter was Settembrini, who was personally as unknown as the rest to Panizzi, but in whom he had become specially interested through circumstances brought to his knowledge. In the 'Edinburgh Review' of October 1851, in an article headed 'Neapolitan Justice,' Panizzi had printed a most noble letter addressed by Settembrini to his wife when under the belief that he was about to be sent immediately to the scaffold. During his stay in Naples, Panizzi had particularly exerted himself to ascertain the condition of Settembrini and his comrades. Through the assistance of women, especially of Settembrini's wife, a clandestine correspondence was successfully established with the prisoners. This was the substructure whereon Panizzi eventually rested a daring project for effecting a rescue of the prisoners. The obstacles to be encountered were enormous. The project demanded a very considerable amount of money, and Panizzi, who had nothing beyond his salary, was quite unable to command this of himself. Then came the tremendous difficulty of securing efficient and thoroughly trustworthy instruments for carrying out in secret the necessary preparations. Lastly, there had to be confronted the dangers attendant on a protracted course of clandestine correspondence with jealously watched prisoners. All these difficulties Panizzi faced and overcame. For four years he clung to his idea, collected by indefatigable energy the means necessary for its realization, and finally brought it to the verge of execution. No incident in his life is anything like so illustrative of his power for bold conception and for making men and things bend before his steady, persistent, and subtle will. That the enterprise partook technically of a piratical character is undeniable, but it is not the case, as could not but be inferred from the confused narrative in the 'Biography,' that from the first he contemplated the project of an armed expedition. That project was the consequence of a suggestion from Settembrini.

Panizzi's thoughts ran originally on bringing powerful diplomatic influence to bear in behalf of the imprisoned patriots. To that end he exerted himself with all his energy to stimulate the interest taken by British statesmen in the fate of these unfortunate men. That it was through these channels he first strove to operate

operate is shown by a letter of Mr. Gladstone's, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated December 14, 1853:—

‘I have read Poerio's letter with horror, but also with admiration. The last, however, does not lessen, it enhances the first; and though I do not well see what can be done hopefully, yet a man does not come readily to the conclusion that one can do nothing under such circumstances. *But first of all, can your judgment suggest anything? . . . I am sure Lord Clarendon would do anything that he may think gives a chance, and I will strain a point. Think the whole matter over before we meet.*’

Manifestly it must have been after the date of this letter that Panizzi turned to other than diplomatic means. He first set to work to obtain command of money, and he succeeded ultimately in collecting about two thousand pounds. We believe the subscribers, amongst whom were men of the highest note, were cognizant only of the general scope of the fund to relieve the sufferings of the Neapolitan prisoners, the particular application of the money having been left absolutely to the judgment of Panizzi, who kept up a regular correspondence with Settembrini. In the Italian volume is a letter of primary importance from Settembrini, of July 2, 1855, to which no reference whatever is made in the ‘Biography.’ It begins thus:—

‘The great affection ever shown me by you, the generous proposal you made four years ago, and the one in your last letter, have inspired me with an idea which, from the share I myself should have in it, seems to me easy of execution, or at least unattended by much danger.’

The idea was that of an escape by night, provided a boat could be at hand under conditions and arrangements specified in detail by Settembrini, who concluded thus:—

‘Now tell me if you like this plan, if you think it feasible and suitable, and *if you could assist us in it*. Should you wish to know the manner by which we propose to get out, I have no objection to write it, but you may rest assured of there being neither difficulty nor danger. As regards the time, it is not for us to fix it; the sooner the better; a month is enough for our preparation, a few hours of one night for the execution. I await your opinion, which I shall defer to with the respect and reverence due to it.’

This phase in the transaction is wholly passed over in the ‘Biography.’ Internal evidence makes the conclusion irresistible, that the particular enterprise in which Panizzi now engaged was wholly due to this suggestion from Settembrini. At page 255 of the Correspondence there is another letter from Settembrini, in reply to two from Panizzi, dated July 30th and 31st, the text of which,

which, however, is not given. 'I cannot express,' says Settembrini, 'what I felt in reading them ; you are a man who transcends all anticipation. *Never did we venture to hope for a steamer, now you come and offer one.*' Settembrini then proceeds to state with great precision the requisite arrangements for ensuring success. He transmits a pen-and-ink sketch for facilitating communication by signal between the promised steamer and the prisoners, and he suggests a date between Oct. 6 and 18 as most appropriate for the attempt. Nothing could possibly be clearer than the information thus transmitted. On his side Panizzi displayed an activity quite feverish.

'The difficulties are enormous,' he wrote to his friend Sir James Lacaita, Aug. 3, 'but as I found money beyond what I had hoped, I am of good courage. There is no danger of being defrauded, for I pay no one now ; but there is a possibility of being betrayed. The sum needed is enormous, and is required for the chartering of a steamer.'

An appropriate vessel was found—a screw steamer called 'The Isle of Thanet,' on board of which Panizzi meant himself to embark. Writing to the same friend, he says : 'The escape seems most feasible in company with an English friend. I *shall direct it myself in person.*' Having obtained from the Trustees, on July 28th, four weeks' extra leave in addition to the annual six weeks' allowance, Panizzi started for Italy. There he modified his plans in some degree. When brought face to face with the execution of the project, he became sensible that for its success the actual direction should be entrusted to some individual of practised skill in such matters. A man of this stamp was Dr. Bertani, one of Garibaldi's most trusty comrades in daring enterprises, to whom Panizzi was introduced at Genoa through a common friend. Dr. Bertani entered zealously into the scheme, and enlisted kindred spirits in its furtherance. Through his channels for clandestine correspondence, Panizzi forwarded to Settembrini a paper which is a model of clearness and a convincing proof of his aptitude for imparting directions. In ten short and admirably precise paragraphs instructions were drafted, which put the prisoners in possession of all the knowledge requisite for co-operation with the help that was to come from without. In that paper, dated from Genoa, August 31, 'the last days of September or beginning of October' were indicated for the steamer's appearance off the island. But then ensued, what so often does ensue when the moving spirit is absent, procrastinating delay. On October 5, Panizzi wrote from Turin, applying for two weeks' further leave, an extension which did not suffice. Chafing with impatience at the protracted non-arrival of the steamer in Genoa, Panizzi returned to London

on October 27—having exceeded his leave by eleven days—to be met on his arrival by tidings of a great disaster. Two days before, on October 25, the ‘Isle of Thanet’ had foundered off Yarmouth. ‘So ended, by no default of skill, but by the merest caprice of fortune, an enterprise which . . . must ever be reckoned as a most brilliant attempt,’ writes Mr. Fagan.

This comment is quite misleading. The enterprise did not end with this untoward incident, and it is extraordinary that Mr. Fagan, who has published most interesting letters from Bertani in reference to subsequent projects, should have expressed himself in a manner that must convey a totally wrong estimate of Panizzi’s persistency on behalf of the Neapolitan patriots. Bertani’s letters prove that down to the end of 1856 schemes of rescue were being steadily and actively concerted with Panizzi, who still had at his command a considerable sum of money. It results from these letters that, after much difficulty and repeated disappointments, a steamer was at last found by Bertani fit for the purpose, of which Garibaldi was to take the command, and that Bertani himself intended to accompany the expedition, which it was proposed should take effect immediately. This was in October 1856. From the desultory manner in which these volumes are composed, no explanation is furnished why this attempt was abandoned. The cause lay in the circumstance, that at this conjuncture the Neapolitan Government unexpectedly broached a scheme for deporting the political prisoners to South America, and that Panizzi, though averse to the particular plan, warmly counselled, on the part of Settembrini and his companions, a petition to the King for pardon, which he was led to believe would be granted. His views were thus expressed to Sir J. Lacaita (February 17, 1857):—

‘I wish you would try to dissuade any Neapolitan prisoners from accepting the alternative of going to the Argentine Republic. . . . They *will be made slaves*. . . . I know some of the prisoners . . . have been offered by the Neapolitan Government a free pardon, if they will petition the King, and they have refused! This is not firmness, but foolhardiness. . . . If they were asked to acknowledge themselves guilty, they would be right to refuse, and rather die in prison; but it is sheer folly to refuse to ask to be let out.’

In a noble letter, Settembrini stated forcibly the reasons which made him resolve rather to abide indefinitely in prison than obtain release through petitioning the Royal grace. This circumstance of possible liberation with the consent of the King, however, necessarily arrested attempts at a rescue always surrounded with grave risks, and which if defeated must have materially aggravated the position of the prisoners. As it was, they were

were set at liberty, though not until January 1859, soon after which date Poerio and Settembrini, with sixty-six companions, landed on these shores. At that moment the great struggle had virtually commenced, which resulted in the formation of a free Kingdom of Italy, though not without recurrent phases of peril to its infant existence, to help in warding off which Panizzi was never backward in proffering strenuous and vigorous service. What he had done in 1848 for his countrymen he did now again with increased force and a widened range of action. He had an acquaintance of many years' standing with Count Cavour. Probably it dated from the Count's visit to this country as a young man. Amongst Panizzi's papers is a long memorandum of 1852 on the finances of Piedmont, in Cavour's handwriting; a conclusive evidence of the intimate relations which already at that time existed between the two.

In the autumn of 1858 Panizzi visited various parts of Northern and Central Italy in company with Sir James Hudson, and had thoroughly convinced himself that the popular movement, whenever let loose, would set powerfully in the direction of the vast national designs contemplated by the illustrious statesman, and which were felt to have come within the range of practical politics ever since the interview at Plombières. From the moment the curtain rose on the great drama, Panizzi followed the course of events with passionate eagerness. When, after Villafranca, there came the critical task of frustrating the execution of an untoward instrument through the resolute attitude of the national will, Panizzi himself proceeded to Italy. By personal exhortation he fortified the resolution of the patriotic men who, in the Duchies, in the Romagna, and in Tuscany, were forward in counteracting the underground machinations of French diplomacy, and in boldly pushing through a fusion under the sceptre of Victor Emmanuel. The Italian collection of letters contains abundant evidence of Panizzi's incessant correspondence with those who were strenuously engaged in welding into unity the members of the Italian body. His efforts were not confined to mere sympathy. In 1848 he had been a channel merely for reaching English statesmen. At this time he was in the position likewise to approach and to speak confidentially with the man to whom of all others it was most important to have access, the Emperor Napoleon. Records of Panizzi's intercourse with the Emperor are scattered through the Mérimée correspondence, and constitute the only really valuable portion of its volumes.

We surmise that Panizzi must have become acquainted with the Emperor Napoleon during his residence in England. Anyhow,

as early as 1851, the Prince as President presented him with the Legion of Honour. A letter of Mérimée's, Dec. 16, 1859, shows that Panizzi had been desirous, on his way through from Italy, of telling the Emperor what he had observed there, and of urging on him the impolicy of forcing on the populations a restoration of the expelled princes. The interview, however, did not take place. The following year Panizzi revisited Italy. It was a moment of grave crisis; Garibaldi was driving King Francis before him into Gaeta, and Victor Emmanuel's troops were invading the Pope's dominions. The French Government presented a menacing note; French soldiers were largely reinforcing the garrison in Rome; and French vessels of war took up a position off Gaeta, which afforded protection to King Francis, and embarrassed the besieging force. It really seemed as if France, actuated by traditional jealousy, was about to deal a shivering blow to the infant creation of Italy. At Turin Victor Emmanuel admitted Panizzi to a long interview in the Royal Stables, as was the King's curious habit when giving what he considered a particularly confidential audience. This time Panizzi saw the Emperor in Paris on his return to England. No record of the actual conversation is preserved, but its nature may be inferred from the contents of a letter to Mérimée, dated Sept. 30:—

‘I have been so fortunate as to have an opportunity of at once communicating to a very influential personage the chief points of the conversation I had the honour of holding with the Emperor respecting the want of cordiality, not to say coolness, now unhappily prevailing between France and England, my object being humbly to contribute, as far as might be in my power, to the growth of better feelings.’

After mentioning how ‘what he had said had been extremely well received,’ and how the Emperor's wish for a cordial co-operation of both countries had been reciprocated, he proceeds to state, with unvarnished plainness of language, certain observations made by his interlocutor in the sense that France ‘was striving to extend her influence and possessions beyond what was just and fair towards her neighbours.’

‘In support of this impression many facts were alleged. It was stated Savoy and Nice were annexed, not only against the most explicit professions to the contrary, but on pretences that would justify any other annexation of territories France might covet. I was told, moreover, that France, knowing how injurious it might be to English interests to alter the territorial arrangements on the coast of Barbary, with reference to Gibraltar, had nevertheless encouraged an unjust attack on the part of Spain on Morocco; . . . that agents were traced to Belgium and other parts, endeavouring to create a party in those

those populations favourable to annexation ; that agents had even been found in Ireland. . . . It depends on France, I was told, to be on the very best and most intimate terms with this country, that is, by not acting in a manner which excites well-founded suspicions of her intentions. . . . It is positively denied there is any intention of forming any coalition, or even of coming to an understanding for the purpose of injuring France. It is, however, admitted that nations who watch the conduct of France are uneasy for their own security, and will probably come to an understanding should France ever become aggressive. . . . She has raised the storm ; she must do her best to allay it if she has at heart the English alliance.'

The 'influential personage' alluded to was of course Lord Palmerston. The letter itself was communicated to M. Fould, who submitted it to the Emperor, whom it reached at a moment when feelings in French circles ran high against Italy :—

'Here public opinion,' Mérimée writes, 'is very much against Victor Emmanuel. On the one hand, national pride is wounded at a Piedmontese General beating a French one ; on the other, the aggression of the Piedmontese and M. de Cavour's manifesto have been considered scandalous.'

On October 15 Mérimée writes again, 'One word in haste. M. Fould has shown your letter to *your friend of St. Cloud*. Your friend told M. Fould this morning to write to me an answer. I expect the reply, and will send it at once. You may commit the *indiscretion* of letting it be understood that the answer is of superior interest, as being inspired. Your St. Cloud friend had the letter ten days since without having read it ; he is lazy about reading papers.' M. Fould's letter was forwarded the following day, but it is not given in these volumes. Mr. Fagan errs in considering it to be the one he prints in vol. ii. p. 226. The letter given there is the one referred to in Mérimée's of the same date—November 4—and is a reply to further observations of Panizzi's, which were inspired by fresh acts of an ambiguous character on the part of the French commanders in Rome and off Gaeta. All these important explanations were duly brought to the knowledge of the leading British statesmen. The following extract from a letter to Mérimée of November 27 aptly illustrates Panizzi's straightforward mode of making communications :—

'Yesterday Mr. Gladstone sent me a long letter, in which he tells me how he deplores the conduct of the Imperial Government at Gaeta, at Viterbo, at Terracina, and, in fact, everywhere, and which almost confirms what he has constantly tried to make people disbelieve. He is much mortified. I answered him, but from a second letter received this morning, I feel I cannot conceal the sudden change in Mr. Gladstone's

stone's conviction. And if so firm a friend of the Emperor has changed, think what the effect must be on those who have always suspected the Emperor. As His Majesty placed so much confidence, and justly so, in the sentiments of Mr. Gladstone, I have thought it right to inform him of this change, and this I do entirely on my own responsibility, hoping that something will be done in order to restore to His Majesty the confidence of those who, here, are his real friends.'

A few days later Panizzi wrote as follows to Cavour:—

'You are already aware I wrote to let the Emperor know the bad impression his conduct was producing here. . . . The Emperor has read my letter, and has given me to understand in answer that his feelings are the same as two years ago, that he still wishes to promote the independence of the Italian nation, and ever so many fine things of the sort, which amount to nothing. But there is in the answer a passage of considerable importance, which I copy: "The Emperor replied that all that has been done was done in concert with the King's Government." . . . I know not what to think of this . . . I don't know and cannot stomach this. My rejoinder was that, if the matter stood as was then reported, I could not but admit the King's Government to be involved in responsibility, but that I could not comprehend why such a King should be patronized as he of Gaeta. . . . I said too that the most influential persons here believed the Emperor was favourable to a certain measure of Italian independence, but not to Italian unity. . . . I ought perhaps to have said more, but did not wish to go beyond certain limits. *There are some here who fancy the Emperor has an understanding with you over there*, but I do not know what good it would do us to have Francis at Gaeta. In short, we understand nothing at all.'

These passages sufficiently show the frankness of speech and independent courage Panizzi displayed in intercourse with the highest and the mightiest. That he came to entertain feelings of real fondness for the Emperor personally, is certain. He received from the latter attentions of an unusual kind, and in 1862, along with Mérimée, was for several weeks the Emperor's guest at Biarritz. Mérimée's letters abound in evidence of the marked intimacy to which Panizzi was admitted in the Imperial household, and of the great regard in which he was held, not only by the Emperor, but likewise by the Empress and the Prince Imperial. It is therefore particularly deserving of notice that overwhelming evidence also exists of the fact, that this favour was due to no smooth-tongued concealment of the very decided views he held on points of capital importance—notably on that most thorny point in the Italian question—the Roman problem. The singular footing Panizzi acquired in the Court circles of the Empire was spontaneously accorded to him, and in no manner bought by the slightest sacrifice

sacrifice of principle on his part. The following extract from an unpublished letter to Mrs. Haywood, dated November 18, 1867, illustrates well the uncompromising spirit in which Panizzi viewed his relations with these high personages:—

‘What has happened in Italy, and the conduct of France, have determined me not to go abroad if I can do without. . . . Both France and Italy would be safe enough for me, but not pleasant. I could hardly pass through Paris without asking to pay my respects to those from whom I have received so much kindness; *but those personages have, I think, behaved very ill, very cruelly, and very unjustifiably to Italy.*’

Panizzi's herculean constitution had of late shown symptoms of failure. He began to suffer from exhausting sleeplessness and acute rheumatic affections. Nevertheless he would allow himself no relaxation. He persisted in discharging his duties with the unswerving regularity and indefatigable punctuality that always so remarkably distinguished his official action, until in December 1862 he found it absolutely necessary to obtain leave of absence for some months. These he passed in Italy. In May he was back again in the Museum, but, though for a while considerably invigorated by the vacation, he soon became conscious that his strength was not equal to the strain of work he had to deal with. Accordingly, on June 24, 1865, he tendered his resignation in the following very characteristic terms:—

‘Mr. Panizzi regrets being obliged, after long hesitation, to take this step, but he finds that neither in justice to this great institution nor to himself ought he to continue to hold a place, the duties of which, to be efficiently performed, require a vigour not only of mind but of body, which Mr. Panizzi is conscious he no longer possesses. . . . Should the Trustees do Mr. Panizzi the honour of considering that, on his resignation being accepted by Her Majesty, his knowledge of Museum affairs might be of use to the Trustees for a limited period, to be fixed by themselves, Mr. Panizzi will feel proud if his humble gratuitous services be accepted, until his successor can enter on his duties and become familiar with them.’

The same day the Trustees, together with a Resolution urging on the Treasury Panizzi's claim, on the ground of special services, to a retiring allowance equal to ‘the full amount of his salary and emoluments,’ passed a Resolution, on the motion of Mr. Disraeli, ‘That the resignation of Mr. Panizzi at a period when great changes are contemplated in the administration of the British Museum is to be peculiarly regretted.’ The changes referred to were connected with the removal of the Natural History collections. On the strength of this Resolution, Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, appealed to Panizzi to ‘continue his valuable services at least until early in the next year.’

year.' Panizzi acquiesced, and for another twelve months continued his services, till on July 16, 1866, he finally severed all official connection with the Museum. The words have been already given, which he addressed in parting to those towards whom he had so long stood in a position of authority. The night before he left the British Museum, in that little room from which during so many years he had ruled with joy and pride and power, Panizzi, as his last act, sat down to write some other words which, both in themselves and on account of the person to whom they were addressed, deserve to be quoted as embodying a most striking expression of the man's nature. In that moment of conscious termination to a life's career, Panizzi's mind, passing in review the past in its various phases, conjuring up the ghosts of olden memories, reverted instinctively to the recollections of his Liverpool days, and with irresistible affection he thought of the friendly hands that had then been stretched forth to raise him out of distress. These hands were mostly stiff in the cold grasp of death. But there was still surviving the widow of his chief benefactor, and to Mrs. Haywood, under uncontrollable emotion, Panizzi wrote as follows, in the letter to which we have already referred :—

'The Trustees have behaved most handsomely, and so has the Government, both in words and deeds. First of all, ample justice, and perhaps more than justice, was rendered to very long and many services. I shall certainly remain in London, the pension I am to get being ample for my wants ; and now, my dear Mrs. Haywood, let me add a few words from my heart. The first feeling, when my future was settled, was one of deep grief, that the friend who would have so heartily rejoiced at the close of my honourable career, who cheered me when lonely and unknown, who thought of my welfare as much as he did of his own, that he was no longer here. The feeling overwhelmed me for a moment, and even now I can hardly master it.'

Panizzi's life was spared for thirteen years after his retirement, during which more than one distinction was bestowed on him. In Italy he was named Senator, in England he received the insignia of K.C.B. All these honours, however, could not impart what was indispensable for their enjoyment, strength and health. In 1868 he had an illness of so severe a character that for several days his recovery was despaired of. Nor was his physical recovery ever complete, though the mind quite regained its original vigour. For several years before his death, he was almost entirely confined to his house in Bloomsbury Square. This closing period was one of pain and suffering. It was a long and a hard siege which Death had to lay to that strong constitution before conquering its strength. With slow and
cruel

cruel relentlessness, infirmity crept over, fastened on, and overpowered the vigour and force of this large, joyous, powerful nature. In the period that immediately preceded his death, the man who once had been overbrimming with genial sympathies and a hilarious sense for jovial pleasure, sat in moody loneliness and almost animated with angry hatred of the world on which he had been wont to look with so much kindness and so much joyous humour. It was, therefore, a release when the end was set to his continued and melancholy sufferings by a calm death, which took place on April 8, 1879.

We have been obliged in the course of this article to note sundry errors into which Mr. Fagan has fallen through inadvertence. That he has brought to the execution of his task a sincere appreciation of Panizzi's character, will be readily admitted. The volumes, in part written, in part edited by him, contain much of genuine value in illustration of a remarkable man and of divers persons who were conspicuous actors in an eventful period. The work has been visibly one of love. Nevertheless, the most friendly critic will be under the necessity of protesting against the manner in which some portion of the work has been presented. It must be a subject of regret that Mr. Fagan should not have shown more delicacy in respect to letters from distinguished persons—some still alive—which came into his possession as Panizzi's executor, and which he has printed without asking the permission of the writers. In the *Italian Letters*, and still more in the *Mérimée Correspondence*, matter has been inserted which it would have been more conformable to the instincts of propriety not to have published. Haphazard and thoughtless utterances about individuals are unavoidably dropped in the freedom of intimate converse, which never would have been indulged in, had the prospect of publication been present to the mind. To print careless effusions of this character, and even questionable anecdotes reflecting on the private lives of persons whose identity is by no means concealed under the thin veil of fictitious initials—is to produce reading calculated to give pain, and which can have attraction only for those who entertain a craving after tittle-tattle and scandal. Certainly no one would have shrunk with greater horror from anything of the kind than Panizzi, who throughout life was pre-eminently distinguished for honourable discretion and inviolable secretiveness. It is with great regret that, in parting company with Mr. Fagan, we feel bound to notice the unfortunate presence of a disfiguring feature in these interesting volumes which the exercise of a little editorial vigilance would have easily avoided.

- ART. VII.—1. *Report of Commissioners on the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales on an average of three years ending 1831.* 1835.
2. *Clergy List.* 1880. *Annual Reports from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England, 1858–1879.* *Queen Anne's Bounty: Annual Reports and Accounts of the Governors.*
3. *Hodgson's Account of Queen Anne's Bounty.* London, 1864.
4. *Report of a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury on Deficiencies of Spiritual Ministration.* 1876.
5. *Thirty-third Report from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.* 1881.

THE Church of England seems to have prided herself upon never taking stock of what all her sons were doing. Either shrinking from even the appearance of what might be looked upon as boasting, or from dread of incurring the penalty which fell upon King David for numbering Israel, or from apathy, or from an imperfect sense of corporate responsibility, the Church has never published general statements of what is being done, and of what is still required. Individual bishops have, no doubt, possessed a complete account of the plant or working material (so to speak) of their dioceses, of what is needed to perfect it, and of the progress made towards the realization of their ideal. Societies and associations have called attention to particular deficiencies in different dioceses or in the Church at large; but these necessarily take a one-sided view, dealing only with the want they seek to supply. For some years past (if we recollect rightly, the practice was introduced by Bishop Wilberforce) most bishops' charges commence with a recapitulation of what has been effected in their dioceses in building and restoring churches and other religious works during the interval since their previous charges. But hitherto no attempt has been made to tabulate or collect this information, so as to give at a glance a clear view of what has been done; it has lain buried in a number of documents, some of which are not easily procurable. It needs time and patience to disentangle and summarize the information so scattered about; and, as it is sometimes only partially given, it has been by no means certain that complete success would reward the labours of the most diligent investigator.

One consequence of this is that people generally have no idea of the extent to which Churchmen have sacrificed of their own for the development and furtherance of Church objects.

And

And when the various denominations of Nonconformists, at their annual gatherings or conferences, announce the large sums which they have collected and expended on building chapels, preachers' houses, sustaining their various religious objects, and providing for the superannuated, it is sometimes supposed that the Church of England has no such rôle of good works for the maintenance and extension of her work throughout the country which she could exhibit, or that she would certainly not hide what she is doing in such impenetrable darkness that no one can tell what she is accomplishing.

With the many and persistent attacks which are being made upon the Church's property and position, it seems to us important that the facts of the case should be stated. From no wish to boast, or to obtrude what is being done, and with a full consciousness of the much more which remains to be accomplished, we desire to place before our readers what has been effected in one branch of Church finance, that they may see what has been added to the Church's endowments during the last half century. One reason for doing this is to remove an erroneous impression, that the revenues on which the clergy depend for their maintenance are altogether derived from the pious bounty of our ancestors. It is well for people to know that this generation is making sacrifices for this important object, and is not wholly depending upon the liberality of those who have passed away, or only adding to a miserably small extent to their bounty.

Before speaking of the additions which have been made to the endowments of the Church, it would be well to say a word about what has been effected for the fabrics which form the material centres from which her spiritual energies are put forth. We believe that the first attempt to obtain a complete authoritative statement of what has been accomplished in church building during this century was made by the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury. In March 1872 it appointed a Committee 'to consider what deficiencies exist in the amount of spiritual ministration provided by the Church of England for the people of England, and the means by which their wants may be best supplied.'* This Committee necessarily had to examine what had been already effected, and in an Appendix it gives a complete statement of the number of churches consecrated in England and Wales from the beginning of the century to the end of 1875, when the Report was presented to

* 'Report of Committee of Convocation on Deficiencies of Spiritual Ministration,' p. 1.

Convocation. From this we learn that during those seventy-five years no less than 4414 churches had been consecrated, about a third of the whole number possessed by the Church, and that, of these, 1015 had been churches rebuilt, either because larger structures were needed, or because the old edifices were so unsightly or in such bad repair, that they could only be effectually improved by being swept away and replaced by new ones; the remaining 3399 churches marked what had been done permanently to meet the requirements of a rapidly increasing population; we say 'had been done permanently,' because, in addition to these more costly buildings, there had been set up a great number of temporary erections, such as iron churches and other buildings licensed for public worship; of these there is no general statement, and to obtain the necessary information application would have to be made to the Registrars of the respective dioceses, and it is doubtful whether they would know what licences were still in force without a long and troublesome investigation. We hope that at the Census for 1881, if account is made of buildings designed for public worship, care will be taken to include in it the licensed as well as the consecrated buildings used by the Church for the public worship of Almighty God.

This statement by Convocation necessarily did not include any mention of the cost at which the work had been accomplished. But happily some light has been thrown upon this subject. We believe that we are indebted to Mr. Childers, the present Secretary of State for War, for first drawing public attention to this subject. He endeavoured in a variety of ways to ascertain what the Church had expended during recent years upon her ecclesiastical edifices, and in speeches delivered on suitable occasions urged upon those in authority the expediency of setting forth what had been done. His efforts to obtain the information he sought elicited the fact that it did not exist in an available form. In no diocese had any account been taken of what had been expended. It was enough that the work had been done; what did it matter how much the cost had been? Happily this feeling—which witnessed to the too prevalent idea that the Church of England consists of a number of petty independent corporations, and is not one great whole, of which it may be said that 'if one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it'—was not allowed to prevail. In June 1874, Lord Hampton moved in the House of Lords for a

* 1 Cor. xii. 26.

return of all sums expended in restoring or building cathedrals or churches since 1840, provided that at least 500*l.* had been spent upon the building for which the return was made. To this a supplemental return was ordered in 1876. In response to these enquiries an elaborate account is given from each diocese, which shows that 25,548,703*l.* had been expended during the years included in the returns upon building* 1727, and restoring* 7144 churches. It is almost needless to point out that, large as is the sum which is stated to have been devoted to this pious object, it must fall far below the facts. For the return excludes all sums below 500*l.*, and of such sums there must have been a large number; but, besides this, the returns bear upon their face marks of their incompleteness: thus there is a note appended to the returns from the diocese of Chester, 'including 7 new churches, cost not known;' and those from Chichester, 'including 2 new churches and 6 restored ones, cost of which is not known;' and those from Lichfield, 'no returns have been received from 134 churches, and the amounts expended on building and restoring 11 churches are not given;' and those from Norwich, 'no returns from 138 churches;' and those from Ripon, 'it is probable that from 50,000*l.* to 100,000*l.* have been further expended;' and those from Worcester, 'the restorations are supposed to have cost more than this sum.' Whilst, on the other side of the account, there are appended to the returns from Peterborough the following words, in which there must be some inaccuracy: 'School chapels and hamlets have been counted, although the cost has been under 500*l.*, being considered part of the mother parish.' This statement, therefore, although issued with the authority of Parliament, must be taken as an approximation to the truth, and not as a complete account of what has been done; and thus constitutes further proof, if such proof was needed, of the ignorance concerning the work carried on in her own borders and for the welfare of her children by the Church of England. We noticed with pleasure that the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, in a recent session, had directed one of its Committees to collect from the various dioceses annually what has been done to increase the number of their churches, or to improve those already in existence, and also to report the amount expended on such works. If this return is regularly

* These numbers are not accurately divided. In the dioceses of Chester, Exeter, Gloucester and Bristol, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Asaph, St. David's, Salisbury, and Worcester, churches built, not being distinguished from churches restored, are included under the heading 'restored.'

and carefully collected and published, it will give information that will be useful in more ways than one.

Such an expenditure as we have been able thus imperfectly to record having been made for adding to or improving the churches in which people assemble to worship, we come to the special point of our enquiry, What has been done to provide for or improve the remuneration of those who minister in them? Here too we must be content with incomplete returns, gathered from a variety of independent sources, as no attempt has recently been made by authority to ascertain the provision made by the Church for those who minister at her altars. Moreover, there are different modes of calculation, which create some confusion. Occasionally the gross value of the benefices is given; but ordinarily, and especially in the case of benefices which derive a portion of their income from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the nett value is stated. This sum, however, generally includes the stipends of curates, so that the actual amount received by the incumbent for his own personal use is frequently a good deal below the income with which he is credited in the Clergy List. Then, in reckoning the number of benefices, inexactness is introduced by the estimate at one time counting as distinct benefices only those which require a separate nomination from the 'patron and institution by the bishop, which may include two or more parishes united under powers given by Parliament, whilst at others each member of a united benefice is reckoned as though it were a separate benefice. Our endeavour has been to give the nett value of the various benefices, and to reckon as one benefice whatever cures are included in the same nomination by the patron and institution by the bishop, but on both points we fear we have imperfectly accomplished what we desired.

What, then, has been done for creating or improving endowments for our churches during the last half century? Happily we possess an excellent starting-point for our enquiry. In 1831 an influential Commission was appointed by the Crown, to ascertain what had been the average receipts of all the clergy during the three years ending with 1831. In 1835 this Commission reported, and in its statements we have a firm basis from which to commence. We wish there was equally unquestionable information respecting the present value of the benefices of the Church. This we cannot be said to possess; though in the various Clergy Lists, including the Diocesan Calendars, we have the values given of the various ecclesiastical preferments, sometimes with a detailed account of the sources from which they are

are derived, and these not infrequently corrected by the respective incumbents. Our statement concerning these values has been compiled from these various sources, and we believe that it is substantially correct, though we dare not claim for it anything like complete accuracy. We propose, first, to institute a comparison between the values of the benefices at the two periods, 1830 and 1880; and then to show, so far as we are able, the various ways in which the increased value has arisen.

In the Report of 1831 the Commissioners say:—*

‘The total number of benefices, with and without cure of souls, the incumbents whereof have made returns to our inquiries, omitting those which are accustomably annexed to superior preferments, and which are included in the statements respecting those preferments, is 10,540. The total amount of the gross annual income of those benefices is 3,197,225*l.*, giving an average income of 303*l.*

‘The total number of benefices, with and without cure of souls, in England and Wales, including those not returned to us, but exclusive of those annexed to other preferments† (about 24 in number) is 10,718; the total gross income of which, calculated upon the average of those returned, will be 3,251,159*l.*’

The value of the 13,617‡ benefices given in the ‘Clergy List’ for 1880 is 4,446,678*l.*,§ which gives an average income to each of 333*l.* But in this return no value is given for 302 benefices, concerning which no information has been obtained. Supposing the value of these to average the same as do those which have made returns, the present annual income of all the benefices in England and Wales (excluding, in this and in all previous statements, bishoprics and all other dignities), would be 4,547,244*l.* At the two periods the benefices were ranged in value according to the following Tables:—

* ‘Report of Commissioners,’ p. xi.

† The separate value of these is not given in any part of the Report.

‡ It may be well to call attention to the fact that in this number very nearly all the 66 sinecure rectories, which were included in the return of 1831, have disappeared; and that the increase in the number of benefices is to that extent greater. If all the additional churches consecrated since 1831 had represented new parishes, the number would be about 430 larger than it is, allowing no deduction for sinecure benefices; but then many of these consecrated buildings have remained chapels of ease; whilst many Peel districts, being independent parishes, have no consecrated churches. A return, presented to Parliament in May, 1878, showed that the number of separate incumbencies or districts created from the year 1842 inclusive, by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Church Building Commissioners, was 2581. There is another element which raises a difficulty in comparing the increase of churches consecrated and new districts formed—that is, that many old chapels of ease have been converted into consecrated churches with districts assigned to them.

§ This includes information drawn from other sources, and added to what is given in the ‘Clergy List.’

VALUE OF BENEFICES ON AN AVERAGE OF THREE YEARS ending 1831.

Diocese.	Number of benefices.	Not certain.	Not exceeding £100.	£101 to £200.	£201 to £300.	£301 to £400.	£401 to £500.	£501 to £600.	£601 to £700.	£701 to £800.	£801 to £900.	£901 to £1000.	Over £1000.
St. Asaph ..	143	2	21	33	38	26	10	6	1	5	..	..	1
Bangor ..	123	..	35	29	22	17	10	4	2	1	..	1	..
Bath and Wells ..	430	2	62	143	97	55	36	13	12	6	4	..	..
Bristol ..	253	1	43	65	55	37	24	12	5	5	2	2	2
Canterbury ..	346	7	34	104	66	53	28	13	15	10	5	6	5
Carlisle ..	124	..	50	43	14	7	3	4	2	..	..	1	..
Chester ..	630	..	195	236	83	28	17	14	14	6	8	6	23
Chichester ..	267	2	32	93	53	40	16	8	8	7	2	3	3
St. David's ..	409	8	173	170	33	17	6	..	1	..	..	..	1
Durham ..	192	..	43	48	36	15	10	13	8	4	2	2	11
Ely ..	150	4	30	47	29	11	9	3	4	3	1	..	9
Exeter ..	613	3	61	194	137	87	59	26	20	16	6	2	2
Gloucester & Bristol ..	283	..	62	69	53	37	27	15	9	4	3	..	4
Hereford ..	321	3	57	95	69	38	20	11	11	7	4	3	3
Lichfield & Coventry ..	610	1	173	161	104	71	31	28	10	10	3	5	13
Lincoln ..	1251	2	227	348	255	158	90	63	38	22	17	14	17
Llandaff ..	192	..	69	69	31	12	7	3	1	..	..	..	..
London ..	640	6	47	109	136	103	85	52	31	28	2	12	29
Norwich ..	1026	5	161	231	209	135	104	80	41	28	15	5	12
Oxford ..	196	..	40	66	32	27	14	5	3	6	2	..	1
Peterborough ..	293	..	27	70	68	60	28	18	6	7	5	2	2
Rochester ..	94	..	2	17	18	19	9	11	6	8	..	3	1
Salisbury ..	398	2	37	95	93	68	48	17	18	5	7	4	4
Winchester ..	419	2	63	90	61	73	50	20	27	9	7	5	12
Worcester ..	223	..	36	67	46	23	11	10	11	6	3	1	9
York ..	891	2	247	297	128	72	43	35	21	11	13	7	15
Sodor and Man ..	23	..	13	5	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Total ..	10,540	52	2040	2994	1968	1291	795	484	325	214	114	84	179

VALUE

Dioceses.	Number of benefices.	Not given.	Not exceeding £100.	£101 to £200.	£201 to £300.	£301 to £400.	£401 to £500.	£501 to £600.	£601 to £700.	£701 to £800.	£801 to £900.	£901 to £1000.	Over £1000.
St. Alban's ..	601	..	24	114	156	85	82	61	26	26	12	4	11
St. Asaph ..	179	1	8	37	60	35	18	8	7	3	1	1	..
Bangor ..	138	1	12	41	43	19	14	2	3	1	..	2	..
Bath and Wells ..	470	..	43	144	127	62	48	28	13	4	1	3	2
Canterbury ..	422	5	14	70	123	88	50	26	15	8	11	7	5
Carlisle ..	292	..	14	145	79	30	7	9	3	..	3	2	..
Chester ..	442	14	12	125	139	61	28	12	16	10	5	4	16
Chichester ..	376	11	31	94	84	75	27	17	14	9	8	3	8
St. David's ..	413	3	101	154	89	40	16	4	3	1	1	1	..
Durham ..	379	9	7	58	127	78	36	20	10	9	7	3	15
Ely ..	555	..	31	120	137	100	57.	39	23	11	13	7	17
Exeter ..	508	81	53	115	94	69	46	20	15	10	1	2	2
Gloucester and Bristol ..	459	..	45	129	117	84	45	14	12	6	1	3	3
Hereford ..	357	5	64	105	74	48	23	15	8	6	4	2	8
Lichfield ..	697	44	68	217	192	78	40	17	18	10	2	4	7
Lincoln ..	822	4	93	164	209	126	79	52	34	22	18	7	14
Llandaff ..	230	4	49	70	70	21	14	1	1	..	..	..	..
London ..	515	1	2	78	174	73	49	44	24	19	14	9	28
Manchester ..	466	14	13	119	194	53	26	16	8	2	3	3	15
Norwich ..	898	18	121	203	147	119	90	71	59	25	17	12	16
Oxford ..	638	5	52	189	154	97	55	38	23	11	5	2	7
Peterborough ..	580	10	24	100	119	115	80	51	25	20	13	10	13
Ripon ..	493	..	30	171	164	52	38	12	3	6	7	2	8
Rochester ..	302	14	6	53	51	44	54	29	21	10	3	4	13
Salisbury ..	490	..	36	112	108	83	58	39	18	14	9	10	3
Truro ..	235	42	23	45	49	27	19	12	8	4	2	2	2
Winchester ..	529	7	46	151	115	74	39	31	18	18	8	7	15
Worcester ..	477	4	33	133	142	69	34	18	15	11	5	4	9
York ..	620	5	44	173	190	86	33	37	17	13	8	5	9
Sodor and Man ..	34	..	8	18	5	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Total ..	13,617	302	1107	3447	3532	1993	1200	743	461	289	182	125	236

A comparison of the statements shows that during the fifty years which have intervened between 1830 and 1880, the annual value of the incomes of the Clergy has risen from 3,251,159*l.* to 4,547,244*l.*, or nearly 40 per cent., and that, notwithstanding the large addition of 3077 * to the number of benefices returned, the average annual income of each has increased from 303*l.* to 333*l.* We fear that it would be easy to show that the nett annual income of each clergyman available for his own wants and those of his family is really less now than it was at the earlier date, owing to the heavy demands upon him for the support of the religious work of his parish. But with this we have now no concern.

The question at once arises, Whence does this increase proceed? Has it been from mere natural growth in the value of property, or from additions which have been made to the endowments of various benefices?

That some increase has been made by the natural growth in the value of property, there can be no question; but what such addition may have been we are unable to state. We think, however, it can be easily demonstrated that this cause must be credited with only a portion, and that by no means the largest portion, of the enhanced value of clerical endowments. A comparison of the values of the benefices at the two periods will show that there has been no such steady addition to them as there must have been if the accession of value had arisen chiefly from growth in the income derived from property with which the benefices were endowed at the earlier date. Thus in 1831 there were 1400 benefices with an income exceeding 500*l.*, whilst in 1880 the number had only increased to 2036. And of this addition a considerable proportion has arisen from the division of large benefices, by which better provision has been secured for the spiritual wants of the parishioners. Thus, in 1831, Dodington, in the Diocese of Ely, is returned as having a revenue of 7306*l.*; in 1880 we find its income reduced to 1700*l.*; whilst March St. Wendreda has its income raised to 1300*l.*; March St. John is provided with 1176*l.*; March St. Mary with 2000*l.*; March St. Peter with 1114*l.*; the five benefices having less col-

* Between 1818 and November 1st, 1879, the 'Thirty-second Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' (p. 55) states that 2963 new ecclesiastical districts were formed (68 of them in 1879). Between 1818 and 1831 the growth was much slower than it has been recently: during those years 366 additional churches were consecrated; whilst 268 new districts must have been formed in order to make the figures in the text perfectly accurate. This would allow a somewhat larger proportion of the additional churches consecrated to continue chapels of ease in the years before 1831 than have done so since, which is what has really happened. In a note on p. 507 (†), further information is given to assist in harmonizing the number of benefices stated to exist at the two periods.

lectively than the one had for itself at the earlier date. In like manner the rector of Stanhope, in the Diocese of Durham, enjoyed in 1831 an income of 4843*l.*; in 1880, his revenues are reduced to 1650*l.*, and the remaining portion of the income of the benefice has been divided amongst six district churches, whose incumbents receive about 400*l.* a year each. So, too, Bishop Wearmouth, in the same diocese, possessed an income for its rector of 3346*l.* in 1831, but this is now reduced to 1650*l.*, and the balance is distributed amongst the twelve district churches which have been erected in the parish, of which six are returned as possessing an income of more than 500*l.* a year each. Then it is notorious that the income * of several valuable benefices in the City of London and elsewhere has been materially diminished by transferring a large portion to increase inadequate endowments of churches in more populous places. Nor must we forget to note the Lord Chancellor's Augmentation Act, 1863, by which the income of certain benefices in his gift has been materially increased, by transferring the patronage of them to other hands, and devoting the sums received for such transference of patronage to augment the benefices. By these various instrumentalities the number of benefices with an income of more than 500*l.* must have been considerably increased. It would only weary our readers if we were further to extend the evidence that such changes of income have been made. We think that enough has been said to show that comparatively few benefices can have been raised in value from less than 500*l.* a year to more than that sum by natural growth in the value of property, and therefore that it would be a mistake to suppose that the additional value of the funds devoted to the support of the clergy is chiefly due to a natural increment in the rents derivable from property. Moreover it is worth noticing that many of the more richly endowed benefices have substantially the same income assigned to them in 1880 which they were reported to possess in 1831; and where there is a difference, it is of such a kind as to preclude the idea that the mother church has been taxed for the endowment of daughter churches as in the

* By the Act 17 & 18 Vict. c. lxxxiv. § 8, it was enacted that, 'Whereas by the 74th Section of the Statute of the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of Her Majesty, c. 113, it was provided that arrangements might be made in the manner therein mentioned, for the apportionment of the Income of Two Benefices belonging to the same Patron between the Incumbents or Ministers of such Benefices, or the Churches or Chapels connected therewith. Be it enacted, That the provisions of the last-mentioned Act in that behalf shall apply to any Lands, Tithes, Tithe-rent charges, or other Hereditaments or Sources of Income, of what nature or kind soever, belonging to such Benefices, and shall apply to any number of Benefices belonging to the same Patron.'

cases already recited. Thus, at the earlier date, Stoke-upon-Trent had an income of 2912*l.*; in 1880 it has 2717*l.* Wem in 1831 had 2037*l.*; in 1880, 2138*l.* Hatfield is credited with 2097*l.* in the earlier return, with the same sum in the later; Bury, with 2067*l.* in 1831, with 1927*l.* in 1880; Stockport with 1982*l.* in 1831, with 1741*l.* in 1880; Camberwell with 1820*l.* in 1831, with 1660*l.* in 1880. We believe that none of these benefices have been mulcted for daughter parishes, but it is possible that the alienation of fees to the new district churches may in most of these cases account for some diminution of income; but that source of revenue is a small one, and if its withdrawal suffices materially to lessen the emoluments of the mother church, it is obvious that the Church's profit from the enhanced value of property must have been comparatively trifling. The only wealthy benefice which shows considerable increase is Halsall, which was 3051*l.* and is 3500*l.*; whilst Leverington, which in 1831 formed one rectory with an income of 2209*l.*, is now divided into four independent benefices, which collectively are endowed with 2210*l.* a year. It would be impossible to prosecute this enquiry through the various classes of benefices. What we have said certainly furnishes strong evidence that the revenues of these parishes, available for the payment of the clergy, are not materially greater in 1880 than they were in 1831, whilst at the same time it shows that the private patrons, in whose patronage these benefices are chiefly vested, have shown a laudable willingness to diminish the excessive value of the few over-endowed livings which existed, and so to appropriate their income as best to conduce to the benefit of the parishioners. The chief material addition made to the value of benefices during the last fifty years, has been where the income arises from land in a town or populous place, which has become available for building purposes. In the few cases where there has been a considerable addition to the value of land occupied for agricultural purposes the cause has been that the incumbent has expended a large sum in drainage, reclamation of waste or common land, or other improvements, and so has augmented the value of the Church's property by contributions out of his own.

It is also worth pointing out that the number of benefices with an income exceeding 2000*l.* a year has been reduced from 18 in 1831, to 12 in 1880; and that of the 18 in 1831, there were 4 endowed with 3000*l.* a year and upwards; 3 others with 4000*l.* a year and upwards; and 1 other with nearly 8000*l.* a year. Of the 12 still credited with an income of more than 2000*l.* in 1880, there are only 3 possessed of more than 3000*l.*, and but one of these has so much as 3500*l.*

If we turn to the other end of the scale of value, we shall find the ratio of advance very different. In 1831 there were 2040 benefices whose income did not exceed 100*l.*, and many of these were parishes with large populations and of considerable importance. Nor is this the worst that can be said; for, of these 2040 miserably endowed parishes, 49 had an income not exceeding 20*l.* a year (and one of them, with a population of 1811, had only 5*l.* a year; and we regret to have to add that this last-named scandal has not yet been removed); and 276 others had an income of more than 20*l.* but not exceeding 50*l.* In 1880 there is still a melancholy tale to be told, though there has been a great advance, for there are 1107 benefices with an income not exceeding 100*l.* a year; and of these, 25 furnish their vicars with a stipend not exceeding 20*l.* a year, and 176 others provide more than 20*l.*, but not more than 50*l.* annually. It is a comfort to know that all the benefices in public patronage which have a population of 4000 and upwards have been removed from this category.

It may be thought that the action of the Commissioners appointed to carry out the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, must modify the conclusion at which we have arrived, and that the incomes of the clergy were materially increased by what they did. We more than doubt whether such was the case, or from the nature of its provisions could have been so. It substituted fixed payments from the land for the more uncertain proceeds which were realized when tithes were paid in kind, and so it did good service by getting rid of continual disputes and heartburnings between a parson and his parishioners; but, if the harvests were fairly good and the price of corn moderately high during the three years ending with 1831, it is probable that the clergy received quite as much for tithe during those years, as they have since done from the commutations which they have been obliged to make upon averages when the seasons were less good and prices lower. We think that the figures we have quoted clearly show that such must have been the case. In a few parishes, owing to exceptional circumstances, there may have been some increase obtained by the clergy, but in the great majority of parishes the operation of the Act left the clergy nominally much as it found them, except that it substituted a better for a worse system of collecting the tithes to which they were entitled; but it also deprived them of opportunities of adding to their income which they previously possessed. We find that nearly one-half of the incomes of the clergy is derived from tithes; the report of the Tithe Commutation Commissioners for 1879 states, that there is payable to
parochial

parochial incumbents from awards which they have made for the commutation of tithes 2,412,684*l.*, from which, however, a large deduction, probably not less than 20 per cent., would have to be made to arrive at the nett value. We have also seen that the income of the clergy amounts to 4,547,244*l.*, so that the area over which a natural increase from the enhanced value of property could beneficially affect the clergy is reduced to about two and a half millions. It may be well to mention that the Report we have just quoted shows that to impropriators of different kinds there is payable no less than 1,641,277*l.* annually from tithes.

A second source of income has been most materially changed since 1831. At that time there were few, if any, newly-built churches in towns, which were not endowed to a greater or less extent with pew-rents. Since then the incumbents of many of these have become convinced that pew-rented churches may have attractions for prosperous tradesmen, but that they repel from the services in God's house the mechanic and labouring classes, those to whom it is not convenient to make stated payments for church privileges. It would probably be found that the actual amount received from pew-rents is less in 1880 than it was in 1831; whilst the weekly offertories, which in many parishes have been substituted for pew-rents, have to bear all incidental charges—which in 1831 would have been borne by Church-rates, contributions to charitable objects, &c.—and so leave but a small sum available for the support of the clergy. The incumbents, except in a few town-parishes, derive no personal advantage from the offertory, and in the few cases to which this remark does not apply, and where the incumbent's income is furnished out of funds so gathered, the amount is not sufficiently fixed and certain to admit of being returned as if it were endowment. In some few west-end parishes, no doubt, pew-rents still furnish substantial maintenance for their incumbents; and we note that there are thirty-two churches, chiefly in the diocese of London, which are returned as possessing an income of 1000*l.* a-year, the source of which, Crockford's 'Clerical Directory' tells us is pew-rents. No doubt there are others which draw lesser sums from the same source.

We turn next to securer ground, where we are able to point out what has been done by a re-distribution and better husbanding of the Church's own revenues. In 1836 an Act was passed calling into existence the Ecclesiastical Commission, with the object of providing more equal incomes and duties for the Bishops; and in 1840 a second Act was passed, enlarging its powers so as to enable it to make better provision for the spiritual wants
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of the people. With the first of these we have now no concern. The object of the second Act was to be accomplished by diminishing a large class of dignified offices, and also entirely denuding of all income a considerable number of minor positions of honour in the Church, and dedicating the sums arising from these sources to the alleviation of the spiritual wants of the people.* It will be seen from this statement that, practically, the able and energetic, or well-connected and influential clergymen, to whom these prizes of their profession would naturally fall, were called upon to resign prospects of advancement and increased personal comfort, in order to meet a great and crying want. The whole clerical profession might fairly feel that it was foregoing the advantage of its individual members for the general good of the Church at large. And in the clerical profession, which, regarded from a worldly point of view, is the most ill-paid of all the professions, it was making a demand upon the self-sacrificing devotion of its abler and more prominent members, to ask them to forego rewards to which they naturally looked forward, and sources of income which they greatly needed, at the very time when they were beginning, of their own accord, to labour with a zeal which had not been common amongst their predecessors, and to dedicate their own private fortunes to the furtherance of the Church's work to an extent which has been witnessed at few eras in the Church's history. But the Ecclesiastical Commissioners relied far more on an improved system of managing Episcopal and Capitular estates, than they did upon the sums they would derive from the suppression of canonries. All these estates were let most unprofitably on a system of leases originally forced upon the Church's representatives by greedy courtiers or covetous patrons; and the effect of them was to alienate the largest portion of the Church's corporate wealth. Unless by aid from without, this baneful system of leases with occasional fines could never have been exchanged for annual rents, for all change imposed an absolute loss on the person making it, without holding out a prospect to him of future benefit. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were placed by Parliament in a position to do what was needed to secure for the Church the income of her own property. And so through their instrumentality it has come to pass that in 1880 all the cathedrals in England and Wales, excepting three, have

* The Act 3 & 4 Vict. cap. 113, 'provided for the suspension of 65 canonries, 360 prebendal stalls, and of all sinecure rectories in public patronage, besides greatly curtailing the emoluments of deaneries.'—'The Ecclesiastical Commission; its Origin and Progress.' By a Clergyman in the Diocese of Winchester, 1864, p. 11.

a larger income wherewith to fulfil their important functions than they possessed in 1840. Not only is there better provision for maintaining and beautifying the fabric and perfecting and increasing the services of the sanctuary, but there is also a larger income enjoyed by the residentiary canons. This has been effected at the cost of the temporary loss already spoken of, and by the permanent alienation of the revenues of the non-residentiary canons or prebendaries. But out of the resources so obtained, more than eighteen millions have already been applied to the permanent improvement of our parochial system. The measure has proved an excellent one; it met a great want which could not otherwise have been supplied; the sacrifices which it demanded from the clergy have been instrumental to their own spiritual good, as well as to that of their flocks. Whilst from the skill and success which it has shown in developing the Church's own estates, Episcopal and Capitular, and making them available for supplying the spiritual wants of a rapidly increasing population, we may fairly hope that the benefits conferred by the Ecclesiastical Commission are far from being exhausted, and that for a long succession of years the Church may continue to profit by its action.

The operation of the Commission was at first necessarily slow. Those in possession of dignities or stalls, which were to furnish the income of the Commission, could obviously not be deprived in their lifetime. Vacancies must be created, by their death or translation to other preferments, before the estates from which their incomes were derived could be transferred to the Commissioners. And when such vacancies did occur, a long time had to elapse before the change of system could produce an income for the Commissioners to apply to the furtherance of the great object for which they were incorporated. The task of adjusting the rentals of the property upon a better system was a tedious and unthankful one, and was rendered still more difficult by the action of the lessees, who were a powerful and well-organized body, and were unwilling to alter a mode of dealing with the property, by which they had been gainers. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, however, seem on the whole to have managed the delicate and perplexing duties thus devolving upon them with great skill and forethought, and Churchmen are deeply indebted to them for what they have accomplished.

Since the foundation of the Ecclesiastical Commission, up to October 31st, 1880, it has added the sum of 547,300*l.* to the incomes of the clergy, of which 485,700*l.* are annually paid from the common fund arising from the rental of estates managed by itself, and investments made in its name; whilst it has
further

further annexed lands and tithes of the nett annual value of about 61,600*l.* to various benefices. The capital sum at which this addition to the incomes of the clergy must be valued cannot be less than sixteen and a half millions. Besides this, the Commission has given 2,197,000*l.*, in capital sums, to the augmentation of poor benefices; a large part of which has been expended in erecting parsonage-houses. To meet the grants thus made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and as offerings made through them, private benefactions have been received from Churchmen to the amount of more than 3,750,000*l.*; so that from the direct action of the Commission a sum of more than twenty-two millions has been applied during the last forty years for the alleviation of some of the extreme poverty by which many benefices were oppressed, or for the expansion of the Church in populous parishes.

Happily there is every appearance of a steady continuous advance in the work which has been thus commenced. The Commissioners' last Report, for the year ending October 31st, 1880, shows that during the preceding year they had made grants of capital sums amounting to 51,423*l.*,* and of perpetual annuities to the annual value of 3528*l.*;* whilst to elicit this assistance, they had received benefactions from private contributors to the extent of 181,041*l.*,* to be applied to the benefit of the various benefices assisted. Besides this they had added to the endowments of 'benefices or districts in respect of local claims, and in consideration of populations of 4000 and upwards, a capital sum of 62,973*l.*, and an annual income charged upon their common fund of 16,257*l.*† Moreover, the Commissioners restored ‡ 3531*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* of tithe-rent charge to 30 benefices, granted 100 acres, 0 perch, 32 roods of land to 20 country benefices. In all these cases there were local claims, and so the Commissioners restored so much property to the purposes for which it was originally bestowed. In 1879 they elicited about 10,000*l.* from private benefactors towards erecting four new churches by the assignment of patronage which they were able to make, but during 1880 there was no transaction of that kind. They had also promised assistance to the extent of about 24,000*l.*§ towards providing additional curates in parishes with mining populations. These grants are renewed annually, and require at least an equal sum to be raised from other sources to meet them. Owing to the great difficulty of obtaining curates, a fourth or fifth part of this grant is ordinarily unclaimed. We

* Appendix No. 2, pp. 20-37.

† Ibid., Appendix No. 3, pp. 38-42.

‡ 'Report of Ecclesiastical Commission for 1879,' Appendix No. 4, pp. 43, 44.

§ Ibid. for 1880, Appendix No. 6, pp. 46-51.

ought perhaps to add, that all the sums just enumerated are included in the amounts which we began by stating to have been distributed by the Commissioners during the last forty years. During the year there were conveyed to the Commissioners 167 sites for churches, parsonages, and burial-grounds;* but the extent or value of these sites is not told us in their Report. And through the instrumentality of the Commissioners, endowments to the value of 1405*l.*† per annum and 45 acres of land were transferred from 11 wealthier benefices towards providing better incomes for the incumbents of a like number of poorer charges. The Commissioners also report that more than 80,000*l.* have been handed over to them for the endowment of the Bishopric of Liverpool. The whole of this sum was given by voluntary contributions, and is not included in the amount of private benefactions given through the Commissioners; that sum refers only to additions to the income of the parochial clergy.

Whilst the Ecclesiastical Commission is much the most important organization for improving the incomes of the miserably endowed benefices of the Church, it is far from being the most ancient. Queen Anne's Bounty Board originated in the earnest desire of that Queen to ameliorate the condition of large numbers of the clergy. What that condition was at the time when the Board was first formed is thus set forth by Sir William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell) in a speech in the House of Commons on the 7th of April, 1802‡:—

‘ When the first-fruits and tenths were granted by Queen Anne for the augmentation of small livings, the returns made by the Exchequer showed that there were then in England no fewer than 5597 livings, of which 884 were of the value of between 40*l.* and 50*l.* per annum. There were 1049 under 40*l.*, 1126 under 30*l.*, 1467 under 20*l.*, and 1071 which did not exceed 10*l.* a year. Some were of the value of not more than 20*s.* or 40*s.* On the whole, of about 11,700 livings, the entire number in England and Wales, about one-half were under 50*l.* a year, and under 23*l.* on an average. Even still, after all that has been done by Queen Anne's fund, and by the bounty of private benefactors, in the course of nearly a century, it was calculated that there were 6000 livings which did not exceed an average of 85*l.* a year, and that a very large proportion were still under the annual value of 30*l.*’

To ameliorate this state of things, which was necessarily most injurious to the higher interests of the Church, Queen Anne sent

* ‘ Report of Ecclesiastical Commission for 1879,’ Appendix No. 23, pp. 68–73.

† Ibid. Appendix No. 8, p. 53.

‡ Knight's ‘ Pictorial History of England,’ viii. 597.

a message to the House of Commons on the 7th of February, 1704, in which she says that— *

‘having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, to give them some ease, she hath been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths of the poor clergy; and for augmentation of their maintenance, Her Majesty is pleased to declare that she will make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of first-fruits and tenths, as far as it now is or shall become free from incumbrances, to be applied to this purpose; and if the House of Commons can find any proper method by which Her Majesty’s good intentions to the poor clergy may be made more effectual, it will be a great advantage to the public, and very acceptable to Her Majesty.’

To this proposal the House of Commons cordially responded, and Queen Anne’s Bounty Board was established.

The revenues with which the Board had to deal were originally exactions made upon the clergy for the benefit of the Pope, which were denominated ‘first-fruits and tenths’. At the Reformation these were transferred to the Crown, and they amounted in 1704† to about 17,000*l.* a year (since materially diminished by the exemption from the payment of first-fruits and tenths of all benefices with an income not exceeding 50*l.*), but they were burdened with grants and pensions secured upon them of the value of about 11,000*l.* per annum, and with an arrear of the same, amounting to about 21,000*l.* The Board, therefore, was not in a position to make grants until 1713, when 5600*l.* were distributed by lot to twenty-eight poor benefices, in grants of 200*l.* each.

With the earlier operations of Queen Anne’s Bounty Board we have, however, no concern in this place, but with what has been effected by it during the last half century. We find from returns issued with the authority of the Board, that since 1831 there has been entrusted by kindred charities or private benefactors to its trusteeship, for the benefit of poor benefices, 1,366,762*l.* ‘in money and Bank Annuities (valued as money)’; 297,689*l.* in ‘land, houses, or tithes, valued as money;’ and 16,421*l.* a year in ‘land, houses, or tithes, valued in annual rent or in yearly rent-charges and stipends.’ If we capitalize the last-named sum at twenty-five years’ purchase, we shall find that during the last fifty years the endowments of the Church for the support of her ministry have been increased by private liberality, through the instrumentality of Queen Anne’s Bounty, to the extent of more than two millions. During the same period, the Bounty Board

* Hodgson’s ‘Account of Queen Anne’s Bounty,’ p. 7.

† Ibid., p. 11.

has been annually distributing the funds placed at its disposal by Queen Anne with the sanction of Parliament. During the seventeen years from 1864–1880, these were 285,600*l.*; during the previous thirty-four years, they probably amounted to nearly double that sum.

There is yet a third public body authorized to undertake the trusteeship of funds designed for endowments; but in this case its office is not limited to property belonging to the Church, and we believe that, as a matter of fact, the various Nonconformist bodies have placed in its guardianship many more and more valuable estates than has the Church. In 1853 the Charity Commissioners were authorized to undertake such trusteeships, and, since then, property producing an income of 150,183*l.* from real estate, stock, securities, and other personalty, has either been committed to their care, or placed under their supervision, for the ‘endowment of clergy, lecturers, and for sermons.’ Some of these sums have been free gifts in the donors’ lifetime; others of them legacies for the augmentation of particular benefices, or for providing a fund to be devoted annually to the improvement of poor benefices—such as Bishop Monk’s bequest for the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, or Archdeacon Clerke’s for the Archdeaconry of Oxford, or Richard Milne’s for poor curates in the county of Lancaster; others are ancient charities, for which new schemes have been obtained, and for which the trustees are made accountable to the Commissioners. The amount lodged with the Commissioners, given during the years included in our enquiry for the object we are considering, has been 351,531*l.*, in stocks, &c., and property producing an annual income of 2223*l.*

In 1846, a Society—the Tithe Redemption Trust—was formed for aiding in the restoration of tithes which had been alienated from the religious purpose for which they were primarily given. At first such restorations were effected through the instrumentality of Queen Anne’s Bounty, and considerable sums have been given back to the parishes for whose spiritual wants they were originally intended to provide, through that body and through the Ecclesiastical Commission. These are included in the operations of those corporations which we have already described; but, in addition to this, tithes of the annual value of 2735*l.* have been restored, without the intervention of either of those bodies, through the Tithe Redemption Trust.

We forbear to do more than mention Mr. Marshall’s charity, Mrs. Pycombe’s Charity, and Mrs. Horner’s Charity, for the augmentation of poor benefices, as they work with Queen Anne’s Bounty, and the sums they have annually dispensed have been included

included in the benefactions named in connection with that corporation. Besides these, there are some charitable endowments for augmenting poor benefices or erecting glebe-houses, which have been created during the last forty years, and are vested in private trustees, to which we have not hitherto referred. Such is that founded by Dr. Warneford in the Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. The extent to which such charities exist, or the amounts they dispense, we have no means of ascertaining; but, as there are such, we mention them to show that they have not been overlooked, though they are probably unknown beyond the dioceses or counties for whose benefit they were bequeathed. But it may be interesting to state, that the inadequate incomes of the parochial clergy have stimulated the parishioners in, at all events, one parish—St. Matthew's, Leicester—to make a continuous effort to add to the funds out of which the vicar is paid. They have an annual offertory, the proceeds of which are invested as a permanent addition to the endowment of the benefice. In six years 165*l.* have thus been invested in the names of the Vicar and Churchwardens. It is possible that such independent efforts are being carried on in other parts of the country, and as our object is to bring to the light what is being done to add to the funds on which the clergy have to live, we are glad to record an apparently small effort to grapple with a great difficulty, which we should be pleased to think is a sample, and not an isolated instance, of local zeal for the permanent improvement of the incomes of insufficiently endowed parishes.

Probably most of our readers are aware that Associations have been formed in many places for furthering the important work of providing a better income for the ill-paid clergy of the Church. The Marquis of Lorne made a noble effort to raise a central fund for the purpose, which met with considerable success, but not so much as it deserved; its useful operations still continue. Besides this, local associations are found in most dioceses, we believe in all, excepting Durham, Norwich, Bath and Wells, St. Asaph, and St. David's, for the purpose of collecting private benefactions to augment poor benefices. In some dioceses there is a special organization for this purpose; in others it is one of several objects furthered by a society for promoting the general work of church extension. The funds collected through such instrumentality are further augmented by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty, and therefore have been already mentioned. We need not enter into any details; but it is worthy of note that a society having this object in view has existed in the diocese of Lichfield since 1860, if not earlier, and that it has
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aided in the erection of 196 parsonages, and made grants to augment the incomes of 221 benefices; in several other dioceses sums of about 1000*l.* a year are collected by the local association, which sums are generally doubled by contributions raised by the incumbents of the benefices which it is proposed to aid, and these are again doubled by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or the Bounty Board. We mention what is being done in the Diocese of Lichfield, because we believe it was one of the first, if not the first, to work in this cause. An Association in the Rural Deanery of Southwark was also early in the field, and was very successful, but it has since been merged in the South London Fund.

Another source of increased endowment has been the sale of his patronage by the Lord Chancellor, to which we have already referred. By the Act 26 & 27 Vict. c. 120, passed at the instance of Lord Westbury, it was made legal for the Lord Chancellor to dispose of a number of benefices in his gift. These benefices, named in a schedule of the Act, numbered 327, each of which had an income of less than 300*l.* a year, besides which, the Chancellor was enabled to dispose of others, not enumerated (to the number of 100), which had an income of not less than 200*l.* a year or more than 500*l.* The proceeds of the sale of the former class of advowsons were to be applied to the augmentation of the benefices sold; the proceeds of the other class to the benefit of any benefice in his gift at the discretion of the Lord Chancellor. Under the provisions of this Act, 103 benefices of the first-named class have been sold for 178,400*l.*, and the proceeds applied as directed by the Act, and 14 benefices of the other class have been handed over to other patrons for 47,350*l.*; part of this last-named sum has been devoted to increasing the income of poor benefices in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, and part to providing them with parsonages. In some cases the Lord Chancellor has required persons locally interested in the parishes which he proposed to benefit to raise sums to meet his benefactions, and in this way a further sum of 17,010*l.* has been collected. So that through the operation of this Act 242,769*l.* have been added to the capital sum with which churches are endowed.*

Hitherto we have spoken chiefly of additions to the pecuniary incomes enjoyed by the clergy: we now come to another portion of the endowment of their benefices, which is at least as important—the provision of parsonages. It is difficult to realize

* ‘Report of Committee on Sales, Exchanges, and Resignation of Ecclesiastical Benefices,’ Hon. E. P. Thesiger’s evidence, pp. 76–78; and ‘Return of Proceedings under the Lord Chancellor’s Augmentation Act, 1863.’

the extent to which their erection has been the work of this generation. But it is conclusively proved by the Report of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues of England and Wales for the three years ending with 1831, that existing parsonages have to a considerable extent been built or rebuilt during the last fifty years. That Report tells us that, whilst there were 5947 benefices which had habitable glebe-houses, there were 2878 which had none at all, and 1728 others in which the houses were unfit for residence. If we try to realize the actual condition of things at that time, we shall find that even this Report presents a much more favourable appearance than the facts warrant. There were at that time 4224 curates in sole charge of benefices of non-resident incumbents; in all these cases, where there was a glebe-house that could in any way be treated as habitable, an incumbent, anxious to place the best possible face upon the condition of his parish, would be tempted to represent it as sufficient for his *locum tenens*; his opinion of the house might have been different, if he and his family had been obliged to inhabit it. We say this, because in a multitude of parishes described as having a glebe-house fit for residence in 1831, that house has since been largely, if not wholly, rebuilt, and those who are familiar with the miserable little cottages, which still go by the name of the Vicarage or Rectory, in some agricultural counties, and in which the curates in charge lived not half a century since, will recognize the exaggeration of which any returns must be guilty that represented them as 'glebe-houses fit for residence.' Then the benefices which possessed houses would, for the most part, be the wealthier ones; the broad line of distinction which separated the wealthy pluralist from the curate in sole charge necessarily led to as marked a difference in the houses provided for their residence. In eligible livings, where the income was good, and the surroundings pleasant, there existed spacious mansions in which rectors in easy circumstances lived, many of which still remain; whilst in benefices differently circumstanced, where the incumbent never resided, a large parsonage would have been altogether misplaced, as the curates who inhabited them would be too poor to find any satisfaction in tenanted houses which required for their comfortable occupation money which they did not possess. We do not think, therefore, that it would be an over-statement if we said that nearly three-quarters of all the benefices required new parsonages, adapted to their wants and value, before they could expect to have resident incumbents. This view is borne out, to a great extent, by the cost at which we find that glebe-houses were erected
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in the more remote parts of the country forty or fifty years since. We have met with several in Cornwall, upon benefices of small value, which were of sufficient size and provided with all the conveniences which would be required by clergymen's families who did not possess considerable private means, where 300*l.* were borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty to build the parsonage, and where the total actual cost did not greatly exceed that sum.

When, therefore, pluralities were rendered illegal by Act of Parliament, a great work had to be done in providing glebe-houses in which the incumbents could live. Where the income of the benefice was sufficient to enable the requisite amount to be borrowed, there was little difficulty in accomplishing what was required. But when the benefices were poor, and the money needed to build the parsonage had to be provided from other sources, the case was different. In many parishes of this kind, where money formed a chief part of the endowment, some of it has been diverted to this purpose; in others local contributions were raised; in others, where they possessed property, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have erected glebe-houses out of the funds at their disposal; in others, benefactions have been given by them or by Queen Anne's Bounty to supplement the gifts of persons interested in the parish; and so by these various means a large number of residences have been supplied. As no record is kept by either of the corporations just named of the sums diverted from adding to the stipends of the clergy to erecting houses in which they may live, it is impossible to state how many parsonages have sprung into existence with the aid of funds so provided. Neither are we able to say how many parsonages have been erected by the liberality of individual benefactors, although we know that the number of such gifts to the Church is considerable. But there is one fund which has been extensively employed, of whose operations we have been able to obtain particulars. By Acts of Parliament, 17 Geo. III. c. 53, 21 Geo. III. c. 66, and 1 Vict. c. 23,* Queen Anne's Bounty is authorized to lend money to incumbents for building, rebuilding, repairing, or purchasing parsonage-houses, and other necessary buildings and tenements for the use of their benefices. The Governors of the Bounty adopted a scale, according to which they would lend, so as in all cases to have ample security for repayment of the money they might advance. The sums borrowed from the Bounty Board are commonly repaid by thirty equal instalments, whilst interest on the loans is now charged at the rate of 4 per cent.; for many years it was at

* Hodgson's 'Account of Queen Anne's Bounty,' pp. 83, 84.

3½ per cent. It may be worth while to state, in passing, that these terms are about the same that are accorded to the owners of settled estates by public bodies who lend money under the authority of Parliament. For such owners can borrow for draining or otherwise improving their property at a similar rate of interest to that which the clergy pay for loans for building parsonages. It is well to note this, because it shows that parsonages, erected by loans from Queen Anne's Bounty, are as much a gift on the part of the clergy to the corporate property of the Church as would be direct benefactions towards the endowment of their benefices. That is to say, a clergyman building a parsonage with a loan from Queen Anne's Bounty, and the owner of a settled estate draining or otherwise improving his estate with a loan, borrow on the same terms: but when the clergyman dies or vacates his benefice, his successor, and not his family, has the benefit of all the principal that he has repaid; whilst the estate, with its value increased by what the tenant for life has repaid of what he borrowed for improvements, descends to his son or next of kin. By this instrumentality the following sums have been expended in erecting parsonages:—

	£
From 1830 to 1849	1,155,000
„ 1850 „ 1859	488,000
„ 1860 „ 1869	719,000
„ 1870 „ 1879	802,000
1880	69,959
Total	3,228,959

How many new parsonages are still needed is what we cannot tell. It is one of the many things which it is desirable should be known, but which as yet the authorities of the Church have not thought it desirable to publish.

We may, however, form some estimate of the requirements from certain clergy returns annually collected by the Privy Council Office, but which are for some reason never published so as to be made available for general information.

In 1831 these returns tell us that there were 4649 resident and 5911 non-resident incumbents; in 1878 the numbers respectively were 11,118 and 1455; in the latter year there were 380 incumbencies vacant, 21 under sequestration, and from 384 no return had been received; for the former year we do not possess this complete information. In 1879 the number of resident incumbents was 11,186; of non-resident, 1509; the return gives no further particulars. It is clear that these returns cannot conclusively show the number of habitable glebe-houses.

526 *Endowments of the Church of England in 1830 and 1880.*

In 1831 there were 5947 parsonages reported habitable, with only 4649 resident incumbents; the remainder must therefore have been occupied by curates in sole charge. In 1879 it is possible that some resident incumbents were living in houses approved by the Bishop, but which were not the property of the benefices; in both years it may be taken for granted that some incumbents had permission to reside in houses, not parsonage-houses, but yet in or close to their parishes, whence they could discharge all their parochial duties. In such cases they would be classed amongst the non-residents, though for all practical purposes they would be as completely resident as if they inhabited parsonage-houses. And at both periods there were some incumbents, though much fewer in 1879 than in 1831, who held two small adjoining benefices, of which they performed the whole duty; but whilst they would be numbered amongst the residents for the one in which their parsonage was situated, they would be necessarily reckoned amongst the non-residents for the other.

Before we leave this enumeration of the additions made by endowments of the Church, it may be well to summarize what has been said, only desiring our readers to bear in mind the incompleteness of the returns laid before them in the ways to which we have called attention.

Ecclesiastical Commissioners:—		£
Annual grants from common fund, 485,700 <i>l.</i> per annum, at thirty years' purchase	}	14,571,000
Lands and tithes producing a nett income of 61,600 <i>l.</i> , at thirty years' purchase	}	1,848,000
Capital sum granted		2,197,000
Private benefactions through Ecclesiastical Commissioners	}	3,750,000
		<hr/> £22,366,000
Queen Anne's Bounty:—		
Private benefactions in Consols and money securities	}	1,366,762
Ditto, land, &c., valued as money		297,689
Ditto, do. 16,421 <i>l.</i> per annum, at twenty-five years' purchase	}	410,400
		<hr/> 2,074,851
Benefactions by Bounty Board:—		
1830-1863		£485,000
1864-1880		285,600
		<hr/> 770,600
		<hr/> 2,845,451
Charity Commissioners:—		
Private benefactions in Consols and money securities	}	351,531
Ditto, in land, houses, &c., 2223 <i>l.</i> per annum at twenty-five years' purchase	}	55,575
		<hr/> 407,106
Carried forward		<hr/> £25,618,557
		Tithe

Brought forward £25,618,557

Tithe Redemption Trust:—

Tithes restored since 1853, 2735 <i>l.</i> per annum, at twenty-five years' purchase	68,375
Received under the Act authorizing the sale of Lord Chancel- lor's living, and applying the proceeds to the augmentation of poor benefices	242,769

Queen Anne's Bounty:—

Loans for building parsonages since 1811, which have been, or will be repaid by the clergy	3,228,959
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Total £29,158,660

We saw in the earlier part of this paper that the annual income payable to the clergy had increased by rather more than a million and a quarter between 1831 and 1880; of this sum there would be furnished more than one-half by the additional endowments just enumerated. This would leave the sources from which about half a million is derived annually unaccounted for. It is obvious that these sources must be either the increased value of Church property; additional sums paid to the clergy for fees or pew-rents, and included by them in the returns they have made of the value of their benefices; or from private benefactions,* of which we have no information, because they were complete free gifts, and so are left unrecorded by the public bodies or trustees, to whose guardianship they were conveyed; or because they have been placed under the trusteeship of the incumbents or of the incumbents and churchwardens; and of such gifts the Church at large knows nothing. Probably there are parishes which have been benefited by each of these instrumentalities, but we think that the chief portion of the increase must be attributed to private benefactions; and to increase in the value of land given at different periods for the endowment of churches. But besides the growth just named in the nominal value of benefices, a substantial addition has been made to their value by the provision of glebe-houses. As we have already shown, the number of those erected by loans from Queen Anne's Bounty is only a portion of the actual number which have been built. To judge from such data as are within our reach, the annual rental value of the glebe-houses which have been built during the last half century cannot fall short of a quarter of a million; if we take as a basis of calculation those erected by loans from Queen Anne's

* As illustrative of the large sums thus applied, it is worth mentioning that a return, which we accidentally saw, showed that in one archdeaconry (Lewes), in the diocese of Chichester, 26,606*l.* had been given for the endowment of churches during the first ten months of 1880, a considerable portion of which would never appear in any public return. Besides this, 6507*l.* had been given in the same archdeaconry during the same time for erecting parsonages.

Bounty, and the amount of the rental value to be the ordinary percentage expected from investments in house property.

Our view of the financial position of the Church and her endowments at the two periods would be very incomplete if we did not call attention to the altered condition of curates, both with respect to the duties they are called upon to discharge, and the stipends which they receive. In 1831 the number of curates employed to enable the incumbents better to discharge the duties of their cures was comparatively trifling. Only 1006 of the 5230 licensed curates in 1831 are described as assistant-curates, all the rest were in sole charge of the parishes in which they officiated. In 1871 the number of licensed curates was 4212, in 1879 it was 5275. When it is remembered that in 1831 there was a large number of dignitaries who held benefices, together with deaneries, canonries, or archdeaconries, who would reside for a portion of the year in their parsonage-houses, and who would consequently be called resident incumbents, whilst the curates, who would necessarily be responsible for the whole of the duty during the rest of the year, would be classified as assistant-curates, it will be seen how few of those so described could really have been what we now understand by assistant-curates, i.e., additional clergymen employed in a parish, in order that its spiritual duties may be more efficiently performed. And when we further remember that, in addition to the curates needed by such dignitaries, there was a number of extensive town parishes, undivided by the creation of Peel districts, or new district parishes, where the whole population, consisting of tens, if not hundreds, of thousands, had to be baptized, married, and buried, at the one parish church; with no cemeteries having chaplains of their own, with no registrars' offices or licensed Nonconformist chapels where marriages could be performed; it is obvious that a considerable number of assistant-curates would be needed for the performance of the heavy, mechanical duties of parishes so circumstanced. To these two classes we must add some of the parishes held in plurality, where incumbents would reside a portion of the year at each, and where the curates would be described as assistant, because during a portion of each year the incumbents would undertake some share of the spiritual duties of their cure. If we bear these considerations in mind, we shall see that what we now understand by an assistant-curate can scarcely be said to have existed in 1831. Parishes, however large, must, for all spiritual purposes, have been practically administered by one clergyman, and the whole of the parochial organizations now so common for overlooking and teaching in the

the national or night-schools, visiting the whole as well as the sick, gathering the younger portions of the flock into Bible classes, or into guilds or societies for improvement and edification, providing for the temporal wants or advancement or recreation of the poorer parishioners, must have been almost, if not altogether, unknown in parishes of any size from positive inability on the part of any man, however earnest and energetic, to meet the demands which the oversight of such instrumentalities for the good of his people must make upon his time.

In confirmation of this view it is instructive to note how differently placed the curates were in 1831 to what they were forty years later. At the earlier date we find the largest number in the more agricultural dioceses, in the latter in the thickly-peopled centres. Thus in 1831 there were 622 curates in the diocese of Lincoln, of whom only 88 are described as assistant; in 1879, according to a return just published by the Privy Council Office, we find there were only 219 curates in the diocese, of whom 184 are designated assistant-curates, whilst 35 were in sole charge, the number of non-resident incumbents being 125; of whom it is probable that many were only technically so through not inhabiting their own parsonage-houses or holding two small benefices. In the same manner we find in the diocese of Norwich at the earlier date, 523 curates, of whom 59 are described as assistant, at the later date only 225 curates altogether. On the other hand, in the diocese of Lichfield in 1831, the 292 incumbents who held a second benefice with cure of souls, in the same or some other diocese, absorbed the services of 291 curates, who were in sole charge, whilst there were only 17 assistant-curates in the diocese. In 1879 there were 294 curates employed in the diocese; and of these 273 were adding their services to those of resident incumbents, for the benefit of the parishes in which they were labouring. In like manner there were in 1831 in the diocese of London 241 curates, in sole charge, and 261 benefices with cure of souls held in plurality, whilst there were only 112 assistant-curates for the many parishes in which what is technically termed 'surplice duty' must have been very heavy; whilst in 1879, with the area of the diocese greatly diminished, and the average income of the clergy lowered, there were 460 assistant-curates, of whom only 8 were in sole charge.

It is obvious that the influence upon the incomes of the clergy which this difference of object in the employment of curates must make is very great. In 1831 curates were employed almost entirely to enable the holders of the benefices to realize larger incomes for themselves; in 1879 for the purpose of enabling

enabling them better to discharge the spiritual duties of their office. By the aid of curates in 1831, clergymen of family or influence could possess themselves of the largest portion of the emoluments of a number of benefices, only deducting a small amount for the remuneration of deputies, who would have to discharge all the duties; in 1879, the possibility of such addition to a clergyman's income had happily been taken away, and at the same time the direct pecuniary demands upon incumbents for the support or furtherance of various kinds of Church extension, development, and organization, were increased to an extent which was unknown at the earlier period: at the earlier date a clergyman's calling was regarded as one of leisure; at the latter, those who undertake this onerous office are regarded as unworthy if they fail to devote the whole of their time and energies to the spiritual good of their parishes. The more diligently they labour, if their cures are extensive, the more urgent will become the necessity for additional clerical assistance; and such aid can, for the most part, only be obtained by still further reducing their own incomes, in order to furnish the whole, or a principal part, of the stipend needed for a fellow-labourer.

By the manner in which benefices were held in plurality in 1831, there must have practically existed two orders of clergymen—those who, from family influence or other cause, felt that, for them, the endowments of the Church were designed—and those destitute of interest, who were content to accept the position of curate for their lives. Deprived of the prospect of professional advancement, curates must not infrequently have sought to add to incomes insufficient to meet their necessary expenditure by taking pupils, or in other ways, and so the effective working power of the Church would be still further diminished. At the present day, no sharp line of division happily separates those occupying different positions in the Church. Ability, energy, and hard work, generally secure promotion, provided there is not too large an admixture of enthusiasm in their possessor, so as to lead him to developments of ritual or doctrine which may prove inconvenient to those in authority by exciting opposition or an outcry.

It may seem strange that, under these altered circumstances, the number of men seeking Holy Orders has not increased more rapidly, and that it certainly has not kept pace with the growth of the population. The Clergy Returns of the Privy Council Office give the number of Curates in 1831 as 4073;*

* It is not improbable that the difference between this number and 5230, the number of curates given in the Returns of 1831 which we have so frequently quoted, may represent the number of curates holding more than one licence from a Bishop. whilst

whilst in 1879 the number only reached 5275, although in the interim the population of the country had nearly doubled. Perhaps, however, we ought to add that it is more than probable that in 1831 the same clergyman is returned as curate of more than one parish; if we may believe the traditions still floating about Lincolnshire and other eastern and northern counties, it was not uncommon at the beginning of the century for the same curate to be in charge of two, three, or even more parishes; in such cases he would have been counted as many times over as he held independent licences from the Bishop. In 1831 it is certain that this practice still existed, though it may possibly have been a little modified; and, besides this, it must be remembered that the increased number of incumbents, owing to the abolition of pluralities, accounts for a considerable addition to the numbers of the clergy without a corresponding rise in the number of curates. Moreover, the position of a curate is very different financially, as well as socially, in 1880, to what it was in 1831. The Report of the Commissioners of 1831, which we have already had so frequently to quote, tells us with respect to the income of curates:—

‘The total number of curates returned to us as employed by resident incumbents is 1006, whose annual stipends or payments amount to 87,075*l.*, affording an average of 86*l.* Those employed by non-resident incumbents are 4224; the amount of their stipends 337,620*l.*, and the average 79*l.* And the average of the whole of the curates’ stipends is 81*l.*’*

A ‘Return with regard to the Curates of the Church of England for the year 1879,’ which has been just issued from the Privy Council Office, enables us to give similar information for that year. It includes 368 curates in sole charge, whose annual stipends amounted to 45,170*l.*, affording an average of nearly 123*l.* each: and 4525 assistant-curates, whose annual stipends amounted to 590,092*l.*, giving on the average 131*l.*† to each. The return also includes 19 curates to non-resident incumbents and 363 assistant curates, the exact amount of whose stipends is not given.

This general statement gives an inadequate idea of the present

* ‘Report,’ p. xi.

† The following throws a little additional light on the subject. We find that between April 28 and July 21, 1880, there were 552 advertisements for curates in the ‘Guardian’ newspaper, and that the average stipend offered was 143*l.* 13*s.* 7*d.* The applications for grants to the Curates’ Augmentation Fund show that the average stipend of curates, who have been in orders for fifteen to twenty years is 144*l.*: those who have been longer in orders and whose services are on that account not desired by younger incumbents is less, and averages only 119*l.*

position of curates; it may be well, therefore, to add a further summary of the Return just named. It shows that of the curates in sole charge 4 received the whole income of the benefice, whatever that might be; 72 received less than 100*l.*; 172, 100*l.* and less than 150*l.*; 96, 150*l.* and less than 200*l.*; 22, 200*l.*; and 6 more than 200*l.*, one receiving as much as 300*l.* Of the assistant-curates 369 received less than 100*l.* a year; 2414, 100*l.* and less than 150*l.*; 1546, 150*l.* and less than 200*l.*; 162, 200*l.*; 29 more than 200*l.* and less than 300*l.*; 2, 300*l.*; 3, 400*l.*; 2 the whole income of the benefice; 211 nominal stipends, and the remainder either did not return their incomes or these were of amounts not reckonable.

It will be seen from the above statement that about 650,000*l.* are annually paid for curates' stipends; this is one-seventh of the income of the beneficed clergy, and it is a matter of considerable importance to know from what sources this is derived. Perfectly accurate information on this head cannot be obtained. But we will throw what light we can on the subject.

The most reliable statement we can find is contained in the Report of a Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury on Deficiencies of Spiritual Ministration in 1876, from which we have already had occasion to quote. It deals only with the parishes which are likely to be aided with money towards paying curates' stipends from eleemosynary sources; and we probably should not be far wrong in assuming that in the larger number of the remaining parishes where curates were employed their stipends were paid by the incumbents or by the incumbents and landowners, aided in some cases by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. It will make our statement more complete if it includes what is paid, as well as the sources from which it is paid. We therefore insert it. We find in this Report* that the incomes paid to the curates of certain populous parishes, gathered from returns made by their incumbents, are as stated in the following Table:—

	£80 and under.	Over £80 and not over £100.	Over £100 and not over £150.	Over £150 and not over £200.	Over £200.
	173	776	1969	143	23

whilst the sources from which such stipends are derived will be best gathered from the following Table which is found in the same Report:—

* 'Report,' p. 13.

	Incumbent.	Offertory and Subscriptions.	Benefactions from private Individuals.	Additional Curers' Aid Society	Pastoral Aid Society.	Ecclesiastical Commissioners.	Endowment.	Pew Rents.	Diocesan Societies.	Other sources.
Number to whom entire payments are paid	763	103	101	8	162	95	16	13	42	39
Number to whom part of stipends is paid	607	393	242	535	317	228	20	14	135	218

Confessedly imperfect as is the information which we are able to present to our readers, it is satisfactory to find how much real progress we have to chronicle. The statements concerning additions to the endowments of the Church have all been drawn from official sources, and therefore upon them we can confidently rely; but we know that something has been done, and we believe that it is much which has been so accomplished of which we can obtain no accurate particulars. In the midst of the many contentions and frequent strifes that have marked our day, it is a pleasure to note that earnest men have been quietly working and giving, and doing their uttermost to secure that the Church of England in the future shall be not less influential than she has been in the past. In the midst of constant agitations and loud political cries of ‘Down with her, down with her even to the ground!’ it is a satisfaction to be able to record that the work of endowment has been steadily advancing, and whilst her enemies have been clamouring for her disestablishment and disendowment, her friends have been diligently giving of their substance to make the endowments needed for the support of her ministry somewhat less insufficient than they were. But most satisfactory of all is it to be able fearlessly to point to the use which the Church is making of her opportunities, and of the gifts and talents with which she has been endowed, and to ask what religious body is now working for the spiritual and moral good of the people of England as is the Church of England? What other religious community is able to show such zeal, tempered with so much consideration for others, such self-sacrifice accompanied with so little desire for self-display, such large gifts for the service of God, which are only brought to light by the investigation of others who have had no share in offering them?

Regarded

Regarded from a temporal point of view, the incomes provided by the Church of England for her clergy are altogether insufficient for their needs, and experience shows that worldly considerations by which men of ability and education might be attracted to the ministry of the Church are possessed by her to a far less extent now than they were fifty years since, and it is obvious on the face of things that such men in any other profession would command much more of all that the world regards as desirable. But if such a state of things has its drawbacks, it has undoubtedly its counterbalancing advantages. For the real progress of the Church can never be secured by self-seeking men, whose primary aim is their own distinction, wealth, and advancement. It is those who are willing to bear the Cross, to make sacrifices, to endure hardships, who constitute the living force of the Church. And we rejoice to think that such men abound in the ministry of the Church of England. Whilst, therefore, we are glad to know that generous people, both lay and clerical, have done so much to enable those who preach the Gospel to live of the Gospel, we cannot regret that the number of what are called 'prizes' in the Church has been considerably decreased. And we do rejoice to think that the miserable pittance on which the ministers of Christ were expected to live in some parishes have been somewhat increased. There is still much to call forth the energies of Churchmen, both in the way of Church extension and in that of making better provision for those who have charge of poor and populous parishes; but we thankfully acknowledge the great work which has been done in so many ways during the last half century, and we can only hope that during the next half century the folly or wickedness of man will not seek to undo what has been built up by the zeal and piety of the Church's devoted children, but rather, notwithstanding the baseless cries of her foes, that her faithful sons will seek to press onward in the good work, so that England and England's Church may abound more and more in all that conduces to true greatness in the sight of God.



- ART. VIII.—1. *The Land Question of Ireland. Issued by the Irish Land Committee.* London, 1881.
2. *Are the Landlords worth Preserving?* By F. French. Dublin, 1881.
3. *Report of H.M. Commission on Agriculture.* London, 1881.
4. *Report of H.M. Commission on the Working of the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act.* Dublin, 1881.
5. *Papers on the Transvaal; presented by Command.* London, 1881.
6. *Papers on Afghanistan; presented by Command.* London, 1881.

IN whatever proportions and with whatever reservations the existing Government is to be held responsible for the state of affairs, it seems impossible to deny the gloomy character of the outlook which in almost all directions meets the gaze of the political observer. In Africa a population which had apparently acquiesced for three years in its annexation to the British Crown has burst into a sudden rebellion, marked by a series of ferocious murders, has three times defeated the British arms, and has enjoyed the rare gratification of seeing the British Government, while still under the discredit of those reverses, discuss terms of peace and submit to the demands of the insurgents. In Asia conquests won by brilliant feats of arms, and at a vast cost, have been precipitately abandoned, at the very moment when Russia, which never abandons conquests, is gaining unlooked-for triumphs, and making a rapid advance towards the other side of Afghanistan. In Europe the rash decision adopted by the Berlin Conference, under the guidance of England, is bearing its natural fruit. It would have ceded, or left defenceless, large Mahometan populations in Epirus: and the public opinion of Islam was alarmed, which is the one force the Sultan fears. The Turkish Government became immovable: and in the end the Greeks, whose cupidity had been stimulated to the utmost by the prospect of the great prize which Europe seemed to offer them, are sullenly submitting, with a belief that they have been betrayed, to a much smaller concession than was proposed at the Congress three years ago. The discomfiture of England in the East is serious. The German Powers, alienated by the fatuous defiance flung at them from Midlothian, have ousted England from all influence at Constantinople. France shrank back, in time, from any further partnership in the policy of provoking Greece to enter on an unassisted war; and England is left to draw such consolation as she may from the dearly-purchased eulogy and the ironical support of Russia.

At

At home the prospect is scarcely more encouraging. England's standing difficulty is more menacing and more aggravated than it has been for forty years. Irish industry and trade are suffering from the prostrating and paralysing effects of inchoate but undeveloped rebellion. The defiance of law is sufficiently complete to convert resident landowners into absentees, to prevent the outlay of capital, or the ventures of enterprise; but it stops short of the point at which it is possible to meet it in open conflict, and destroy its moral authority by a palpable defeat. It is like an abscess which is too malignant to be dissipated, and too sluggish to be lanced. It differs from all previous troubles in the same country, in that it rests no longer on sentiment or faith, but on motives the most positive and the most solid. Loot, pure loot, is the sacred cause for which the Land League has summoned the malcontents to its standards; and they have responded by rallying round it in numbers which never rallied to an Irish agitator before. It is impossible as yet to forecast the issue of the struggle to which they have challenged the powers of order. But if it were to cease to-morrow, it would not be easily forgotten in the history of this country. It has inflicted a wound on our institutions of which the scar will hardly be effaced. It has succeeded in depriving the House of Commons of the glorious character which it has retained from its origin, and which even in revolutionary times has never been avowedly abandoned, of securing to all opinions represented within its walls full right of expression without stint or favour, however adverse they might be to the policy which the majority of the moment might approve. This tradition is now broken. The surrender of the right of a minority may not have been avoidable: the circumstances certainly had no precedent in our history. But, nevertheless, a step has been taken, for good or evil, which can never be retraced. The hard case has made the bad law, and the bad law will last. The House of Commons, which has consented to the fetters of urgency, and has tasted the luxury of legislating without listening, will never again be what it has been for six hundred years up to this time. It has undergone a change which will sharply distinguish the præ-Parnellian from the post-Parnellian epoch. 'On ne s'arrête pas dans un si beau chemin.' The preponderance of operative forces is adverse to the continuance of a loyal regard to the rights of minorities. Ministries are always anxious above all things to pass their measures. Majorities are always anxious in the first instance to get to bed, in the second, to hasten the approach of the hour of their annual release. Against the working of such

such steady and constant influences, the desire of a minority to protest is but a feeble force. Year after year the disposition to terminate tedious discussions by an indiscriminate employment of 'urgency' will be stronger; and the rules will be steadily modified in favour of its more frequent use, until the protection of a minority with us will be as fragile and as illusory as it is now in France. Whatever the destinies in other respects of the Land League may be, it is no petty achievement to have effected this breach in our ancient Constitution. The history of Liberal efforts to bind Ireland to England by Liberal nostrums is not yet finished; and it will before it closes probably have to relate even heavier blows against our institutions than the abolition of unrestricted freedom of speech in the House of Commons.

Ministerial advocates commonly explain the undeniable embarrassments of the Government at home and abroad by describing them as legacies from their predecessors. No kind of controversy is so interminable as the question what would have taken place if something had not happened which has happened. It is beyond human power to determine with absolute confidence whether the Boers would have risen, or the Greeks would have been first stimulated and then abandoned, or the Irish tenantry would have combined to prevent the payment of rents, if Mr. Gladstone had not taken office. But the theory of Liberal troubles being Conservative legacies seems to be hardly consistent with the fact that for three years, under a Conservative Government, the Boers, though annexed, did not rebel: that the Irish for six years, though paying in the main the same rents as now, did not combine to refuse them: and that for two years after the Berlin Congress, the Greek claims, though importunate, never threatened the peace of Europe. Nor, on the other hand, should we be disposed to apply to them the theory by which an Opposition naturally accounts for all miscarriages which take place while it occupies that position, namely, the incapacity of the men in power. This is an account of the matter which can only be accepted when all others have failed. It is very seldom that men who have been able to persuade their countrymen to entrust them with power are not able to exercise it at least for twelve months with fair success, if they are united, and their hands are free. Individual shortcomings may account for this or that mishap. But for embarrassments so serious, so numerous, and happening so soon after the accession of the Government to office, some cause must exist of a deeper and more general character. We believe that it will be found rather in the essential nature

· nature of the confederacy which goes by the name of the Liberal party, and the conditions which in administering the affairs of the Empire it is compelled to satisfy. It is impossible not to recognize in the action of the Government in all the questions of difficulty to which we have adverted, two rival systems of policy struggling for the mastery which are wholly irreconcilable with each other, and either of which can mar whatever benefit the full application of the other system might be able to confer. There is the old policy which its friends call national, and its opponents call selfish, but which in former times was professed and practised in its fullest application by Whig and Tory statesmen alike, and which it is only in these latter days that any kind of public man has arisen to decry. Its essential principle is, that in the views of a statesman charged with Government, an absolutely paramount place must be reserved for the interests and the honour of the country whose force he is directing. In every case in which the claims of his own country come into competition with those of another, he is bound to remember that he is not an arbitrator between the two, but a trustee for the interests of the one. He is not authorized, any more than a private trustee, to insist upon vindicating the cause of the party he represents at the expense of an evidently just claim upon the other side. But in all cases where there is fair room for difference of opinion, the side that he shall take is rigidly marked out for him. He is retained to advocate his country's cause and guard her interests; and he cannot, without forfeiting his honour and abusing a sacred trust, sacrifice it to any sympathies or predilections or enthusiasms, which he may personally entertain. This is the statesmanship of common honesty; and till the rise of the preaching school of politicians, no departure from it would have been tolerated by either party in the State.

There are not wanting men in the present Government who are faithful to this, the traditional view of the obligations of an English statesman, in dealing with the issues which may arise between England on the one side, and foreign countries or dependencies on the other. But the constitution of the Cabinet presents a living evidence that it was not by the profession of these wholesome doctrines that the late elections were won. An influential section of the Cabinet belong to a different and more recent school of political thought. Its distinguishing mark is that in any issues which may arise between England and any other population, foreign or dependent, they usually find reason for thinking that England is in the wrong. They affect the possession of a peculiar righteousness, and habitually
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speaking of their political opponents, not as foolish or misjudging, but as wicked. So far as this favourite style of controversy is not a mere trick of fence, it arises from doctrines of the Quaker type, which represent not only wars of conquest, but even wars of self-defence, as essentially sinful. There are members of the Society of Friends high in office and in influence whose teaching probably does not fall short of this extreme. But the professions of those who are prone to side with the adversaries of England, would not generally in terms go so far as to condemn wars of self-defence; but they arrive practically at the same result, by refusing to recognize any character of self-defence in operations of which the first forward movement takes place on the English side. If you must defend yourself, you must also prevent the completion of preparations, or the occupation of commanding positions which will make self-defence impossible. This would, however, be reasoning of too subtle a type to be accepted or even recognized by politicians of the new school. They dispose of the difficulty of answering all such contentions by simply denouncing them as immoral. By borrowing from theology their adjectives of political vituperation, they have given a field-preaching twang to their rhetoric, which has been very effective with certain classes of Nonconformists. A superficial observer might have imagined from the tone and method of electioneering invectives that the leaders of the Liberal party were men of the fierce and holy zeal of the Hebrew prophets of old denouncing the apostasy of a backsliding generation. He would have been sorely puzzled, if he had carried his observation further, by discovering that the Prophets, when their holy zeal had carried them into office, proceeded to do in several cases precisely the same things as those for which they had anathematized their predecessors.

It may be doubted whether, under ordinary circumstances, any English Cleon would have improved the prospects of his party by addressing popular audiences in the dialect of Pecksniff. The arguments and phraseology of this peculiar rhetoric were used sometimes to prejudice the case of England when under Lord Palmerston's guidance she had taken some forward step to defend her essential interests; and the experiment was on all occasions singularly unsuccessful. The constituencies showed no relish either for the Quaker philosophy itself or the language in which it was advocated. But in the recent election it happened to fall in with the wishes of two important sections of the electorate, whose suffrages, in a close balance of parties, far more than sufficed to turn the scale.

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Of the vast multitudes who had been suffering for many years from the ever-deepening distress, which sprang chiefly from climatic influences here and in India, there were some who imagined that a peace-at-any-price policy, whatever its other demerits, would at least restore confidence to trade; and for such a boon they would in their misery have made even a heavier sacrifice. To those who have found a breakfast with difficulty, and do not know where to find a dinner, intricate questions of politics are a matter of comparatively secondary interest. They were ready to subscribe to any system of policy or ethics of which they were assured that increased wages and steady employment would be the practical result. A more important application of the same doctrines was made by the highly-organized Irish colonies, which are to be found in all large town constituencies. They were delighted with a philosophy which, in the secular dispute that has been handed down from one generation of English and Irish to another, eagerly assumed England to be in the wrong; which had already secured them an instalment of the demands of Irish agitation by the overthrow of the Irish Church and the first spoliation of the landlords; and which, by pointing to the consequences of the Clerkenwell outrage, darkly promised as a reward for lawlessness to bring many other still distant objects of Irish ambition within the sphere of practical politics. It was part of the self-depreciatory system of policy to lay this island at the feet of Ireland, as at the feet of America, or Russia, or Afghanistan. If the Russians and Afghans had had votes at the last election in English constituencies they would have voted for the Quaker policy as one man. The Irish were wild with hopes that a new '82 was at hand, and there is no doubt that they voted solid for the then Opposition.

It may be said that these sectional considerations would not have been of sufficient weight to influence and turn the votes of a great nation deciding the most solemn issues of its immediate destiny. But the votes of a great nation were not influenced or turned. A great deal of error is caused by the common metaphor which treats the votes of a majority of a nation as the votes of the whole nation. For practical purposes it is no doubt a convenient arrangement that a majority, however insignificant, should decide: for a decision must be obtained somehow, and no safer method of obtaining it has been discovered. But when the two things, the will of a nation, and the will of the majority of a nation, are treated in argument or in rhetoric, as if they were really identical, absurd misapprehensions are the result. Language is often held as if the English nation had
solemnly

solemnly decided in favour of one course of policy in 1874, and in favour of another in 1880. There would be something grand and impressive in these changes of opinion of the thirty millions of people who inhabit this island—violent as they would seem. But as a matter of fact the number of people whose decision was recorded by the change of government in 1880 was, so far as this island is concerned, very small. We put aside the majority in Ireland, as not governed by Imperial considerations of any kind, and as not representing even a temporary allegiance to either of the English parties. Speaking only of Great Britain, it is undoubtedly the case that if some two thousand men, distributed over the constituencies where the contest was nearest, had voted otherwise than as they did, the dissolution would not have resulted in a Liberal majority. These two thousand, who were the arbiters of last year's conflict, were enough, and more than enough, for all practical purposes. A still smaller number properly distributed would have sufficed. But they were small enough to be easily swayed by causes of trifling magnitude; and it is not surprising that the hinted or open promises of concession to Irish demands, and the delusive prospects held out of good trade and rising wages, were able to win over the small contingent needed to turn the scale.

It soon became evident that in many constituencies there was a notable fraction of the electors, who for one or other of these two reasons were accessible to doctrines of the Quaker type; and the instrument was worked with great diligence and adroitness. All considerations of future interest or policy were held to be of no account compared to the urgency of the present need. If Mr. Gladstone had reflected a moment on the ultimate consequences of the language he was using, he must have perceived how gravely it would compromise, not only the interests of his country, but also his own success and reputation as a future Minister. He must have been aware that the Boers would take a statement that their cause was just, made even upon an election canvass by an incoming Minister, as the expression of a serious conviction: and would hold him sternly to its practical result. It was easy for him to foresee that the ambition of the Greeks, who had been settling down into a more reasonable frame of mind, would be roused anew by his stimulating rhetoric, and would expose the tranquillity of the East to new disturbance. He must have known from his own past experience the necessary consequence of holding before the small tenantry of Ireland the hope that their landlords would be again given them for a prey. He must have had a glimmering that if the concert of Europe was to be the pivot of his future

policy, it was imprudent to begin it by a gross affront to Austria. But all these considerations, though he could hardly have been blind to them, seemed a small matter compared to the importance of luring over a sufficient number of electors from the Tory camp. The aid thus sought had to be acknowledged when the victory was won. In the construction of the Cabinet, and in the earliest programmes of Ministerial policy, striking recognition was given of the election value of this reckless rhetoric, and of the influence which it has exercised over the councils of the Liberal party.

It was impossible that the triumph should be confined to places and programmes: it was inevitable that the professors of these views should struggle to impress them upon the actual policy of the country. The effort has been made; but in the halt called by the Indian Government at Pishin, in the outspoken dismay of all the English colonists in South Africa, in the unchecked anarchy of Western Ireland, may be seen an earnest of the embarrassments which the effort will involve. The logic of elections is merciful, and suffers the hollowest claptrap to figure as solid statesmanship. The logic of facts is pitiless, and pierces the prettiest windbags without remorse. Many hard things are said of 'force,' and a cheap reputation for humanity and enlightenment can be obtained by decrying it. That 'force is no remedy' may be an appropriate doctrine in a Quaker's mouth: though it should disqualify him, even in his own judgment, from taking part in a system of government which keeps in constant readiness a vast and complicated machinery for applying force as a remedy to any disorder, internal or external, that may be great enough to need it. But it is only in his mouth that the denunciation of force is reasonable. He interprets literally the command 'Resist not evil.' But this is an extreme position which few modern politicians, even of those who belong to this small sect, are willing to take up. Those who admit the duty of self-defence speedily find in practice that a policy of repression in respect to dependencies, and a forward policy in respect to foreign nations, is from time to time imposed upon them whether they like it or not. In fact, it necessarily befalls those the most, who with indiscreet emphasis, advertise their dislike of it to the world. Those who are known not to shrink from force have more seldom need to use it.

The duty of national self-defence is almost universally recognized: but the consequences which this duty practically involves are not so generally perceived. Those who reflect little on political difficulties, confuse the code of morals which applies to
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an individual with that which applies to a nation ; and in any case in which it would be morally wrong for an individual to use force, they speak as if it would be equally wrong for a nation to use it. They entirely omit to consider that individuals are protected against wrong by an organized government ; while nations have nothing to protect them except their own material strength, if they are strong, or the jealousy of their own stronger neighbours, if they are weak. In private life no excuse could justify one man in forcing another to remain under his control who did not like it ; or in taking, by way of self-defence, property which belonged to his neighbour and not to him. Some men therefore find it difficult to understand how we can be justified in retaining Ireland against her apparent wish to be free : or in seizing territory in Afghanistan for the protection of our own dominions. But as individuals and as nations we live in states of society utterly different from each other. As a collection of individuals, we live under the highest and latest development of civilization, in which the individual is rigidly forbidden to defend himself, because society is always ready and able to defend him. As a collection of nations we live in an age of the merest *Faustrecht*, in which each one obtains his rights precisely in proportion to his ability, or that of his allies, to fight for them. It would be extreme to say that the public opinion of Europe has no effect in restraining lawless ambitions, or curbing the wilfulness of mere force. On the contrary, its influence is very marked, and will occasionally combine several members of the European family in defence of a weaker nation which is the victim of unjust aggression. Similar combinations to defeat an overbearing aggressor were not unfrequent in the times when *Faustrecht* was the only practical law for individuals as well as nations. But they are the creation of accident ; they depend on the popularity of the victim or the convenience of allies : they do not diminish the practical meaning of the fact that there is no law which can be invoked, no tribunal to which appeal can be made with the certainty of being heard ; and that every nation depends for its safe existence, in the last resort, on its own sword or the sword of others whose interests are bound up with its own. A catalogue of conventional doctrines exists, indeed, to which the proud name of International Law is given. But it can only be called law in a sense absolutely different from that which the word bears in the internal life of States. It has been created by no legislature ; no tribunal has the right and duty of interpreting it ; it is enforced by no executive authority. Its textbooks do not on this account play a wholly useless part. They constitute

stitute a ready and trustworthy guide to nations which are in good faith trying to live peaceably with their neighbours. And to many States, less quietly disposed, they diminish the temptations of war. In the ordinary intercourse of nations there are a multitude of disputes, on which Governments would be very sorry to fight, but on which they do not like to incur the humiliation of causelessly giving way. On such occasions the existence of a body of legal doctrine, more or less generally admitted, furnishes the desired excuse, and thus the growth of International Law has been accompanied by a happy diminution in the number of frivolous quarrels. But against meditated aggression it furnishes no shield whatever. In practice it is found that International Law is always on the side of the strong battalions.

Under these conditions the rights and exigencies of self-defence take a much wider range. Each nation is compelled anxiously to watch its neighbour's strength and disposition. The population of a neighbouring nation is not only a collection of people with whom it is pleasant and profitable to have social and commercial intercourse : it is also a magazine of war material—an assemblage of possible soldiers of whom some powerful aggressor for sinister purposes may possess himself. The territory of an adjoining nation is not only your neighbour's property, which it delights you to respect. It is also a road through which an enemy can pass in order to attack your borders. It contains strong places which an enemy can seize, in order to menace your national power or independence. It becomes, therefore, a matter of supreme interest to each people—a matter of life and death—not only that their neighbour State should itself be non-aggressive, but that it should also have the will and the power to ward off aggression from beyond. If it have not the necessary strength for this purpose, or is not minded to employ it, it becomes itself a source of danger ; and, as a mere precaution of self-defence, measures may become necessary to prevent it from being used as a thoroughfare for invasion, or its strong places fortified as a menace. It is puerile, therefore, to apply to the dealings of a nation with its neighbour's territory the morality which would be applicable to two individuals possessing adjoining property, and protected from mutual wrong by a law superior to both. The exigencies of self-defence may be exaggerated in a manner involving high culpability, for the purpose of justifying enterprises really dictated by ambition. But the existence of these exigencies is not the less real or urgent in a great number of instances, because they may be occasionally invented ; and in proportion as science has
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given in ever increasing measure to modern armies the power of dealing rapid and sudden blows, in that proportion does the duty of watching the approaches which lie through a weak neighbour's territory press more imperiously upon the Government of every rich and peaceful State. To designate the precautions which this vigilance imposes as being of the nature of theft, and offences against the eighth Commandment, is at best but a narrow-minded and superficial morality, even if it be sincere. But such ethical doctrine from the lips of men whose party conduct has proved that they know its hollowness, and who clothe it in sanctimonious language to practise on the religious instincts of electors—from such lips it is a degrading and mischievous hypocrisy.

The view that a nation has an interest in neighbouring territory, if that territory affords either passage or vantage ground to an enemy, is undoubtedly at variance with much modern declamation. The orators of the late Opposition, whether they did or did not think it contrary to morality, were justified in thinking that it was wholly incompatible with the Liberal dogma of nationality. But then there is not, perhaps there never has been, any political structure which has been built up in such contemptuous disregard of the doctrine of nationality as the British Empire. Within its bounds, vast territories, hundreds of millions of human beings, a motley congeries of nationalities from every quarter of the globe—European, Asiatic, African, American—obey the rule of a small island and a peculiar race. A believer in the rights of nationalities must begin by desiring that the British Empire should be resolved into its component atoms. A Liberal Minister of this country, approaching any of the more important problems with which an English Government has to deal, finds that he must either be false to the traditions and the honour of his country, or that he must treat the doctrine of nationalities as a doctrine good to be thrown in the teeth of Austria and Turkey, but not applicable to the enlightened rule of England. The leaders of the Liberal party have not been at one in selecting which of these two alternatives they would prefer. The result has been not only a vacillation of policy fatal to success, but also an encouragement to their enemies, which has deeply intensified, if it has not wholly created, the dangers which have beset them. It has been impossible to persuade the Boers who have risen, or the Irish who long to rise, that they have not secret allies within the Cabinet. We know that the speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright have been largely circulated and eagerly read among both these populations, and that among both the perusal raised the warmest hopes that

that they had found allies against England among the highest Councillors of the English Queen: We are not so well instructed as to what passes in Afghanistan; but the sudden outbreak of Ayooob shortly after the present Ministry took office, after two years of absolute quiescence, seems to imply that, in some form or other, a similar impression of the results of political changes in England had reached his mind.

The same dualism of opinion which marked off into two clearly divided camps the mingled host by which the late Ministry was assailed, necessarily haunts the counsels of the Cabinet. There are those who know perfectly well that a great country cannot be kept together upon Birmingham principles; that the British Empire is, in point of population, principally composed of nationalities which did not enter it of their free will, and who have never been asked whether they would like to go out of it or not. They are fully aware that England annexing territory which is necessary for the defence of her frontiers is not paralleled by Ahab taking Naboth's vineyard; and that the eighth Commandment has nothing to do with the matter. But there are others who cannot so speedily swallow their electioneering ethics; some, perhaps, who still dwell in a sectarian dreamland, and believe that a general 'scuttling out' is the only safe, and, still more, the only inexpensive British policy. The action of the Government bears plainly the marks of the vicissitudes of Cabinet discussion. It oscillates between the teaching of two irreconcilable schools of thought. It is neither true to the traditions of English statesmanship, nor to the tradition of the Society of Friends. The Government can neither make up their minds to fight nor to treat, to stand still or to go back. The first part of their policy always contradicts the last. They encourage insurrection by their speeches; and then they repress it with a violence dangerous to our Parliamentary institutions. They linger on at Candahar, unable to determine whether they shall abandon it or hold it, until the Russians have advanced to within striking distance of Herat; and then they announce their inexorable determination to quit Afghanistan; a determination which apparently has only lasted until they reached the borders of Pishin. They proclaim their resolution to re-establish the Queen's authority over the rebellious Boers before any settlement with them is attempted; and then, when they have tried to do so, and have been badly beaten, they hasten to grant all that the Boers ever demanded. It would seem that upon foreign questions, at least, the Cabinet is nearly divided, and that a disaster, either actual or in prospect, is necessary to give the Peace party a majority.

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The prospect in Afghanistan is gloomy for those who do not believe that the Afghan nature is easily melted by contemplating the sentimental side of a British retreat. The arguments which have induced the Government to shape their military policy in precise opposition to the bulk of their military advisers are not easy to discover. It can hardly be a belief in the powerlessness of Russia, when Russia has just overcome the fiercest and most unconquerable of all the Central Asian peoples. It can hardly be an apprehension for Indian finance, when the Prime Minister confesses that the Indian Exchequer is so prosperous that he cannot appeal to its necessities as a justification for a vote in aid from England. It can hardly be a belief in Lord Lawrence, or in Sir Henry Norman his prophet: for the retention of Quetta, which is not to be given up, is as much a sin against their cardinal principles as the retention of Candahar. But though the arguments for such a step are few and inconsistent, the motive for it is sufficiently obvious. Like transmigrating souls, they have to bear in their new state of existence the penalty of sins committed in the old. The pledges of their præ-official lives are crying out against them. In Ireland, in Greece, in Cyprus, and even in Africa, there have been sad shortcomings and temporary swervings from the pure Radical creed. Something must be sacrificed to the Birmingham dislike of national growth and national glory, and that something shall be Candahar.

It is an offence which brings after it its own penalty; but unless the longevity of the present Government extends considerably beyond the years of recent Administrations, it is probable that some other statesmen will have to make good the damage, and defray the cost resulting from this ill-advised dissipation of advantages dearly purchased; just as Lord Lytton in 1878 had to pay the penalty in men and money, for the approach of Shere Ali to Russia produced by the Duke of Argyll's rejection of the Ameer's appeal in 1873. For the results of the abandonment of Candahar may possibly not be immediate. The Russians, whose advance has been marvellously rapid, need time to consolidate their position. They will be very unwise if, now that they have got all they want without resistance or counter-measures on our side, they provoke a premature collision. They have obtained their vantage-ground, but until it is secure, and due preparation has been made for using it at a fitting time, they will not thrust their possession of it unnecessarily upon our attention. There is still much to be done before the menace to India will be complete. The Russian advanced guard is said to be at Tejend, or even at Kelat; until,

until, however, the railway is brought forward, the army is not likely to advance. Time will be required for the creation of adequate magazines, both of munition and supply, and the construction of the defensive works necessary to ensure a safe line of communication with the Caspian; and a forward movement would be premature until these precautions are complete. Nor is there now any motive for an advance into Afghan territory until the moment for action comes. Russia, happier in this respect than her antagonist England, has no strategic obstacle now to encounter; from the Persian frontier, the road now lies before her, smooth and easy to Candahar. The occupation, therefore, of Herat, would on her part be a mistake. Her business now is to organize Afghanistan; so to prepare the disposition and the resources of the Afghans, that she can move them forward without danger of failure, whenever events in other parts of the world make it her policy to do so. A dream has haunted the imagination of the politicians of the 'backward' school, that it is open to England also to supply the place of military exertion, by organizing the Afghans on her side against Russia. The persistency of their reliance upon this resource is strange; for the weakness of it has been repeatedly pointed out. If the contest between England and Russia could be reduced to a rivalry for the good graces of the Afghans, the competition would be terribly unequal. The Russians are defter in the art of making friends with Oriental races than we are—partly from the bent of their national character, partly through the vast mechanism of corruption which is at the command of a despotic Government. But there is far more vital difference in the position of the two Powers than this. Russia can offer to the Afghans the loot of India; we, if we desired to make a competing offer, can promise nothing—because there is nothing in Turkestan to loot. We may flatter ourselves that the plunder of India by the Afghans is a mere chimera. Whatever verdict history may in the future have to record upon that question—at least, to the imagination of the Afghans there is no shade of impossibility about the enterprise. They know perfectly well that, in the history of the country in which they live, it has been again and again undertaken with success. They know that again and again have issued from their valleys armies of conquerors, allured by the legendary wealth of Hindostan. Why should that be impossible to them which has been achieved by Ahmed, by Baber, by Mahmud—to go no further back? They are justly confident in the vigour and bravery of their soldiers; they desire no holier cause than the extirpation of the infidels, who have overthrown the Moslem dynasty which Afghanistan gave to India.

India. Is it the scientific superiority of the English which should deter them—the inimitable artillery and rifles of the West? There are the Russians now close at hand, ready to arm their hordes with the best weapons of Europe. Is it the tactical skill which the infidel warriors have learned, and against which the Afghans have hitherto been unable to contend? The Russians can offer them highly-skilled instructors; and, as they have in their service even generals who are Mahomedans, they will be able, without offending Afghan susceptibilities, to officer their armies, even in time of peace, to some extent with Russian commanders. One of the chief qualities by which they are fitted to acquire influence in Asia is the ease with which they absorb Asiatics into their administrative system, and give them an interest equal to that of all other Russians in the fortunes of the Empire. For the last year an Asiatic—a native of a province conquered within the century—has been the all-powerful ruler in Russia, second in authority only to the Czar himself. Intrigue is the national gift of the Russians, and they well know how most effectively to foster in the Afghan's mind cupidity for the wealth which he looks at as the hereditary booty of his race, and at the same time to instil a conviction that it can only be won with the help of Russian arms, Russian officers, and Russian military support. This process of organization will not be the work of a few days or months; but we shall not be kept advised of the steps of its progress. As soon as we have left the country, the dark impenetrable curtain, which heretofore concealed Shere Ali's diplomacy and his military preparations from our eyes, will fall over Afghanistan again. The old system of jealous isolation will be renewed. No envoy, no European traveller, no white subject of the Queen will be allowed to pass the frontier. The intelligence of public and notorious events may be gathered from the gossip of Hindoo traders coming down the passes into India; but of what is really being planned and prepared in Cabul and Candahar we shall know as little as we do of what is passing at Bokhara or Samarcand. The curtain will not be drawn up till the course of events elsewhere shall make it Russia's interest to exhibit the check she holds over our policy. When the darkness clears away, and we are allowed again to discern what is passing in Afghanistan, we shall see before us a nation of born warriors armed with Western weapons, drilled by European officers, resting upon the Russian army as their reserve, and eager to gratify their highest emotions, spiritual and temporal, by the slaughter and plunder of the wealthy infidels of India. Whether their aspirations will be gratified

gratified is, of course, another question. They will certainly be able to make an important diversion in favour of their Russian friends, and to exercise an influence on the course of operations in other parts of the world. Whether they will be able to do more will be decided by various unknown contingencies. Most of all, it will depend on the hopes or fears that may be stirred up in the hearts of those silent, brooding two hundred and fifty millions of human beings, over whom we seem to rule so easily, and of whose real thoughts we know so little. But these are considerations which concern a future, distant by at least some years. It naturally seems faint and shadowy enough to Ministers engrossed by the present overwhelming care of keeping a united Cabinet from dissolving.

The other embarrassments of the Government are more immediately urgent. It is unnecessary to discuss the terms of peace, of which the preliminaries have been signed on the borders of the Transvaal. Lord Cairns's masterly arraignment has been practically left unanswered: and there is nothing to be said on the subject which has not been said by him. But it is only the outline of a peace that has been sketched; the most serious difficulties will present themselves when the details have to be filled up. So far the Cabinet, probably in their own opinion and that of their admirers, have won nothing but triumphs. There is no reproach which they were fonder of addressing to the late Government than its alleged encouragement of the military spirit in this country. They are certainly secure from the danger of any such imputation being retorted upon them. So signal a blow to the military pride of the nation has not been inflicted for a hundred years. A few repetitions of it might go a long way to break the spirit of our army altogether. It has learnt the cheering doctrine that to kill Boers in the maintenance of the Queen's authority is 'blood-guiltiness:' but to send your soldiers forward to be slaughtered in a cause which you have made up your mind to surrender, is no guilt at all. Those whose chief mission it is to eradicate all taste for 'gunpowder and glory' from the British mind could not pursue a more effective policy for their purpose than by continuing to use the gunpowder while earning the reverse of glory. 'Peace at any price' is an inadequate description of the commercial principles on which, at the bidding of Mr. Bright, the former colleagues of Lord Palmerston have in the end consented to proceed. Peace, indeed, they have been content to purchase at any terms, however dear: but they have elevated this arrangement above all other bargains
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of the kind, by contriving in the same transaction to sell at the cheapest possible rate the lives of British soldiers, and the honour of their country's flag.

But when the intoxication of this triumph over the military spirit of Englishmen shall have passed away, there will still remain a crop of difficulties to solve, of the kind that is apt to beset those whose dislike for military operations is too imperious and too well known. The Boers, very naturally, despise us, and are acting up to the full measure of that contempt. They indulge it profitably, and they know they can indulge it safely, by plundering and maltreating all who look up to us for protection, or have dared to display loyalty to the Queen. If the Ministry were left to themselves, it is probable that they would rejoice in the opportunity of taking meekly the spoiling of the goods of other people; especially when the sufferers have incurred their ruin through reliance on the pledged word of England. The embarrassing aspect of these proceedings is that they may possibly penetrate the apathy with which the English electors habitually regard events so distant.

It has been a convenient commonplace of advocacy to assume that the Boers were the conquered people of the Transvaal, struggling for freedom and independence. In reality, they are only a small portion of the people of the Transvaal, struggling for license to tyrannize over the rest. By defeating our troops, and intimidating our Government, they have now obtained this license. But the African races have powerful friends in this country. It will not readily be forgotten that the series of migrations, which terminated in the occupation of the Transvaal by the Boers, were animated by the unvarying resolution to escape from the restraints which the humane laws of England imposed upon their treatment of the blacks. What pretentious securities, what paper guarantees, the scheme of the Commission will contain, it is of little interest to conjecture; but the Boer will have strangely changed his nature, if he allows himself to be persuaded by any argument except compulsion to abstain from the enslavement of any blacks who fall into his power. Unhappily, in this respect our precipitate retreat from the Transvaal does not leave matters as we found them. Our transitory sway has altered the odds heavily against the native. Before the annexation the military power of Cetewayo and Sekokoeni were some check upon the merciless traditions of the Boer. We have dissipated their forces, and have consequently removed the check; and we were undoubtedly right in doing so on the assumption then solemnly proclaimed that we intended to sustain in the Transvaal the more effective restraint imposed by

by the Queen's authority. We have not dealt equal measure to the two antagonist races; because we have fought them under different Governments, and on different principles. The conflict with the black races took place under a Government, which intended, whatever happened, to conduct to a successful issue the struggle it had undertaken. The conflict with the Boers was undertaken by a Government which, while it was announcing its resolution to fight, was making up its mind to yield. The result is, that while the Boer power remains upright, and is even strengthened, the native power is broken. Little doubt can be entertained of the use to which the Boers will put this position of vantage. Orphans will be multiplied, and the trade in black ivory will flourish. But an account will surely be demanded by the people of this country from the rulers to whose divided counsels and party exigencies this dishonourable abandonment is due.

The cynical desertion of those who were induced by our solemn assurances to put their trust in us will be held in detestation in this country, wherever it is understood; and unfortunately it is likely to have material effects which will prevent the moral disgrace from being forgotten. The Cape Colony is a possession, conquered in war, within the lifetime of men still living. Two-thirds of its white population are Dutchmen, who have never shown any extravagant enthusiasm for the allegiance which has been imposed upon them by the fortune of war: and in the less advanced parts of the Colony where prejudices are strong and the expression of them is frank, the severance of feeling between the two races is very marked. But, nevertheless, the Dutch have hitherto been well convinced of the power of the conquering country; and, consequently, the rights of the English minority have been successfully maintained, and the sovereignty of the English Crown has not been questioned. But that conviction is rudely shaken now. The test of strength is the power to protect your friends. The spectacle of loyalists flying for their lives, beggared by the loss of the capital they had been persuaded to invest under the shelter of English sovereignty, will deeply impress the minds of the Dutch population in the Colony. It will dissipate any illusions they may have entertained as to the continued vitality of that mighty Empire which three generations back severed them from their parent republic. It may cross their minds that they would like to be 'free and independent' too, according to the modern South African definition of the words—that is to say, free to be masters of their own blacks, and free to rid themselves of the presence and the competition of the English

English settler. If this sacred aspiration after freedom should kindle in their souls, it will be fanned by an inspiring conviction, that they have nothing to fear from English power so long as it is wielded by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright.

In respect to Afghanistan and the Transvaal, the divisions of the Cabinet are written on its policy: but we know of their existence only by their effects. In the case of Ireland, the dissensions have come to the surface; for the outcome of them is before us in the resignation of the Duke of Argyll. They have arisen ostensibly in reference to the provisions of the Land Bill; but it is probable, if we may judge by the course which the Government have pursued, that they have affected its Irish policy from the beginning of the Administration. The Disturbance Bill which tumbled into existence accidentally at two in the morning, in the House of Commons, and which turned out to be contrary to the principles of the most steady supporters of the Government, indicated that at that time the Government had not arrived at any settled Irish policy. It is hardly conceivable that any Cabinet which was not paralysed by internal dissension would have allowed the Irish conspiracy to establish its dominion in the West of Ireland, never making any serious effort to dispute its supremacy through the closing four months of last year, and yet entertaining all the time a settled intention to resort to coercion in the end. The only plausible explanation of this long vacillation is that Mr. Bright and his friends declined to agree to coercion until they had extorted the consent of their colleagues to a drastic Land Bill. Several of them may have made a longer or shorter resistance: but with one exception their convictions did not prove permanently refractory. That the Duke of Argyll should have been forced out, shows the completeness of Mr. Bright's success; for there is probably no other Minister who, on all the other political issues of the day, is more completely in harmony with the policy of the present Cabinet. But it also shows how far from the principles of the old Liberal party the present leaders of it have drifted in respect to private property. Political economy is dismissed as a science which concerns the inhabitants of Jupiter and Saturn. We are far enough from the days when paternal government was considered a reproach; or when it was considered that for the State to undertake the regulation of private industry was a reactionary folly belonging to the age of Colbert. We have lived to see the party of free contract, and free trade, propose to set aside private contracts wholesale by Act of Parliament without compensation to those who lose the benefit of them, to
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erect a vast system of State land-jobbing, and to take the whole agricultural population of Ireland into tutelage.

It is evident that a measure of this vast scope and force, subverting the arrangements which have been freely made between man and man, and recasting the laws which for centuries have regulated the chief, if not the sole, industry of the country, must be open to criticism from many points of view. Though not voluminous in bulk, it is a measure stretching over a vast area of legislation; by a few general words unsettling in numberless points the whole fabric of the ancient law, but constructing no detailed system to take its place. As it is, Parliamentary experts seem to be of opinion that its proportions are too huge to suffer it to pass during the present Session without a special effort of industry and conciseness on the part of the House of Commons. The details upon which the character of its operations will mainly turn are left to be determined gradually 'by the Court': in other words, to be painfully and wastefully hammered out by the blows of continuous litigation. It cannot well be otherwise. Not one Session, but half-a-dozen Sessions, would be inadequate to elaborate in detail a new code, which is to make every man's contract, and to settle every man's income, in the industry which occupies far the largest portion of the Irish population.

There is one part of the Bill, especially, which it is difficult to discuss in the absence of clearer explanations than are furnished by its text. The clauses in Part V. proposing to carry further the experiment associated with the name of Mr. Bright, seem to have been drawn somewhat hastily, and added in their crude shape at the last moment, rather for the purpose of gratifying a popular cry, than with any definite expectation of achieving an extensive change in the distribution of the ownership of land. This part of the Bill is wanting in the most essential details requisite for regulating so great a financial undertaking. To take only the simplest of the conditions which in approaching such operations it might be expected that Parliament would define—no kind of answer is given to the question, On what scale is the State to enable the tenantry to purchase their holdings? In the clause authorizing the Commission to purchase land for the purpose of reselling to the tenants, the important limitation, 'if the Commission are satisfied with the expediency of purchase,' is duly introduced. This is a large and unlimited power, exposed to much abuse and more suspicion. The Commission will be a vast Land Company, bound to find, not a dividend for shareholders, but political results for political patrons. But in the clause which authorizes them to
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advance three-fourths of the purchase-money to a tenant desirous of purchasing his holding direct from his landlord, no such limitation is mentioned; and therefore, in this case nothing will be left to their discretion. The phrase runs: 'the Land Commission out of moneys in their hands may, if satisfied with the security, advance sums to tenants for the purchase of their holdings.' The word 'may,' alone, applied to a public authority, will probably be held to be obligatory. So long as they have money in their hands, and the security is good, the Commission will have no choice. To any tenant throughout the whole of Ireland, large or small, rich or poor, who claims to purchase, no matter how high the price which the parties have fixed between them, the Commission, under the apparent meaning of the Bill, are bound to advance three-quarters of the price. So loosely is the Bill drawn, that under Clause 46 this obligation is made to extend even to the purchase of houses. The leaseholder of a fine house in Dublin or Belfast may obtain from the public funds an advance at three-and-a-half per cent. of three-quarters of the price asked by his ground-landlord for the fee-simple of the house; and as the Bill is at present worded, there would be good ground for contending that he could not only ask it, but demand it. The only check apparently contemplated is the amount of money which it shall please Parliament from time to time to place in the hands of the Commission.

These are not mere questions of statutory wording, easy to correct or elucidate in Committee. They involve the contrivance by which the Bill evades the capital difficulty connected with the policy of using Treasury advances to convert occupiers into owners. That such a policy, if it were really practicable on a large scale, would go far to restore to Ireland respect for property, and the tranquillity which arises from that respect, may be willingly admitted. Under our Constitution, the truest security for the rights of landlords is that many should have an interest in defending them. But the statesman who wishes to employ such a remedy is confronted by this dilemma: if the operation is small, it will be illusory; if it is large, it will impose an intolerable burden on the English taxpayer. Mr. Gladstone has escaped the difficulty by declining to say which horn of the dilemma he chooses. The Bill is absolutely silent on the question of amount. Whether the experiment is to be conducted on a minute or a magnificent scale is to be fought out each year in the House of Commons in Committee of Supply.

It is not rash to predict that, if these conditions remain unaltered, the assisted purchases of tenants will be curtailed to
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the smallest possible dimensions. The powers given to the Commissioners are so large, and the rules furnished for their guidance are so scanty, that accusations of unfairness and partisanship will speedily multiply; and when the peculiar political conditions of the present year have passed away, the House of Commons will gladly avail itself of any fair pretext to diminish the liabilities incurred by the English taxpayer for the benefit of the Irish peasant. It is possible that before the Bill becomes law, this rudimentary plan may have acquired a definite and completer form. But in its present shape, while the vast power that it gives to individuals offends against all sound constitutional principle, it solves neither of the peculiar difficulties which beset State interference in the sale and purchase of land. No legislative pathway is pointed out which will avoid starving the work on the one side, without running into vast Exchequer liabilities on the other. No hint is given as to the means by which the powers necessary for selecting the holdings to be converted into freeholds can be conferred on the majority of a small Commission without incurring all the dangers which haunt even the best men when invested with irresponsible power in the distribution of State benevolence. It is better, therefore, to pass from the eleemosynary to the predatory portions of the Bill. They at least are effective, and are meant to work.

We shall confine our attention to two of the most important aspects, in which these complicated provisions require to be considered. In the first place, are they just to the two parties whose relative rights they assume to regulate? In the second place, is the vast revolution, which they propose to introduce in the tenure of the soil, and the relations of the State to private industry and trade, likely to be beneficial to the nation?

The first question—the question whether the rights of landlord and tenant have been equitably adjusted—is one which it ought not to be necessary to discuss. Until the rise of Mr. Gladstone to a leading position in this country, implicit confidence was placed in the justice of Parliament in dealing with individual interests. No one doubted that the rights of property would be scrupulously respected, where it was possible; and that if it was necessary on public grounds to override them, compensation would be awarded to the sufferer. Mr. Gladstone first among leading statesmen in this country introduced the political device of bidding for the votes of large masses of electors, by turning their minds to the tempting thought of enriching themselves at the cost of their less needy neighbours. Any measure, therefore, which comes from his hands on the subject of property requires to be jealously scrutinized, especially
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when it is undertaken for the purpose of quieting an agitation of which the avowed object is the expropriation of a particular class. Such a scrutiny is all the more imperative that he is a master in the art of legislative disguise; and that proposals of plunder come from his hands re-christened with the most innocent names, and masked in impenetrable folds of technical detail.

In enquiring whether this Bill is designed to execute upon the landowners that process which 'the wise call convey,' it is necessary to fix attention upon two provisions—the definition of fair rent, and the constitution of the Land Commission. Upon the question of 'fair rent,' the whole of the free sale arrangements, which are put obtrusively into the foremost place, must necessarily turn. The value of the privilege of free sale depends upon the price which it will bring to the seller. The price will evidently vary in inverse proportion to the rent. Accordingly, if free sale is not to be a mockery, the concession of it is necessarily accompanied by provisions for determining the rent by decree of Court, instead of by a bargain between the owner and occupier of the land. The whole arrangement deprives the owner of all that gives value to property in land, except only the money return: but on the question whether the 'fair rent' is fairly assessed or not, will depend whether he is to be robbed of the money return as well. To him therefore the definition of 'fair rent' given in the Bill is a matter of vital interest. To a large extent the landowners of Ireland are men who, on the invitation of Parliament, have purchased their land under the Encumbered Estates Act. They bought it on the faith of the law which had existed for centuries, and which exists now in every other country of the world, that land, like any other property, may be let and hired in the open market. This universal right is to be cut up by the roots. Henceforth, a court is to name the price of the hiring; and the owner may not choose, but accept the bargain which this court imposes on him. The unfortunate purchaser naturally asks with anxiety for the rules on which this unexampled jurisdiction is to be exercised. The exigencies of a political party have swallowed up all the other rights of ownership: will they also swallow up the rent—that is to say, the interest on those savings which at the bidding of Parliament he invested in Irish land?

This all-essential definition of a 'fair rent' is as hard to understand as a Delphic oracle. The first, and simpler, part runs thus:—

'A fair rent means such a rent as in the opinion of the Court, after hearing the parties and considering all the circumstances of the case,

holding and district, a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another.'

So far, the only objection we should take to this definition (beyond the questionable English in which it is couched) is the strange parenthesis in the middle. No one can dispute the doctrine that a fair rent is that which a solvent tenant would undertake to pay one year with another. We presume that, in spite of the apparent effect of the grammatical structure, it is the Court, and not the solvent tenant, who is to hear the parties, and to consider the circumstances of the case, holding, and district. But what have 'the circumstances of the district' to do with the willingness of a solvent tenant to undertake to pay the rent? Is it only the material circumstances which are meant—such as the proximity of a railway or a market town? Or is it possible that the moral circumstances of a district are to be included as well? It is impossible to forget that in the extravagant Report which bears the subscription of Lord Bessborough and Baron Dowse (par. 54), it is proposed that one of the elements of the definition of a 'fair rent' should be 'the rent commonly paid by tenants in the locality whose rents *are considered to be fair*.' This reference to the public opinion of the locality as the test of the fairness of a rent will make the task of the Court comparatively easy: for we know that over large districts in the West of Ireland, the locality has pronounced with substantial unanimity in favour of Griffith's valuation. Whether this kind of reference to a *plebiscite* of the neighbourhood is intended by the words of the Bill, it is not easy to say: but if they have no meaning of the kind, they bear a suspicious resemblance to surplusage: for it is hardly necessary to remind the Court that a solvent tenant would take the proximity of a railway or a market town into his calculations.

Assuming, however, that a favourable explanation of this phrase can be given, there is, so far, nothing in the definition of 'fair rent' to which exception can be taken. It is what a solvent tenant, all things considered, would be content to pay. But then comes a proviso of great obscurity, and of inestimable importance:

'Provided that the Court in fixing such rent shall have regard to the tenant's interest in the holding: and the tenant's interest shall be estimated with reference to the scale of compensation for disturbance by this Act provided (except so far as any circumstances of the case shown in evidence may justify a variation therefrom), and to the right, if any, to compensation for improvements effected by the tenant.'

The latter part of this clause may be put aside. It is perfectly

fectly just that the tenant should receive due compensation for improvement either in the form of rent or some other way. But what is the meaning of the reference to 'the scale of compensation for disturbance provided by this Act'? A tenant, so long as he pays a fair rent is protected from eviction by a scale of compensation, which by this Bill is to be enlarged. How can this fact affect the definition of what a fair rent ought to be? It certainly cannot affect its amount in a sense favourable to the tenant: for being an advantage, it makes the holding more valuable, and therefore the proper subject of a higher 'fair rent.' What possible connection of ideas has led the framers of the Bill to describe 'it as part of the tenant's interest which is to operate in reduction of rent? In the first place that compensation was granted avowedly as a penalty to discourage landlords from unnecessary eviction—not in any sense as the recognition of any pecuniary right in the tenant, which obviously did not exist. As a penalty against eviction, it was barely a defensible provision. As recognition of a pecuniary right in the tenant, it was a simple transfer of property: a donation to the tenant of the money which belonged to his landlord. It was undoubtedly not in that sense it was assented to by the Parliament of 1870. In the second place, whatever the motive with which the concession was made, it clearly had no connection with the amount of the rent: for in the clause which was added to the Bill at the instance of Sir Roundell Palmer, it is expressly provided that the imposition of a just and reasonable rent shall not be treated as disturbance. Under the Act of 1870, the tenant cannot obtain compensation for disturbance if his rent is raised to a reasonable point. Under the Bill of 1881, if his rent is raised, reasonably or not, he may call on the Court to reduce it on the ground that he is entitled to compensation for disturbance. First Parliament is persuaded to give him a security which is carefully dissociated from the question of rent: and now Parliament is asked to reduce his rent in consideration of his being entitled to the security thus obtained. The practical effect is that, whenever the Court is called upon to declare the rent of a holding, it may begin by crediting the tenant with an interest varying from seven to three years' value according to the new scale. In other words, the rent of every fairly rented arable farm in Ireland may be reduced by a sum equal to the interest of from three to seven years' value of the holding.

In truth this provision—clumsy as it is, and obscure as its phraseology, for very shame's sake has been made—is the very kernel of the Bill. The Bill has been brought forward merely as a response to riot and agitation. Except in answer to the

popular movements of the winter, boldly organized and disgracefully tolerated, there is no reason why the Bill should exist at all. This movement, which has generated the Bill, was aimed at one thing, and one thing only—the reduction of rent. Those who took part in it are highly practical men, and desire a solid return for their exertions. They have never given any indication of an intention to be satisfied with any measure which does not transfer a considerable part of the value of the land from the pockets of the landlords to their own. On the other hand, it is a matter of no slight difficulty, and no contemptible feat of skill, to wrap up such a proposition, in such language that it shall not at once shock the feelings of those in this country who are still in favour of legislative honesty. Viewed in this light, the clause deserves to be mentioned with considerable respect. It executes a very difficult performance, with all the dexterity of which the circumstances admit. It uses the most harmless and unobtrusive language; and it acts so circuitously that its effect is not obvious at first sight. But not the less surely does it enable the Court to diminish the fair rent of every arable holding in the island by sums varying from fourteen to thirty-three per cent.

The other respect in which this Bill dangerously affects the rights of property is the enormous power which is given to the Land Court. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that it is proper to make the borrowing and lending of land a matter of judicial regulation, it is impossible not to be struck by the vastness of the interests which will depend on the composition of this Commission. In other departments of life the rights of the subject—so far as they come under judicial review—are carefully guarded. The facts are ascertained in open court by an impartial jury; and if there is ground for believing that they have misconstrued the evidence, a superior court will remit the issues for the decision of another jury. Questions of law are in like manner decided by a machinery for whose competence and impartiality the most scrupulous precautions are taken. They are decided in the first instance by a judge, preserved as far as possible by his training, and by the circumstances of his official position, from any influences which should lead him to decide the questions before him in any other but a purely legal spirit. Above him are two, or sometimes three Courts of Appeal, which will throw upon every disputed question of law all the light that the legal experience and learning of the time can supply.

In this new land jurisdiction, which is to recast the ownership of every inch of Irish agricultural soil, there are no such securities.

securities. The Court of first instance is the Civil Bill Court—the lowest civil Court in Ireland; in which justice is administered by a barrister having a professional status certainly not superior to that of a County Court judge in this island. From his decisions either landlord or tenant may appeal to the Commission. The Commission consists of three persons to be named in the Bill, and in case of vacancy to be appointed by the Crown: and of these only one will be a judge. Like the barrister in the Civil Bill Court, they decide everything, questions of law as well as of fact, without the aid of a jury; and every order or decision they make shall be final. They are to sit at Dublin generally; but they may travel, together or alone; or they may send down to any part of Ireland an Assistant-Commissioner, whose decision in all matters dealt with by the Act shall be as final as their own.

It is difficult to carry democratic despotism much further in dealing with rights of property. It is probable—almost certain—that the two who will constitute the majority of the Commission, and will exercise all its powers, will be adherents of Mr. Gladstone, who, however great their personal integrity may be, will be thoroughly imbued with his deep antagonism to the claims of the owners of land. They will have the property of every landowner in their hands. They will determine facts by such process as pleases them best, without a jury, without the necessity of a public trial, without even the obligation of hearing arguments before deciding. They will decide all questions of law with the same perfect freedom; for in determining the tenant's interest, the one vital issue of the land question, they are hampered by no specific rules, but are merely directed to decide 'with reference' to certain vaguely-stated considerations. In addition to an almost unrestricted power of eating out the landlord's rent by inventing a tenant's interest, the equities clause (s. 8) confers on them, when engaged in fixing the fair rent, power of modifying that decision for punitive purposes, to chastise unreasonable conduct in landlord or tenant, to which apparently no limit is fixed: 'The Court may make such order in the matter as the Court thinks most consistent with justice.' Whatever measures, in the exercise of these vast powers, the two gentlemen who form the majority may take, they are free from the annoying liability, to which less favoured judges are liable, of having their decisions reviewed and reversed. There is no Court in the Queen's dominions that will have power to check them when they go wrong, or to redress any injustice they may commit. They may exercise their functions in a spirit of the grossest partisanship;

sanship ; they may trample on every individual right in order to carry through some pet theory, some doctrinaire reform ; they may prostitute their powers to serve the interests of a class, or to promote the aims of a political clique : every landowner's property and income is at their mercy, and there is no authority in the kingdom, save a new Act of Parliament, that can restrain or repair the wrong. Since the day when Cromwell's Commissioners were sent down to strip the monasteries, no such powers over the landed property of the Queen's subjects have ever been confided to a Commission ; no such powers are now wielded by two men in any civilized country in the world. Let us not be told that excesses of power are not to be suspected in Commissioners appointed by so virtuous a Government as Mr. Gladstone's. It is the very mark of despotism, as opposed to constitutional system, that under it right and justice are made to depend not on the safeguards of definite law, but on a blind confidence in the personal virtues of the depositaries of power. It seems hard that the class of landowners, many of whom assumed that perilous character at the invitation of Parliament itself, and all of whom have the common right to the protection of their property by law, should be placed outside the pale of constitutional security and freedom, because a few of them have exercised their strictly legal rights in a manner of which Mr. Gladstone disapproves.

But hard as the case of individual men may be, if the administration of this Bill should fall into the hands of theorists or partisans, the wider effect that it will have on the two great classes whom it reduces to tutelage, and on the general interests of the country, is a matter of still deeper concern. That it will produce an enormous increase of litigation has been very generally suggested. It is difficult to see how this result can be avoided. The Bill certainly takes every precaution for ensuring it that the warmest friends of the profession could desire. It invests a needy and ignorant class with new rights, supposed to be of great value ; those rights necessarily vary in their extent with an enormous number of variable circumstances, and they are defined in the Bill itself with studied ambiguity. No more effective prescription could be imagined for ensuring a healthy development of litigation, than excited greed, uncertain law, and an infinite variability of rights. Indeed, litigation would seem to be an absolute necessity in the case of every holding, in order to relieve both landlord and tenant from the far worse evil of utter uncertainty. Until the judicial rent has been ascertained by a lawsuit, neither landlord nor tenant will know what his income is, on what resources he can count, or within what limits
his

his expenditure must be restrained. When 'fair rent' has accomplished the task of dissipating a large proportion of the existing agricultural capital in costs, 'free sale' will commence her beneficent work. Of the popularity of this concession there is no question: and if due regard is paid to the rights of other people, it may operate, as Mr. Gladstone suggests, to furnish a self-acting appraisement of the true value of a tenant's improvements. It is odd that he should be so quick to see the value of competition to fix the tenant's interest in the shape of free sale; while he refuses to use it for the purpose of furnishing an equally sure measurement of the landlord's interest in the shape of free rent. But whatever the merit of free sale as a bait to attract electors, it will certainly not have the effect of promoting the investment of capital in Irish agriculture. Its practical meaning is that all Irish land shall be held at the severest possible rack-rent. Beyond a bare subsistence the whole yearly produce of the holding is mortgaged. Whatever is left after payment of rent, goes as interest upon purchase-money to the outgoing tenant. No residue is left for interest upon capital to be employed in the cultivation of the farm. Agriculture burdened with a double rent is depressed to starvation-point, and is worked on the system of minimum expenditure and minimum return. It is no answer to say that under a system of permissive sale in the province of Ulster these results have not followed. Landlords whose rights are left intact, and who retain therefore an interest in the prosperity of their properties, have a motive to be liberal in the matter of rent, and to exercise control over the extravagances of tenant-right sales. But henceforth in Ireland the name of landlord will be a mere survival; the record of a relation that has passed away. Ownership, as the Duke of Argyll says, will be in abeyance: and the forbearance and foresight for which it furnished a motive cannot be looked for in the mere mortgagees who will bear the title of owners.

The economical objections, however, to such a scheme as this, cogent as they are, do not carry much force to the English mind, because they rest upon apprehensions of an evil which already in Ireland seems scarcely capable of aggravation. The penalty of breaking economic laws is the increase of poverty; and among the Western populations, to whose discontent this agitation is due, over-population appears to have carried poverty to a point scarcely capable of aggravation. The political demerits of the measure constitute a more formidable condemnation. For its one object is to abate a great political evil. No one seriously pretends that it will enrich the Irish people. But the authors of the Bill evidently hope that it will tend to pacify them.

them. Even pacification may be bought too dearly, by a sacrifice of the principles on which all civil society rests; but a consideration of the inevitable operation of the Bill on the constituents of the Irish community will show that even this poor bargain has not been made.

The present troubles in Ireland assume, superficially at least, the character of a conflict between landlord and tenant. If the Government claim for this Bill that it is a tranquillizing measure, and that this merit atones for all its sins against political economy, they must show, to justify their claim, that it will dispose these two classes to be more placable and friendly towards each other. A Bill which is likely to exasperate the landlord against the tenant, and the tenant against the landlord, cannot claim to be a remedy for the quarrels of landlord and tenant.

In what state of mind is it likely to leave the landlord? It takes away from him all the fruit of ownership, and leaves him the empty shell. He retains the name of landowner, with the unpopularity which attaches to the name: but in reality only differing from a mortgagee in that he is liable to tithe and rates, and has the prospect of his mortgage being revised either in the way of increase or diminution at the expiration of fifteen years. Hitherto the landowner and the mortgagee have dealt with their rights in a different spirit. A mortgagee deals with his claim to interest in a purely commercial spirit. So long as the debtor possesses anything, it must be applied in payment of his creditor; and the enforcement of this obligation is not affected by any circumstances, whatever they may be, which make it difficult for the debtor to pay. Whether trade be flourishing or depressed, whether the harvests be good or bad, the mortgage must be paid so long as the debtor has any ability to pay. Landowners as a rule do not press their rights so exactly, and in bad years will give indulgence in various forms in order to keep a tenant if possible on his farm. This indulgence has perhaps been less general in Ireland than in England, especially since Parliament began nibbling at the landlords' rights; but even in Ireland the large majority of landowners are admitted to act with liberality to their tenants. But the most sanguine legislator cannot hope that, after the Bill has passed, a vestige of this practice will remain. Hardly any landlord will continue to live in Ireland, if he has the means of living elsewhere, after he has been deprived of every shred of influence in the management of his estate. He will have no personal knowledge of his tenants or sympathy with them; and the only association they will call up in his

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his mind is a recollection of spoliation and a sense of wrong. He will have no more interest in their prosperity than a debenture-holder has in the well-being of the stokers on the line whose securities he holds. Nay, he will have much less ; for so long as the small tenants are prosperous, small tenures will endure. If they are not prosperous, they may possibly benefit themselves by repairing to some land of more genial climate and less populated soil ; and benefit him, by enabling him to acquire their tenant-right at a small cost, and then mass his land in holdings sufficiently large to free him from the vexatious thralldom of this Bill. In short, it will be the landlord's interest that the tenant should not prosper ; and the law will have provided, so far as a law can do it, that the landlord's mind shall be influenced by self-interest alone.

The same lesson will be taught by reflection on the political situation of which this Bill is the result. It preaches to all landlords—in England as well as in Ireland—the danger of indulgence in such times as these, under the play of our present party system. If the rent had always been kept up to the level of a full commercial rent, such as is exacted in Scotland, the practice of selling tenancies would never have arisen, because there would in effect have been little or nothing to sell. Habitual indulgence in the matter of rent left a margin which could be sold ; on which the tenant leant, and which now he has been encouraged to look upon as a right by those who have an interest in exciting his cupidity. The system of tenant-right sale could never have grown up unless a practice of low rents had nourished it. The landlords will learn by this sharp lesson how perilous it is to allow any right to become enfeebled by disuse. It is to be feared that the few rights which are to be left to them will be exercised henceforth with a business-like exactitude, which will testify to their sincere, though late, repentance for their former laxity.

It is probable, therefore, looking at human nature as it is, that the attitude of the landlords towards the tenants will be that of men mainly occupied in struggling to save what is left to them, and to indemnify themselves where they can for the losses which a hostile Parliament has inflicted upon them. What will be the attitude of the tenant ? It cannot be more vividly described than in Lord Dufferin's words :

‘In the estimation of the tenant, Mr. Gladstone's Act puts him into the same bed with his landlord. His immediate impulse has been to kick his landlord out of bed. The temptation of the Government will be to quiet the disturbance by giving the tenant a little more of the bed.

bed. This will prove a vain expedient. The tenant will only say to himself, "One more kick and the villain is on the floor."

The Government has yielded to the temptation which Lord Dufferin foresaw; and no one who reflects on the past history of Ireland for two or three generations can doubt that the effect on the tenant's mind will be precisely that which he describes. That every great change in Irish law during that period has been the fruit of agitation, is a fact so plain and patent that it could not be concealed from a much duller peasantry than that of Ireland. There are three common forms which have been scrupulously observed by the Minister of the day in recommending each successive concession to Irish agitation. In the first place he professes that it is imperatively required by justice; secondly, that it is not yielded to agitation; thirdly, that when it is granted full justice will have been done, and any further concessions will be manfully refused. The particular concession of the hour is always to be positively the last. So it has been with the Land Question among others. The consent of Parliament was won for the very questionable provisions of the Act of 1870 by the most categorical assurances that these enactments were to close the question; that from that time forward a new departure was to be taken, and that every man henceforth would be bound by the contract that he made. Mr. Gladstone stated in definite terms that he would not be a party to the creation of a 'spurious Ulster custom.' He did not foresee what might be extracted from him by another turn of the agitator's screw. That he should depart from all his old opinions is nothing new in the history of his life. Unfortunately the inconsistency has been enacted in the full view of the Irish peasant. He cannot be blind to the fact that outrage in Ireland, organized electoral pressure in England, have again and again availed to force the convictions of Liberal statesmen, and to scatter their most emphatic pledges to the winds. Will it be possible to persuade him that the series of these conversions is irrevocably closed, that the talisman has lost its charm?

It is idle to imagine that peace and goodwill can be restored between classes by legal restraints upon their mutual trade. If full and prompt compensation were ensured for tenant's improvements, on the one hand, and an efficient machinery created for the recovery of rents on the other, landlord and tenant would adapt themselves to the circumstances of their country. If the vocation of farmer is overstocked, it would be thinned by emigration; and the competition which enables landlords to over-rent their tenants would disappear. To facilitate that result,

result, aid for emigration might be justly offered by the State; but the end would be obtained whenever the peasantry had acquired the conviction that nothing more was to be gained by practising on the electoral hopes of the Liberal party. But the present proposal will give no tranquillity. It intensifies the antagonism between landlord and tenant, and incites each to use every available weapon against the other. The landlord, when he has got his judicial rent declared for a term of fifteen years, will only be thinking how he can dispose of the adverse rights of his tenant before the fatal period for judicial interference comes round again: and in such a struggle he will derive decisive opportunities from the uncertainty of the seasons and the natural improvidence of the Irish tenant. The tenant on his part will soon become conscious of his essentially precarious position; or he will learn it from the agitators; and he will watch with redoubled interest the turn of the wheel at St. Stephens, in order to obtain from the necessities of a political party a fresh donative at the landlord's cost. So long as both 'are in the same bed,' so long as they are joint owners of a property, which one remembers to have been entirely his own, and the other hopes will be entirely his own in the future, no peace is possible between them. The joint-ownership proposed by the Bill as a means of reconciling landlord and tenant will only have the effect of converting an intermittent disturbance into an increasing internecine war.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIRST VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

Abbot, Dr. Ezra, on the external evidence in support of St. John's Gospel, 379.
Abbott's, Dr., 'Triple Tradition,' 363.
Afghanistan, prospects in, 547.
Agnosticism, modern, 137.
Agricultural Labourers' Union, the, 302.
Agricultural produce in Ireland between 1826-1877, prices of, 257.
Altars, stone, 226.
Amhurst, editor of the 'Craftsman,' 320.
Art-needlework, the school of, 198.
Austria, ladies employed in, 182.

B.

Bancroft, Mr. H. H., author of the 'Native Races of the Pacific States,' 57.
Barry, Canon, on the 'Manifold Witness for Christ,' 148—the development of revelation as recorded in the Bible, 149—the Gospel of the Resurrection, 150—positive evidences for Christianity, 150.
Beaconsfield, Lord, 119—a man of thought and a man of action, *ib.*—a man of letters and a statesman, 121—the most considerable Englishman since Lord Byron, 123—character of his novels, 124—described by Mr. J. McCarthy, 177.
Belgium, women employed in, 183.
Belief and Unbelief, 128—the basis for religious belief, 130—hypothesis to account for the phenomenal laws and sequences of the universe, 133—theory of gravitation, *ib.*—Bishop Goodwin on the 'Origin of the
Vol. 151.—No. 302.

World,' 135—religious belief, *ib.*—modern Agnosticism, 137—Mr. Wace on scepticism and natural philosophy, 138.

Birds, British, Protection of, 100—the bustards of Norfolk, 102—times and seasons for killing, 103—cause of the 'grouse disease,' 104—destruction of sea-fowl, 105—'Sea-gull Preservation Act,' *ib.*—'Wild Birds Protection Act,' 107—Mr. Herbert's Select Committee, 109—Bill against birds'-nesting, 110—duplicate names of birds, 113.

Boers, the, freedom from restraint, 551.
See Ministerial Embarrassments.

Bolingbroke, Lord, in Exile. 67—professes devotion to George I., 70—dismissed from his post of Secretary of State, 71—leader of the Opposition, *ib.*—escapes from London, 73—reasons for leaving England, *ib.*—double dealing, 74, 75—an attainted outlaw, 77—attaches himself to the Pretender, *ib.*—accepts the seals, 78—first interview with James, 78, 79—the Jacobite Ministry, 79—European sympathies in favour of the Jacobites, 80—endeavours to make them act in union, 81—scheme of operation, 82—dismissal, 85—interview with Lord Stair, 86—his 'Letter to Wyndham,' 88—acquaintance with the Marquise de Villette, 89—life at La Source, 90—his writings, 91—influence on Voltaire, 92—return to England, 95—his two characters, 99.

—, Literary Life of, 316—his influence on political history, 317—co-operates with the Pulteneys and Sir W. Wyndham, 320—establishes the 'Craftsman,' 321—interview with George I., 322—death of the King, 323—virulence of the Opposition, 326-328—the author of almost every

opposition movement, 328—various articles in the 'Craftsman,' 329—effect of his writings, 330—at Dawley, 331—country life, 332—hospitality, 333—Voltaire, *ib.*—Pope, 333—336—reasons for leaving England, 337—settles at Chantaloup, 338—literary works, 338-340—Returns to England, 340—pays court to Frederick, Prince of Wales, 342—his 'Patriot King,' 342-344—departure to Argeville and return to England, 345—death of his father, 345—his conduct to Pope, 346—death of his wife, 348—illness and death, *ib.*—his philosophy, 350.

Bradlaugh, Mr., on Land-Law Reform, 299.

Brett, Sergeant, Mr. J. McCarthy's remarks on his murder, 168.

Bright, Mr., on the 'Distribution of Land,' 297.

Buller, Charles and Arthur, with Carlyle in Edinburgh, 411.

C.

Californian Society, 40—results of the Franciscan Mission, 42, 43—the 'Emigrants' Gap,' 44—'gold fever' in 1848, *ib.*—Sacramento, 46—San Francisco, 47—'Comstock Kings,' 48—Los Angeles, 63—Yosemite Indians, 65.

Campbell, Lord, Life of, 1—parentage and early years, 2—education, 3—goes to London, 4—at the House of Commons, 5—studies for the Bar, 7—reporter for the 'Morning Chronicle,' *ib.*—entered at Lincoln's Inn, 8—visits Paris, 9—Tallien, *ib.*—reflections on reporting, *ib.*—on dramatic criticism, 10—engagement with Tidd, 11—called to the Bar, 13—'Reports of Nisi Prius Cases,' 14—horror of the Scotch accent, 15—takes lessons in dancing, *ib.*—his victory over Lord Ellenborough, 16, 17—admiration for Lady F. Webster, 17—matrimonial schemes, 19—disappointments, 21—marriage, 23—elected at Brooks's, *ib.*—invested with the 'silk gown,' 24—member for Stafford, 26—Solicitor-General, 26—the Irish Coercion Bill of 1833, 27—Attorney-General, 29—returned for Edinburgh, *ib.*—accepts a peerage for his wife, 31—measure for the

abolition of Church-rates, 32—Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 33—the 'Lives of the Chancellors,' 34—Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 35—'Lives of the Chief Justices,' 36—accepts the Great Seal, 38—death of Lady Stratheden, *ib.*—his death, 39—character, 39, 40.

Carlyle, Thomas, Reminiscences of, 385—'Heroes and Heroism,' 385, 386—definition and examples of, 387—Mahomet's sincerity, 387—Cromwell, 388—Napoleon, 389—social philosophy, 390—his 'Science of Clothes,' 390, 391—on Parliament, 393—Howard, the philanthropist, 394, 395—Wilberforce, 396—picturesque style, 397—titles of chapters, *ib.*—his 'French Revolution,' *ib.*—'Frederic,' 398—popularity and eccentricities, 398, 399—'Reminiscences,' 399—neglect of self-examination, 400—death of his father, *ib.*—his education, 401—character of his father, 402—his progenitors, 403—David Hope, 404—Edward Irving, 404-407—at Kircaldy, 407—admiration of Gibbon's style, 408—in Edinburgh, 409—tutor to Charles and Arthur Buller, 411—'Life of Schiller,' *ib.*—translates 'Wilhelm Meister,' 412—Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Basil Montague, 413—Procter, 414—describes Coleridge, 415—de Quincey, *ib.*—at Paris, 416—Talma, *ib.*—marriage, *ib.*—at Edinburgh, 417—interview with Jeffrey, 419—'German Literature,' *ib.*—'Mystic School,' 420—describes Mrs. Carlyle's influence with Jeffrey, 420, 421—meets Mr. Wishaw, 421—destruction of the MS. of his first volume of the 'French Revolution,' 424, 425—J. S. Mill and Mrs. Taylor, 425—'Darwin on Species,' 427—Charles Lamb, *ib.*—tendency of his writings, 428.

—, Mrs., her influence with Lord Jeffrey, 420, 421—described by Miss Jewsbury, 423.

Caucus, the, 294—its injurious system, 310.

Cavour, letter from Panizzi to, 498.

Chamberlain, Mr., on Disestablishment, 292—on land tenure, 297.

Chester, Bp. of, his notes on the Acts of the Apostles, 383.

China-town, at San Francisco, 58.

Chinese population in San Francisco, 59—measures to restrain it, 60.

Church Discipline Act, the, 234. *See* Ritualists.

Clerkenwell explosion, the, Mr. J. McCarthy's remarks on, 168.
 Coleridge described by Carlyle, 415.
 'Comstock Kings,' the, 48, 49. *See* Californian Society.
 Cook, Canon, on the identity of authorship of St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, 367—introduction to the Acts of the Apostles, 370—the authenticity of the concluding verses of St. Mark's Gospel, 383, 384.
 Cosin, Bp., on the use of the surplice, 223.
 'Craftsman,' the, established by Lord Bolingbroke, 321.
 Creaghta, the, in Ulster, 251.
 Cremer, Mr., on the House of Lords, 294.
 Cromwell's sincerity described by Carlyle, 388.
 Curates, their condition and number, 528-530—average of stipends, 531.

D.

Derby, Lord, on Reform, 165.
 Dowse, Baron, his charge in Galway, 244.
 Dramatic criticism, Lord Campbell's reflections on, 10.

E.

Ecclesiastical work exhibited at the Church Congress at Leicester, 191.
 Ellenborough, Lord, and Lord Campbell, 16, 17.
 Emancipation Act, the Russian, 437.
 Employment of Women in the Public Service, 181—in Switzerland, 182—Austria, *ib.*—Italy, 183—Russia, *ib.*—Germany, *ib.*—the Netherlands, *ib.*—Belgium, *ib.*—by the French Government, 184—as telegraphists by the English Government, *ib.*—clerkships in the Post-office Savings-bank, 185—salaries, 186—proposed changes for admitting candidates, 187—as domestic servants, as saleswomen, 188—powers of organisation in women, 190—ecclesiastical work, 191—literary women, 192—music, painting, 193—the stage, 194—art-needlework, 198—employment in the Civil Service, 199.
 Endowments of the Church of England in 1830 and 1880, 502—report of the Committee of Convocation, 503—cost and number of churches

built and restored, 505—nett value of the various benefices, 506—number and value, 507—average of three years ending 1831, 508, 509—increase and change of annual incomes, 510-513—tithes, 513—pew-rents, 514—improved system of managing Episcopal and Capitular estates, 515—various grants and augmentations, 516, 517—endowments, 518—Queen Anne's Bounty Board, 518, 520—the Charity Commissioners, 520—Associations for providing better incomes for the ill-paid clergy, 521—sale of benefices by the Lord Chancellor, 522—parsonages, 522-525—resident and non-resident incumbents, 525—summary of returns, 526—private benefactions, 527—condition and number of curates, 528-530—average of curates' stipends, 531, 532.

Endymion, Lord Beaconsfield's, 115.
 Ephraem's exposition of Tatian's 'Diatessaron,' 379.

F.

F's, the three, 271, 560, *f.*
 Farmers' Alliance, the, 301—taking example from Ireland, 303—the three F's for England, *ib.*
 Fitzgerald, Mr. Justice, his address to the Grand Jury at Cork, 243, 244.
 Flanders, position of the farmers in, 262.
 Flaths, or Flaiths, the, in Ireland, 249.
 Forster, Mr., on the power of the House of Lords, 294.
 Foscolo, 472—Panizzi's relations with him, 472-474.
 Francisco, San, 47—the Pacific Hotel, *ib.*—climate and society, 48, 49—luxury, extravagance, and 'State pride,' 50, 51—religion, 51—revivals, 52—public services, 53—Easter Day at Lathrop, *ib.*—spiritualism, 54—benevolent and social societies, 55—an actor's funeral, 56—schools, State University, *ib.*—literature, 57—Chinatown, social status of its inhabitants, 58—increase of its population, 59—religion, 61—Buddhist temple, 62.
 Frederick Lewis, Prince, his despicable character, 341.
 Frederick William I., King, described by Carlyle, 398.
 French Government, women employed by, 183.

G.

- Germany, employment of women in, 183.
 Gladstone, Mr., his first Midlothian speech, 286—dangerous appeals to party hatreds and class jealousies, 289—on Disestablishment, 291—compulsory expropriation, 296, 297—the votes of working men, 306—tendency to decline in the public institutions, 308—influence of his reckless rhetoric, 541, 542.
 Godet, M., on M. Renan's fluctuations of opinion about St. John's Gospel, 874.
 Goodwin's Bp., lecture on the 'Origin of the World,' 135.
 Griffith's valuation, 258. *See* Ireland.
 Grouse disease, cause of the, 104.

H.

- Haywood, Mr. F., his friendship for Panizzi, 474.
 Hoods, 219. *See* Ritualists.
 Howard the philanthropist, Carlyle on, 394, 395.

I.

- Ireland, the Truth about, 242—cases of extraordinary offences in the counties of Clare, Limerick, and Cork, 243, 244—compared to the distractions of Albania, 244—apathy of the Government, 245—present policy, 246—Mr. O'Connor Power on 'Landlordism,' 247—state before the English Conquest, 248—social condition, land tenure, 249—the Flaiths, 250—system of tenure in Spenser's time, 250, 251—the Creaghts, 251—husbandry, *ib.*—ploughing by the tail, *ib.*—live stock, 252—houses, 252, 253—population, 253—improvement under English law, 254—issue of loans, 255, 256—deposits in savings-banks, &c., 256—prices of agricultural produce, 257—'Griffith's Valuation,' 258—profits of farming, 259, 260—condition of Ulster, 261—the Irish tenant compared with the Flemish farmer, 262

- condition of the richer class of tenants, 263—value of land, 264—Mr. Parnell on the 'National Question,' 264, 265—public opinion, 266, 267—possibilities of remedial legislation, 268—provisions of the Land Act of 1870, 269—the three F's, 271—Ulster custom, 271, 272—the effect of fixity of tenure on the value of land, 273—free right of sale, 274, 563—Mr. Mahoney on tenant right, 275, 276—peasant-proprietary, 277—analogy between the Agrarian questions in Russia and Ireland, 429—the Land Bill, 553, *f.*
 Irving, Edward, 404—master of the mathematical school at Haddington, 405—use of the rod, *ib.*—meets Carlyle, 406, 407—his wife described by Carlyle, 409—in Glasgow, *ib.*—London, 410—popularity, *ib.*—expulsion from the Scottish Kirk, 418.
 Italy, ladies employed in, 183.

J.

- Janson, Mr. J., on peasant allotments in Russia, 445—increase in the price of land, 450—'extraneous earnings,' 451—decrease of cultivation and live-stock, *ib.*—yearly tenants, 452—summary of his investigations, 455.
 Jeffrey, Lord, described by Carlyle, 419—admiration for Mrs. Carlyle, 420, 421.
 Jewsbury, Miss G., describes Mrs. Carlyle, 423.

K.

- Kosheleff, M., on the insufficient area of allotments in Russia, 456.

L.

- Lamb, Charles, described by Carlyle, 427.
 Land-Law Reform League, the, 299.
 Lathrop, Easter Day at, 58.
 Los Angeles, 63—cultivation and society, *ib.*—Fenian fête, 64—church of St. Gabriel, *ib.*
 Lowther Lodge, exhibition of works of art at, 191.

M.

- Macaulay, Lord, described by Lord Campbell, 35.
- Mahoney, Mr., on tenant right in Ireland, 274-276.
- McCarthy, Mr. Justin, History of our own Times, 156—difficulties of contemporary history, 157—want of chronological arrangement, 159—the interest of classes, 161—on Mr. Salomons's claim to take his seat in 1851, 163—the Hyde Park riot, 164—on Coercion in Ireland and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, 166, 167—the Olerkenwell explosion, and the murder of Sergeant Brett, 168, 169—the Irish Church, 170—arguments in favour of a State Church, 171—the Irish Church question, 171, 172—bias in favour of Dissent, 173—grants for National Education, *ib.*—slight notice of the Conservative Ministry, 175—abuse of Lord Beaconsfield, 177—the African policy, 178—literary criticism, 179.
- Mérimée's correspondence with Panizzi, 496, 497.
- Metternich, Prince, on the probable effects of a revolution in England, 304.
- Mill, J. S., and Mrs. Taylor, described by Carlyle, 425.
- Ministerial Embarrassments, 535—home prospects, 536—the right of a minority, *ib.*—Conservative legacies, 537—the obligations of an English statesman, 538—electioneering invectives, 539—votes of the majority, 540—influence of Mr. Gladstone's reckless rhetoric, 541, 542—national self-defence, 542—International law, 543—dualism of opinion in the Cabinet, 546—prospect in Afghanistan, 547—abandonment of Candahar, *ib.*—advance of the Russians, 547—549—their process of organization, 549—the Transvaal, 550—the Boers, 551—Dutch population, 552—Ireland, 553—the Land Bill, *ib.*—purchase of land, 554-556—rights of property, 556—'fair rent,' 557-559—the Land Court, 560—increase of litigation, 562—position of the landlord, 564-566.
- Montague, Mrs. Basil, described by Carlyle, 413.

N

- Napoleon I., Carlyle's contradictory character of, 389.
- Neapolitan prisoners, the, 489—Panizzi's efforts for their release, 491-494.
- Netherlands, the, ladies employed in, 183.
- New Testament, the Speaker's Commentary on the, 352—extent and value of the introductions, 354—English Church History and criticism little known by German critics, 355—different views of St. John's Gospel, 356—M. Renan's criticism, *ib.*—popular acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures in England, 356, 357—the 'Four Gospels,' 358—St. Peter's summary of the Gospel message, 359—variations in the narratives of the Evangelists, 360—parallel passages in St. Mark and St. Luke, 361—various criticisms and opinions, 361, 362—the 'Triple Tradition,' 363—the Resurrection, 365—authenticity of the Gospels, 366—St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, 367, 368—St. Matthew's and St. Mark's Gospels, 369—Canon Cook's introduction to the Acts, 370—Archbishop Thomson's introduction to the first three Gospels, 370-372—St. John's Gospel, 372-375—Canon Westcott's summary 376—and introduction, 378—Dr. Ezra Abbot's summary in support of St. John's Gospel, 379—Tatian's 'Diatessaron,' 379, 380—Strauss on the four Gospels, 381—Bishop of Chester's notes on the Acts, 383.

P.

- Panizzi, Sir Anthony, Life of, 463—his exterior and character, 464, 465—important position in European politics, 465—early life, *ib.*—his person described, *ib.*—head-centre of the Modena conspiracy, 466—escapes from Brescello, 467—at Lugano, Geneva, 469—escapes to England, 470—poverty in Liverpool, 471—relations with Foscolo, 472-474—friendship for Mr. F. Haywood, 474—Brougham, 475—nominated to the British Museum, *ib.*—Assistant-

